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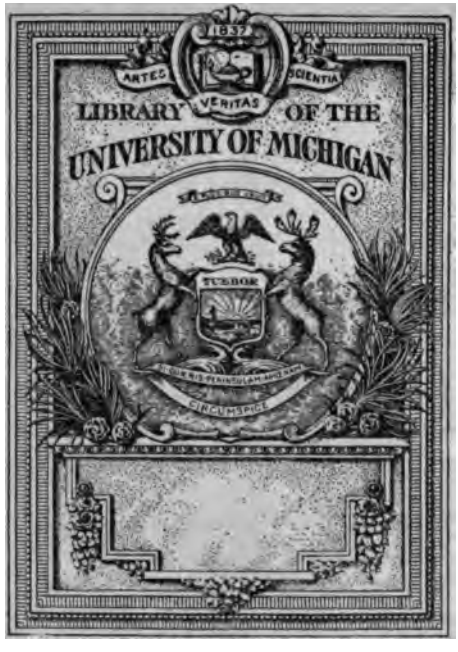
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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GLASGOW

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. I.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

NO. I.

REMINISCENCES OF JAMES WATT:

BY

ROBERT HART, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow, on 2nd November*, 1857.]

As some of the members of the Society expressed a desire at our last meeting, that I would give some recollections of the interviews that my late brother (Mr. John Hart) and myself had with the celebrated Dr. James Watt, the inventor of our improved steam-engine, I have accordingly thrown together the following brief narrative:—As these meetings took place forty-three years since, many observations that were made at the time may have escaped me at present; yet, when the same subjects are touched on, I have as distinct recollection of his treatment of them as if it were of yesterday. My brother and I had heard and read much of the inventions of Mr. Watt. They were so numerous, so various, and of so valuable a character, and were so likely to change for the better the character of the mechanical and mercantile world, we had formed a very high opinion of Mr. Watt, and looked upon him as the greatest and most useful man that ever lived. To have the pleasure of conversing with him was a thing we had little hope of. However, one forenoon while we were at work, one of our employers, a Miss M'Gregor, and a tall elderly gentleman came into the shop. She, without saying who he was, asked if we would show this gentleman our small engine.

It was not going at the time, and was covered up; my brother uncovered it. The gentleman examined it very minutely, and put a few pointed questions about her (the engine), and asked our reason for making it in that form? My brother, seeing he understood the subject, said that we made her to try what we thought was an improvement, and for this experiment we required another cistern and air-pump; and he was beginning to show what was properly Mr. Watt's engine, and what was not; when, at this observation, Miss M'Gregor stopped him by saying, "Oh, he understands it; this is Mr. Watt." I never at any time saw my brother so much excited as he was at that moment. He called on me to join them, saying that "this was Mr. Watt." Up till this time I had continued to work at what I was doing when they came, and although I heard all that was said I had not joined the party till I learned who he was. Our supposed improvement was to save condensing water, and was on the principle introduced by Sir John Leslie, to produce cold by evaporation in a vacuum. Mr. Watt took much interest in this experiment, and said he had tried the same thing on a large scale, but without the vacuum, as that invention of Professor Leslie's was not known at that time; he tried it exposed to the air, and also kept wet; and at one of the large porter breweries in London he had fitted up an apparatus of the same nature. The pipes forming his condenser were laid in the water of the river Thames, but he could not keep them tight, from the expansion and contraction of the metal, as these were exposed to various temperatures. In speaking of his early experiments with Newcomon's engine, he said he tried canes for steam pipes, but found they would not do a second time, as they were always split; this he found was caused by the absorption of water by the soft woody part inside, which expanded it and split the outside shell. He asked if ever we had tried any experiments with a Newcomon's? We informed him that we had, and also on Savery's—we having made one of each, and these we had given to the Andersonian University. This turned the conversation on these first experiments in the small way, and he entered into all the details, of making joints, &c. He was much pleased with the simple way in which we made our temporary steam joints, which was to mix a little flour and water, dip a rag into it, and apply two or three turns round the joint; as soon as it got the steam it became quite tight. He said this conversation put him in mind of his younger days.

We waited upon him that night in Miss M'Gregor's, by invitation,

and found him alone with the ladies. In the course of conversation, which embraced all that was new at the time, the expansion and the slow contraction of metals were touched on. This led to a discussion on iron in engine-making. On that, he said—"We keep the various qualities of iron for the parts they are best fitted for." As an instance, he said—"We take the iron nearest to the quality of steel for our cylinders, although more difficult to bore and finish; yet, after these cylinders are used, they become smooth as a watch spring." These were his words. Then all the other parts that are to be fixed on this cylinder were made of iron of same expansibility, or as near as possible to that of the cylinder. By these means the joints never gave any trouble; but without this precaution they were often faulty, &c. I give the above to show how minutely clear he made the subject.

In speaking of the difficulties Watt and Bolton had to contend with at first, He said:—"We used to send out a cylinder of double the size wanted, and cut off the steam at half-stroke. This was a great saving of steam as long as the valves were left as first set; but when our men had left her to the charge of the person who was to keep her, he began to make improvement; often by giving more steam, the engine did more work while the steam lasted, but the boiler could not keep up the demand. Then complaints of want of steam came, and we had to send a man down to see what was wrong. This was so expensive, that we resolved to give up the expansion of the steam until we could get men that could work it, as a few tons of coal per year was less expensive than having the work stopped. In some of the mines a few hours stoppage was a serious matter, as it cost the proprietor £70 per hour." He also said—"When Mr. Murdoch introduced the slide valve I was very much against it, as I did not think it so good as the pupet valve; but I gave in from its simplicity."

On my brother mentioning, as one of his early recollections, a shop in the High Street, opposite the College, that used to take his particular attention, from the optical and mathematical apparatus in the window, and asking him if that was his shop, he gave a smile and said—"Na, na, lad; it was not mine. I was not so rich as to have a shop of that kind."

To the question, if it was *in the College* that he experimented on the engine, and invented the condenser? (as we had been told it was *there by* persons connected with the College) he said—"No, it was

not there. I believe the Faculty would very willingly connect the invention with the College, now that it had been of some use to the world."

This was followed up by my brother saying, I should like much to know where the idea first struck you, and what led you to it? He said—"It was *in the Green of Glasgow.* I had gone to take a walk on a fine Sabbath afternoon. I had entered the Green by the gate at the foot of Charlotte Street—had passed the old washing-house. I was thinking upon the engine at the time, and had gone as far as the Herd's-house, when *the idea came into my mind, that as steam was an elastic body it would rush into a vacuum, and if a communication was made between the cylinder and an exhausted vessel, it would rush into it, and might be there condensed without cooling the cylinder.* I then saw that I must get quit of the condensed steam and injection water, if I used a jet as in Newcomon's engine. Two ways of doing this occurred to me. First, the water might be run off by a descending pipe, if an offlet could be got at the depth of 35 or 36 feet, and any air might be extracted by a small pump; the second was to make the pump large enough to extract both water and air." He continued, "*I had not walked farther than the Golf-house* [about the site of the Humane Society-house, or a little to the N.W. of that] *when the whole thing was arranged in my mind.*"

In putting the invention to the trial, he said he used a small cylinder with the mouth down, and hung a weight to the piston rod, which was a tube with a valve opening outwards. This was to allow the air to be blown out, as with the sniff-pipe of Newcomon's; and hanging the mouth down was to save a beam and framework. The condenser was formed of pipes laid horizontal, and had a small air-pump at one end, all under water, that it might be kept cool, and condense the steam by external cold, as he did not use a jet. He placed a cover on the mouth of the cylinder, with a stuffing round the piston rod, as he wished to keep the air out of the cylinder, and to act on it only by steam. To effect this he connected both ends of his cylinder with the boiler by pipes, and the bottom by a pipe to the condenser; each of these pipes had a stopcock. He produced the vacuum in the condenser by working the pump by hand, having freed his cylinder of air by allowing the steam to blow through it freely, by the valve on the piston rod. He then shut off the steam from above the piston, and opened the communication with the condenser, when instantly the piston was raised by the steam under it,

and lifted the weight that was hung to the piston rod, thus showing him he was right in the idea of a separate condenser, and that his invention was complete.

This experiment, and those that preceded it, were done in a workshop off King Street, Glasgow. In answer to my question about the site of this shop, Mr. Watt said, "*It was in a little court, north end of the Beef Market, the house projects into the court; I think a carrier occupies it at present.*" I think this was in the year 1813 or '14. My brother and I went next morning and saw the house; a large door had been made in the end of it, to make it into a cart-house, and a carrier was loading his cart in it at the time. I think it stood where Millar's Place is, just in front of what was the Inn door, as it was but a few yards from the north-east corner of the market, in a north-east direction.

The nature of much of our conversation was not of an antiquarian cast, and may be passed over. But I will take the liberty to lay before you the following:—

When speaking of his being at Bo'ness, he said, "When there, I took charge of the Schoolyard engine, that I might get a practical knowledge of a working engine." My late brother had learned from an old man, who had been a workman at Dr. Roebuck's coalworks when Mr. Watt was there, that Mr. Watt erected a small engine on a pit they called Taylor's Pit. "He," the workman, "could not say what kind of an engine it was, but it was the fastest going one ever he saw." From its small size, and from being placed in a small timber house, the colliers called it "the box-bed." We thought this was likely to be the first of his patent ones made by himself, and took this opportunity of mentioning this to him. He said he erected that engine, but he did not wish to venture on a patent one till he had a little more experience. He made her on Newcomon's plan, but he had got all the parts of one, with his own improvements, nearly finished when his connection with Doctor Roebuck was brought to a close. We found he had done a little in telescope making, and understood the subject well. He mentioned a curious experiment that a *son-in-law of Mr. Harrison's* was going on with, viz., to produce a speculum by turning with a machine that cut so fine that it left a polish. He had little hope that it could be done. In the year 1815 he sent us, as a mark of his regard, a brace and bits, and some drills. I have brought his letter to show you, as it shows the slow rate at which goods were carried at that time.

NO. II.

A FEW BRIEF NOTICES OF THE OLD TOLBOOTH AT THE CROSS OF GLASGOW, REMOVED IN 1814, &c.:

BY

GABRIEL NEIL, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 2nd November*, 1857.]

One of the objects proposed by this Society is the illustration of such remarkable buildings or edifices, whether of a public or private kind, as were formerly to be found, or may yet exist, within the boundaries of the City. It is the intention of the present Paper to give a few brief notices of one of those buildings which for nearly two centuries prominently figured in the annals of Glasgow—namely, The Old Jail or Tolbooth at the Cross, removed in 1814,—a building which, for its architectural style and massiveness, adorned that part of the city where it was situated, and which, in importance, with its iron grated windows, frowned upon the lieges as a "terror to evil doers." In whatever other light it may have been regarded by the industrious well-regulated classes of the community in those days, it would at least have this consolatory effect upon their minds, that under the protection of law and authority, they had the chance of enjoying their persons and property unmolested, and their hearths in peace and safety.

Society, whether living together in greater or smaller masses, has been always subject to crime and insubordination. Glasgow, in proportion to the amount of her population, formed no exception to this rule; and it may be inferred that, from the earliest date of her history, she must have had some public place of confinement for her offenders, and the administration of justice. It is said to be stated in old documents that before the Reformation there stood at the north-east corner of the Trongate a building named the "Prætorium," which seems to have included within its walls a town hall or court-house, and prison. Though not farther mentioned by our historians, I

think there can be no doubt that it occupied the same site at the Cross as the Tolbooth under consideration, and was the immediate predecessor of the latter. So far as opportunities have occurred for investigation, there does not appear any information as to the dimensions, arrangements, and external appearance of this ancient Prætorium or prison, but as early as 1573 and downwards, we have instances of meetings held there—as of, "The Heid Court eftir Zule of the burcht and citie of Glasgow, haldin in the Tolbuithe thairof be ane noblē and michtie Lord, Robert Lord Boyde, prouest; George Elphinstoun, Archibald Lyoun, and James Flemyng, bailies of ye samyn;" so that it may be presumed to have contained a Court House or Council Room, and with sufficient accommodation for the wants of the times. Also, in "Discharge and Exoneratioun" of the City Treasurer for the year 1578, we find such entries as—"*Item*, gevin to Dauid Kaye for the pryce of the knok, and upsettin of hir in the Tolbuithe," &c., jc. lib. (£8 6s. 8d. stg.). "*Item*, gevin to the maister of work, and debursit be him upon the biggin of the foir work of the Tolbuithe (which had probably, through age, become dilapidated), and settin up of the bell, and grathin (grating) of the Tolbuithe in this symmer, as the particular compt maid thairupon beris, extends to the sowme of jcl. lib., ij. s. viii. d." (£12 10s. 2d. stg.). We have thus two additional features of this building, in its having been furnished with a clock and bell. As some evidence in an essential matter connected with the proper security of a prison, there are numerous entries in another account of the Town's Treasurer, as, "for ane plank of aik (oak), to be ane breid (board) to the Tolbuithe dur" (door), with its concomitants, "plenchor naillis, irne ringis, cruikis, great naillis, ane ladder to gang up to the bell," &c., all of which in cost in our days would certainly be looked upon as extremely moderate. From several other entries in the Records for repairs, the Magistrates had likely been a good deal bothered with the imperfect machinery (or "ganging graith," as it is termed) of their "knok," and we have their successors in office, as regular time-keeping gentlemen, passing the following minute on 22d January, 1610:—"The qlk. day George Smythe, the rewller of the Tolbuithe knok, has bund him to the toun to rewll (wind up and maintain in order) the said knok for all the dayis of his lyftime, for the soume of twintie pundis money (£1 13s. 4d. stg.) yeirlie, to be payit, at the terms following, viz., ten pundis at Candlemes, and other ten pund at Lambnes, during his thankfull service." It appears, moreover, that with a praiseworthy economy

the street flat of the prison had "buithis," or shops. This building, then, upon the whole, embracing a court-house, prison, bell, and clock, with its "moyne" and "orlage" (dial), and doubtless a small steeple, must be viewed, as having possessed all the external qualifications requisite, to uphold the character of a royal burgh. In our eyes it may be esteemed as mean, and as little better than a *lock-up* house in one of our present police establishments; but there should be taken along with our comparison, the inferiority of a considerable portion of the structures at that early time in Glasgow, represented by historians, "as covered with turf, heather, and straw thatch," and the population not exceeding four to five thousand souls.

Notwithstanding all the authorities could do for this fabric, it is likely to have become partially ruinous on their hands, or at least insecure; and, perhaps, along with the awakening desire of seeing something more ornamental, they had turned their attention to such an acquisition. The increasing commercial prosperity of the burgh, and the feuds which had often occurred between the merchants' and trades' ranks as to precedency, &c., disquieting the members of the whole body and commonweal of the city, may also in some degree have contributed to warrant the measure, by an extension of the municipal power and dignity. Accordingly, in the quaint language of the period, "after ripe advisements and mature deliberation," we find that "on 14th May, 1625, the Council remitted to the Dean of Guild, Deacon Convener, and Master of Works, to provide stones for the new erection, and agree with workmen to dress them from the quarry"—and by the following minute, dated on 11th February, 1626:—"The said day it is concludit that the Provest and Bailies deill with Jon Boyd, and Patrik Colquhoun anent the doun taking of the Tolbuithe, and to see what can be gotten doun of three hundreth marks (£16 13s. 4d. sterling), as thai have alreddie offerit to tak doun the saime for the said soume, and also to deill with John Neill, knock maker, to make ane new knock, and to try (judge of) the pryce, and als to deill with the tenants of the buithis under the Tolbuithe that thai may remove." And, farther, among these preparations, on 8th April, 1626, "The said day Gabriel Smythe, undertook to scherp the haill masoune irnes during the time of the building of the Tolbuithe and stipel thairof, qll (until) the work be endit, for fourtie pundis money (£3 6s. 8d. sterling), namely xx. lib. on hand, and xx. lib. when the wark is endit, and in cais he be a loser he referres himself to thair will," &c.

Arrangements having now apparently been completed, on "15th May, 1626, the said day the *grund-stane* (or foundation stone) of the Tolbuithe of Glasgow was laid." In calling the attention of the members of the Society to this memorable fact, it may be worth while to introduce a note of the late Mr. M'Vean to his edition of *M'Ure's History of Glasgow*:—"Our historians (says he) differ very much in their accounts of the time when the Jail was built. Brown, Denholm, Wade, and our author (M'Ure), give 1636; our late historians give 1603 as the date. This last date is evidently erroneous; the initials of Charles I. are still to be seen on the steeple. Monteith gives 1626 as the date of the inscription, and the act in favour of Glasgow in 1633, mentions "what great and sumptuous charges, cair, and expensis they haue beine at laitlie in building of ane Tolbuithe." From the evidence of the Minute given above, there can be no longer any doubt as to the date of its foundation, viz., in 1626, the second year of the reign of Charles I., James Inglis being then *Provost;* Patrick Bell, James Stewart, and William Neilson, *Bailies*.

Considering the magnitude of the undertaking, the work must have proceeded with great expedition. About seventeen months after the laying of the foundation stone the fabric had been ready to receive some of its decorations, as the City Treasurer is instructed, on "20th October, 1627, to pay to Valentine Jenking the soume of thrittie pundis (£2 10s. stg.) for gilting the kok and thanes, and culloring of the same yallow, with the glob and standart, and stanes above the steiple head." Also in the Treasurer's account, "*anno* 1629, *Item*, for gelting of the horolage brodis and palmes (hands of the dial) to Valentine Jenking, vi. lib. xiii. s. iiii. d." (£0 11s. 1d. stg.), and to the same artist for seemingly again "gelting the kok," which had probably been double gilt, to resist the weather and promote its brilliancy; as also for "gelting the Thrystell and Crouno and Scheptor above the Kingis armes, and to gelt the Tounes armes above the enterie to the gevil of the Tolbuithe." The former clock, which had put the authorities to so much trouble, appears to have been discarded, and they had been exceedingly well pleased with the new one, as "*Item*, to Jon Jaffra, smith, for forging the knok *mair than was promeist him*, xxxiii. lib. vii. s." (£2 15s. 7d. stg.), and "*Item*, to James Read, wrycht, becaus he poyntit the stiple weill, v. lib. vi. s." (£0 8s. 10d. stg.). These outlays, though not of the heaviest and most important kind, evince the great pains which had been bestowed to render the building worthy of all concerned.

It requires little stretch of fancy to conceive that this impressive edifice just reared, would attract much general attention: that it reflected no small honour on the Magistrates, future historians have testified. Franck (an Englishman,) who had travelled as far north as Glasgow, in 1658, had seen the prison, about thirty years after its erection, then pretty fresh from the hands of the craftsmen, and the almost *new* city which had sprung up since the devouring flames of 1652, thus magniloquently speaks—"Now let us descend to describe the splendour and gaity of this City of Glasgow, which surpasseth most, if not all the corporations of Scotland. Here it is you may observe four large fair streets, modell'd as it were into a spacious quadrant, in the centre whereof their market place is fixed, near to which stands a stately Tolbooth—a very sumptuous, regulated, uniform fabric, large and lofty; most industriously and artificially carved, from the very foundation to the superstructure, to the great admiration of strangers and travellers. But this state-house or Tolbooth is their western prodigy, infinitely excelling the model and usual built of town halls, and is without exception the paragon of beauty in the west, whose compeer is nowhere to be found in the north, should you rally the rarities of all the corporations in Scotland." Defoe, in his *Tour* in 1727, expresses himself scarcely less eloquently. He had seen the improved tenements of the city after the *second* destructive fire of 1677, and the Tolbooth about a century after its erection. "As we come down the hill (says this celebrated author) from the North Gate (or High Street) to this place (the market place), the Tolbooth and Guildhall make the north-west angle or right-hand corner of the street, which was rebuilt in a very magnificent manner. Here the Town Council sit, and the Magistrates try such causes as come within their cognizance, and do all their other public business; so that it will be easily conceived the Tolbooth stands in the very centre of the city. It is a noble structure of hewn stone, with a lofty tower, and melodious hourly chimes." The painstaking and garrulous M'Ure, our earliest local historian, who wrote in 1736, nine years after Defoe's visit, and who, from his official situation as "Clerk to the Registration of Seisins," would be intimate with the structure, portrays it in the following manner:—"The Townhouse or Tolbooth is a magnificent structure, being of length from east to west sixty-six foot, and from the south to the north twenty-four foot eight inches; *it hath* a stately staircase ascending to the justice-court hall, within *which is the entry of* a large turnpike or staircase ascending to the

Town Council hall, above which there was the Dean of Gild's old hall; but now is turned into two prison houses for prisoners of note and distinction. The Council house is adorned with effigies of King James VI., King Charles I. and II., King James VII., King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, King George I. and II., all in full length, and a fine large oval table where the Magistrates and Town Council and their clerk sits. The first story of this great building consists of six rooms, two whereof are for the Magistrates' use, one for the Dean of Gild's court, and another for the collector of the town's excise. These appartments are all vaulted from the one end to the other; and there is a new addition built, appointed for a quorum of the Council to sit in order to determine and dispatch all such affairs as may be expede without the consent of the whole; but above all, the King's hall is the finest, the length whereof is forty-three foot eleven inches from east to west, and from south to north twenty-four foot, and the turnpike upon the east end. In this great building are five large rooms appointed for common prisoners; the steeple on the east end thereof being one hundred and thirteen (126) foot high, adorn'd with a curious clock all of brass, with four dial plates; it has a large bell for the use of the clock, and a curious sett of chymes and tuneable bells, which plays every two hours, and has four large touretts on the corners thereof, with thanes finely gilded, and the whole roof is cover'd with lead. Upon the frontispiece of this building is his majesty's arms finely cut out, with a fine dial, and below the same is this Latin inscription:—

Hœc domus odit, amat, punit, conservat, honorat,
Nequitiam, pacem, crimina, jura, probos.

In English (as he translates it) *thus*—

This House doth hate all wickedness,
Loves peace, but faults corrects;
Observes all laws of righteousness,
And good men it erects."

Others of our historians give nearly the same description, unnecessary to be quoted, with the exception of that of James Denholm, who was a man of scientific acquirements, and long taught the useful and elegant accomplishments of drawing and painting to the citizens. In his *History of Glasgow* (*edit.* 1804), he says:—"The Tolbooth or Prison is a very handsome lofty building of five stories, situated immediately to the east of the Town's House and Exchange. At each corner towards the top it is flanked with square turrets, ornamented with ogèe roofs and balls. Above the windows are circular or tri-

angular pediments, caped with the Rose and Thistle alternately, which add very considerably to the appearance of this edifice. The main gate to the south is covered by a square portico, projecting the breadth of a stair-case from the wall, which rises on each side towards the door. Upon the east of the prison is situated a square spire, 126 feet in height, having its roof something in the form of an imperial crown, with open arches * * Within the principal door of the prison is a large square lobby, with many columns supporting the roof. From this lobby, upon the left, strikes off the entry into the Town House as a separate building. Directly opposite, another door enters into the apartments of the prison, which are divided into two different kinds, appropriated for debtors and criminals, well ventilated and healthy."

From the graphic details given in the foregoing extracts, together with the steeple yet to be seen, a pretty correct idea may be formed of the external architectural appearance or elevation of the whole of the prison buildings. These last, in point of internal accommodation for punitive purposes, are described by one writer as containing "five large rooms appointed for common prisoners;" by a second, "into two different kinds, appropriated for debtors and criminals;" and by a third, "thirty-two cells or rooms." In early life I had occasion to transact some little business with a prisoner in what was named the "Debtors' Room," affording me an opportunity of seeing it. This was a spacious apartment, situated high, embracing a flat of the prison, in which there might be then about fifteen individuals, all cheerful and comfortable like, some of them employed in tailoring, shoemaking, &c. A large fire blazed at the west end of the room, with the cooking pot suspended over it, and a range of low pallet beds extending along the north wall. One of these unfortunates was about that time talked of as having squeezed his head through between two stanchions, to gaze at something exciting on the street, and, to the amusement of thousands, could not get it withdrawn till liberated by the saw of the smith. Other ludicrous incidents occurred, as by some of the more waggishly inclined among them toasting red hot a few pence, and throwing them through the iron bars into the street, burning the fingers of those who picked them up, at the sight of which they had their humour gratified. Not the least curious part of many of the proceedings of the debtors, was a sort of *imperium in imperio*, or code of regulations consisting of twenty-five articles, drawn up in due form, prudently to make the most of their adverse

circumstances, and as a friendly society, to behave towards each other with a gentlemanly decorum. No receptacle of the prison, however, interested me so much as that fearful place, the "*iron room*," allotted to condemned criminals, which I was permitted to visit, it being then untenanted. It was a large strong vaulted cell, looking upon the High Street. Two iron bars or rails laid parallel, about two feet distant between, ran along the paved floor. To these the prisoner's ankles were chained, but seemingly in that loose manner which did not prevent him standing, or sliding from end to end of the apartment. The steeple (so often mentioned) with its well-known "houf door," superintended by a gruffy turnkey, formed also a communication to the prison, and by a stair within conducted to the music bells aloft. The "stately staircase" noticed by M'Ure in 1736, had been taken down, and another erected, so far as can be ascertained, about 1792. It fronted Trongate, and will still be in the remembrance of a number of the older portion of the inhabitants as the theatre of much joyous festivity at every returning period of Fourth June (the birth-day of George III.). On its plat, or stair head, the Magistrates appeared in the evening, and "*drank the healths*," amid the ringing of bells and the shouts of the assembled crowd. Every health was accompanied by a salvo of musketry, from a company of soldiers on the street, and the emptied glass afterwards thrown to the people. Some of these glasses are, I believe, yet preserved as family relics. To add to the effect of the ceremony, the windows of the Town Hall were sometimes filled with pictures and transparencies. This staircase will also be remembered for a wide entrance below it leading in to many legal business chambers, popularly known as the "Clerks' Chambers." On the pavement in front of this entrance, were regularly to be found in waiting several of the town officers, in their red-coated livery, with a host of sorely broken-down looking hangers-on, ready to give *their* best advice for a "gill," and to be the "gentleman's gentleman" of the burgh officers, either as witnesses or as assistants, in the unmerciful though necessary acts of poindings and captions. To relate many other such reminiscences of those bygone years would only fatigue the patience of the members of the Society.

As to who was the architect of the Prison Buildings there does not seem to be any account. From the inscription on their front, "*Hæc domus odit*," &c., being seen on continental edifices of a like description, it is not improbable that the plans were furnished to the Magistrates by some one abroad; perhaps in Holland, with which

there was intimate intercourse. An opinion is held that the design may have been supplied by a Scottish architect. That the work was entirely executed, in its masonry, &c., by native tradesmen, can, I think, hardly admit of dispute. In every respect it was a compact, substantial fabric, that, but for the extension and requirements of the city, might have stood for centuries to come. When taken down in 1814, I saw the demolition of many of its vaults, and what appeared to me a peculiarity in strength, iron gratings were built within the walls of some of these vaults, evidently intended to prevent breaking through from one cell to another. From the quantity of what was said to be the best Swedish iron, and of lead connected, it was reported to have been a good bargain at the price given, to those who purchased the materials. No document hitherto produced enables us to discover the *whole* cost of the erection; but, from the specimens already cited of the value of labour, the expense, though considerable, would not now be thought large. Contrasted with the expense of the University Buildings, the principal part of which had been in progress for a period of 30 years, from 1630 to 1660, the building account stood in 1658 at 35,862 libs. Scots, or £2988 10s. sterling; and, judging from their extent, it may reasonably be presumed that the Prison Buildings could not likely have cost more than one-third part of this sum, or about £1000 sterling. From the general complexion of the Burgh accounts of those days (passing over the *presents* of wine, which were perhaps, after all, the cheapest mode of repaying favours received), the authorities had transacted with a cautious regard to the town's funds. By a minute of their successors in office, dated "27th January, 1638," it is directed " that the Provest, Bailies, and Dean of Gild speik and deill with James Colquhoun to draw and convoy doun the spouts of the Tolbuithe in maist cumlie form that can be, for saifing of the drop to fall upon the plainstanes, and *that upone als cheap a price as they can*"—the last clause being perhaps the usual rule of acting in civic financial matters. A minute engraved pictorial representation of the Prison will be seen in "*Denholm's History of Glasgow;*" in the "*Perspective View of the Trongate of Glasgow from the Cross;*" and a lithographic drawing of the same subject in the late Mr. Robert Stewart's "*Views and Notices of Glasgow,*" from an engraving done in the Fine Art Academy of Robert and Andrew Foulis of Glasgow. The original of this interesting print is now very scarce, of which Robert Foulis *says in his Catalogue of* Pictures (1776)—"The essays in land-

scapes that were done by Robert Paul, a little before his death, have that simplicity which promises superior excellence. The *View of the West Street, called the Tronegate of Glasgow*, is the most capital, as it is the last of his works, and was finished after his death by William Buchanan." Both were pupils of the Academy.. After the lapse of more than a century, it is only the smallest tribute of gratitude to revive the names of two artists who have thus been helpful to antiquarian researches.

The *Music Bells* in the Steeple have long been a source of pride to the Glasgow people, and they would not now part with them any more than they would deny the place of their birth. The tinkling of their silvery tones high aloft to "*Tweedside*" and the "*Lass o' Patie's Mill*," &c., we may venture to say, have inspired many a one with a love for their national airs and poetical fame; while on the tranquil Sunday morning the "*Easter Hymn*," with its *Hallelujahs*—

> "Christ is risen from the dead,
> High ascended is our Head," &c.,

may have had on others a religious effect. How it came to pass that magistrates usually engrossed with pressing affairs had become music struck, and resolved on erecting a "chime of bells," is something not a little remarkable. Had they heard of the time immemorial legend—

> "*Glasgow for bells*,
> Lithgow for wells,"—— &c.,

and were determined to maintain the celebrity of the city? or had the mystic spell of the "*Menstrales*" come over them, who ninety years before had been clothed in coats of blue, and paid by the corporation? From whatever circumstance the idea had originated, it appears that about 1666 a "*chyme of bells*" was not only concluded on, but actually procured; certainly evincing most excellent public spirit in the projectors, whom posterity should delight to honour. It, however, happened that various alterations and improvements had been required to be made upon these bells at different periods, to as far down as 1739, when, with a perseverance which cannot but be admired in the attainment of such an end, the public approbation was then secured at a cost to the city of altogether £611 1s. 9d. Though said even yet not to be sufficiently perfect in the musical scale, the chime must be allowed as of a respectable order, and possessing such variety of tones as to render the harmony always cheering and agreeable. With much pleasure I refer the members

of the Society to an able Note on this subject, by one of our Vice-Presidents, Dr. Strang, printed in Mr. Pagan's "*Sketch of the History of Glasgow.*"

Among other rooms and halls for transacting the business of the Burgh, and the administration of justice, was also the "Council House" (mentioned by M'Ure), adorned with its royal portraits or "effigies." It can scarcely be passed over, the loyalty, judgment, and discrimination of the Magistrates, which had prompted to the forming of such a collection of portraits—not mere daubs to hide the nakedness of walls; but creditable specimens of art. It appears to have been agreed upon, in 1735, that a new Council Hall and Assembly Rooms should be erected, and for this purpose the Magistrates and Council purchased, from Mr. John Graham of Dougalston, certain old houses and vacant ground near the Cross. The new building, as a Council or Town Hall, adjoining the Prison, on the west, was finished in 1740. It has been repeatedly stated as erected in 1636, but which is thought incorrect. Next arose the Tontine Buildings, which were erected in 1781, from plans furnished by Mr. William Hamilton, who, it is said, "displayed great skill in throwing the Arcade of the Town Hall into an extensive piazza, retaining the upper part of the cross walls of the superior structure." The keystones of the arches of the piazza, representing what are called the "*Tontine faces,*" are reported as the carvings of a renowned Glasgow mason, Mungo Naismith. These *faces* though not now attracting much notice, were differently beheld long ago, and generally pointed out to strangers as one of the "*lions*" of the city. Juveniles rejoiced in being able to throw their physiognomies into all the grotesque stone contortions exhibited; and with seniors, when any one put on an extraordinary cast of countenance, the common expression was, that he wore a "*Tontine face.*" In this new embellished Town Hall were to be seen the portraits above-mentioned, and probably also the "fine large oval table where the Magistrates and Council, and their Clerk sits," famous for a bloody tragedy over its oaken materials in 1694. Denholm, in 1804, describing this Hall, says, "It is a handsome and large room; in length it measures 52 feet, in breadth 27. Here are full length portraits of all our monarchs since James I. of England, and an excellent one by Ramsay (likely the son of the poet) of Archibald Duke of Argyll, in his robes as Lord Justice-General. It is impossible," says he, "to view this picture without being struck with its beauty. The figure almost starts from the canvas, from the able

distribution and management of the light and shade, and in viewing the face you can hardly persuade yourself but you see real life." Other eulogiums on it by the same artist are omitted. It is to be regretted that for many years past this hall has been quite deserted—perhaps the inconvenient entrance from the recent building at the Cross on the site of the prison, was one of the reasons. The fine ornamental work in oak and stucco adorning its interior, justly marks it out as well worth the inspection of the curious, along with the Faculty Hall in the University, both of which as showing the taste in, and progress of decorative art at the respective periods.

Further enlargement and extension were made to the Prison buildings, by the purchase from Messrs. John & James M'Ilquham, about 1792, of a tenement fronting the High Street, adjoining the prison, for a new Justiciary Hall. This hall is very faithfully described by Denholm, as follows:—"Within a niche on the north of this apartment is the Royal arms, and behind the figure of Justice, holding in the left hand a balance, and in the right a sword. Immediately below this is the bench for the Judges, covered with scarlet; below, and railed from the body of the room, is the inside of the bar for the lawyers and clerks. On the right of the bench sits the jury, and in the front beyond the clerks' table, and without the bar, is a row of seats rising gradually upwards, in the first of which is placed the panel, and in the others the auditors. Here are also two handsome galleries with iron rails entering by a turnpike stair from the lowest or first flat, and on the east of the room is a very large circular Venetian window which looks into the High Street," &c. This building still exists, though in a considerably altered form; one or two of the upper flats of which I think were formerly used as a kind of Correction House or Penitentiary for females, and I have heard that it also contained a dwelling house for the jailor, and a room for Records. A seemingly ancient stone or tablet, representing the Royal arms of Scotland, is built high in the back part of the wall of the tenement, to which the attention of the members of the Society may be directed for further elucidation.

At the period of which we are speaking, the Circuit Judges visited Glasgow twice a-year, once every six months. Their advent was hailed with all becoming marks of respect, by the ringing of the public bells, and official and military processions, preceded by a band of instrumental music. There was no retinue of carriages as now—all walked on foot, and the Judges taking up their temporary resi-

dence, commonly either in the Black Bull or Star Inn, the two most noted hotels of the day. If the trials necessitated their stay on a Sunday, the same processions formed and accompanied them in the forenoon to divine service in St. Andrew's Church. On all these occasions the stir among the people was very great, each one anxious to realise what a *Lord* was in appearance, with life or death in his hand, and who had come upon the errand of dispensing justice. During the trials, groups of onlookers in High Street, in view of the Justiciary Court Hall, were busy discussing questions of the cases going on within, of which they could know almost nothing, and speculating on the fate of this one and of that. It was generally reckoned a happy termination to a justiciary circuit, if no criminals were left to suffer the highest punishment of the law.

To narrate all the remarkable events partaking of a judicial, social, and political character, associated with such a building as the Old Prison of Glasgow, which stood from the second year of the reign of Charles I. to within a year of the battle of Waterloo, would occupy a volume, and lies more within the province of the historian, than the delineator of a few brief notices, pertaining (if we may so speak) to the anatomy of a stone and lime structure. It may simply be said that its career is rich in incidents, to illustrate which in detail might reward the labours of some eloquent pen. One circumstance only may be related of an affecting nature. The intrepid Mr. Donald Cargill, sometime minister of the Barony Church of Glasgow, had the hardihood to excommunicate, in a public sermon at Torwood, near Stirling, Charles II., and all the bloody persecutors of the Covenant, for which a reward of 6000 marks (£333 6s. 8d. stg.) was set upon his head. He was long hunted up and down the country, and at last taken at Covingtoun Mill (in the upper ward of Lanarkshire), from which, by forced marches, with his legs tied below the horse's belly, he was brought to Lanark, and from thence to Glasgow Tolbooth, on his way to Edinburgh. When they came near the City of Glasgow, says his biographer (in a now scarce tract), "they turned him upon the horse and led him backward, which made many to weep to see their old minister in that posture." He was too good a prize for some of the bigots of that intolerant age to be allowed to escape with his life; and was, with four others, hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh, on 27th July, 1681, and had their heads put upon the Ports. That Glasgow was also frequently the field of such cruel martyrdoms, tablets yet existing bear witness; and at no very

distant time back, it is affirmed, were to be seen on the Tolbooth the spikes on which had been placed the heads of the sufferers.

Part of the duties of the Magistrates were, as Defoe mentions, "to try such causes as came within their cognizance;" and, in the ancient Burgh Records, we have numerous interesting examples of what were the crimes disturbing public order, and the species of punishment awarded by the civil power. In common with the penalty of *imprisonment* in the Tolbooth for assaults on the person, as "strykin on the mouth with the faulded neive;" "hitting on the chaftis;" "dinging doun to the erd;" "dowpin;" using "whingers" (swords or dirks) to the effusion of blood, &c., there were "*scurgeing* (or whipping) of ane woman throw the toun," of "ane theif," of "ane vagabund," &c. *Banishment* from the "burght and baronie, and gif ewir thai be fund thairinto again, to be reputt as wordy of deid" (death), for trespassing "amangis wither menis stuff, pulland, steilland, or ruggand of ye samyn"—*Branks* and *Jougs* for "flyters" and malicious people—*Dowkin* (ducking) such as of Jonet Fawside"—*Stocks*, and "gif James Speir latts the beists that he poyndis away, but satisfaction of party is content to lie in them xxiv. houris"—*Burning on the Cheek* or *Branding* as of "pure (poor) common beggaris," unless that "thai depart furth of this toun within xxiiij. houris"—*Goifis* for "fische wyfis" who are to "abstene from regrating (forestalling) of ye mercatt, under the pane of putting on"—*Amends and Repentance to the Kirk*, for breaking of "aithis (oaths) and to fulfill sic injunctiones as ye Kirk will devyss for ye samyn"—*Amends in public*—"John Benyng is ordainit to cum to ye mercatt croce on Munonday nixt, and thair upon his kneis ask God and Marione Scott's forgiveness thairfor."—*Homage and Repentance* "in the Hie Kirk of Glasgow for ye said slauchter, withe sic circumstances and cerymoneis as sall be ordainit and devysit," &c.—there were, besides, *Fines* imposed, of greater and smaller amounts, and *Crying down of the freedom of Burgesses*, "be ane officiar upone ane mercatt daye on ye cors for trublance of the toun," &c. These illustrations are not, however, quoted as by any means giving a complete view of the Magistrate's labour in this branch of his office in the Tolbooth.

The *Scourging* or *whipping* alluded to must have been painful and humiliating in the extreme. The delinquent was stripped to the bare back, attached to a cart tail, and attended by the town officers—the hangman presiding in his uniform. So many lashes were given

at the Cross; and next, this deplorable procession moved through several of the contiguous streets, and at each of certain stations or halting places were laid on a number more, we suspect, *in whole*, exceeding the Jewish "forty stripes." The last instance of female whipping was in 1793. A case happened within my own recollection (perhaps thirty-five to forty years ago), of two men publicly whipped and pilloried for, I think, cutting or weakening the rope of a hutch by which the operatives descended to a coal pit, but timeously discovered to save life. The ancient *banishment*, or *drumming* out of the town, as it was commonly called, sometimes extended no farther than to Gorbals. *Branks* (of which I have examined an old specimen) was a sort of iron case which covered the back part and top of the head, with an iron strap that firmly bound up the lower jaw, often put on those of unbridled and calumnious tongues. In some instances, in addition a small piece of iron was introduced into the mouth to prevent the motion of the organ of speech. The *Jugs* or *Jougs* might, not much later than twenty years ago, be found dangling on the Tolbooth steeple, near the "houf door." A pair suspended from the wall by an iron chain of about sixteen inches in length, and at the end of each chain was attached an iron collar for encircling the neck. They hung about eight feet up, and the persons confined in them must have stood on some stone or block of wood, placed on the pavement for proper elevation. It used to be great fun for the boys to catch them for "a speel up the wall," as they termed it. However much the cold bath may be desirable and recommended by physicians, the *Dowkin* (or ducking) had then been rather a tremendous affair. The Kirk as well as the Magistrate appear to have considered it salutary both for men and women; and, accordingly, we find a pulley ordered to be erected on the Old Bridge, whereby the incontinent might be let down and submerged in the Clyde. The *Burning on the cheek*, no doubt performed with a hot iron, must have been a barbarous operation, which sturdy beggars and other idle vagrants experienced. We are not, however, to conclude that there was inhumanity displayed to the deserving poor of the town, who, on the contrary, were treated most kindly. *Stocks* affected the feet, by limiting the prisoner either to a horizontal or to a half upright position, while the *Goifis* were likely to have been a kind of gloves, or manacles, or hand-cuffs. In the various descriptions of *Amends, Homage, and Repentance*, both of a public and private character, the Magistrates, in their judicial sentences, seemed sometimes to have

played a little into the hands of the Kirk; indeed, taking a survey of this department of those remote times, the Kirk and the civil power had often copied each other, and cannot very well be separated. The pecuniary *fines*, which need no commentary to explain, occasionally assisted somewhat to garnish the civic exchequer. In comparatively modern dates to those just mentioned, the *Pillory*, in the form which I recollect, was a large red painted machine, that may have been about ten or twelve feet high. A cross piece of wood, rather below the height of a man's ordinary stature, was perforated with six or seven circular holes. The upper half of this piece of wood was moveable, and the neck being inserted into one of these holes, and the wood fixed down, the face projected, without the possibility of turning it away. Within was some board on which the culprits supported themselves, and who appeared with a slight inclination of the body forward. The machine stood at the Cross, the centre of the four diverging streets, and at two o'clock on a Wednesday the culprits were exposed an hour, and for each quarter of the hour made to front each street. In this pitiful condition, the "babes in the wood," as they were popularly phrased, had to submit to every kind of derision, and might think themselves fortunate if they escaped being pelted with dead cats, mud, and rotten eggs, from the ruffians among the crowd of spectators. A modification of the *pillory* was that of "*standing on the stair-head*," as it was commonly called. This was a wooden platform above the "*houf door*" of the steeple, with two of its sides defended by an iron rail, on which delinquents, also on the market day, were submitted to the observation of the multitude. The latest occurrence of this kind which I remember, was that of a woman for the resetting of "bowl weft," with a spyndle or two of the cotton yarn about her neck, and a printed paper on her breast setting forth the circumstance. For the variety of offences committed, and the petty misdemeanours incident to society, there was verily no lack of ingenuity in getting up whatever were opprobrious and derogatory to human feeling.

The punishment which was the severest doom of the law presented the melancholy spectacle of *death by hanging*. In times of remote antiquity, the *place of public execution* is noticed as being on the Gallowmuir, at the east end of the city, from whence we have drawn the title of one of our streets leading to the Cross, viz., the Gallowgate, or *Gallows*-gate, or *road* to the gallows. The place was afterwards changed to the *How*-gate-head (or *Hollow* gate, from a

deep cavity in the highway, filled up about thirty-five years ago), on the north side of the city beyond the Cathedral, and was again changed to the Castle yard, the ground of the Archbishop's castle, near the present Infirmary. At what period the gallows was first erected on the two last-mentioned sites is not ascertained, but executions are stated as far back as 173 years, which must have occurred at one or other of those spots. This frightful engine—the gallows—as I have understood, was a permanent fixture. A coarse representation of it may still be seen cut on a stone of the wall of the Cathedral on the north side, a few feet up, to commemorate a hangman's grave, dated 1769—a high post with transverse beam for suspension, and the ladder on which the criminal ascended, who was pushed off by the executioner. It is thus *mathematically* described and immortalised by Professor Moor of Glasgow, in a MS. piece of invective against some one of his *friends:*—

> "And when in airy dance he dangles,
> Upon two sticks set at right angles;
> When on his throat the rope impinges,
> His neck will then be off the hinges;
> Let him cut capers in the air,
> The world and he will then part fair."

On these mournful occasions, we are informed, "the criminal was led out from the Tolbooth at the Cross, arrayed in a loose dress of white linen with trimmings of black. His arms being pinioned, he had his station at the end of a cart, on which lay extended before his eyes the coffin or shell in which his body was about to be deposited. He had an open Bible in his hand, and was usually attended by one or two clergymen, who encouraged him in his devotions by the way, and aided him in his preparations for eternity. The magistrates of the city, preceded by the town-officers with their halberts, and accompanied by a strong military guard, formed the procession. On its arrival at the *Bell o' the Brae* it stood still, when, occasionally, a verse or two of a psalm were sung, the malefactor himself giving out the line, and the multitude raising their hats in token of sympathy, whilst every window adjacent was crowded with spectators. The affecting ceremony was sometimes performed in front of the Almshouse in Kirk Street, where the tremulous notes of the criminal were intermingled with the plaintive intonations of the passing bell, and the whole catastrophe was summed up by a psalm and a prayer, and frequently a last speech at the place of execution."

About 1788 the *place of public execution* was transferred from the Castle yard to the outside of the Tolbooth at the Cross. The gal-

lows had then likely undergone the improvement upon the former clumsy plan. When required, a large scaffolding was put up, extending from the "*houf door*" of the prison onward to the west. On the floor of this erection was placed a red painted table, ascended by a few steps, and on this table the hangman and the criminal stood, before the former drew the fatal *pin* or bolt which loosened the machinery and launched the criminal. A huge projecting beam was fastened to some part of the Tolbooth, from which all day swung the rope, as an admonitory lesson to the passers by. Part of these apparatus lay till lately in the entrance to the crypt of the Cathedral.

The first execution I ever saw, when a mere child, held up in a man's arms, was that of Adamson and Scott, two engravers, for forging the note plates of, I think, the Ship Bank. They were well dressed in black, and their fate was much bewailed by the inhabitants, having previously borne a respectable reputation. From no peculiar pleasure in such scenes so much as the imposing spectacle of the masses assembled, I attended for many years of after-life at every execution, and the then sanguinary criminal code offered not rare opportunities. When a condemned mortal was left by the Lords of Justiciary, six weeks elapsed till his execution. During this period much interest and pious earnestness were felt for him generally among the citizens—for whether or not deserving his unhappy fate, he was always an individual for commiseration. In all religious families he was specially recommended in their domestic devotions to Him who hears "the prisoner's groans and sighs;" and in the churches on Sunday the precentor regularly read aloud his line to the congregation and minister—"Remember in prayer a man under sentence of death." The scaffold was erected in the course of the night before the day of execution; and from the vicinity of the "*iron room*" to the spot, the prisoner might hear the knocking of it up. Many curious people waited on the street all night to witness this operation, as well as from sympathy to look to the window of the cell and scan the thoughts of its short-lived tenant. The momentous hour of execution was at three o'clock P.M. on a Wednesday. The dinner hour being mostly at two o'clock, afforded liberation for the working classes, who flocked in prodigious numbers to the scene. All the villages around the city contributed to the throng, and it was proverbially said that "when a hanging was in Glasgow, Paisley was emptied." Many who were morbidly fond of such exhibitions, even came a much farther distance. Along with the outpouring

of the city inhabitants, every window and house-top were crowded that commanded a view. Some who considered themselves pretty high in the world did not think it below their dignity to be present. It was currently reported that a *lantern* storey of the old "Merchants' Land" opposite, was often appropriated to magistrates' wives and their children. By the time the hammer of the bell of the Cross steeple had struck the doleful hour of three o'clock, the three streets—Saltmarket, Trongate, and Gallowgate—were densely packed, each as far down as a distinct sight could be obtained, and the moving swell of sometimes thirty to forty thousand persons was, to say the least of it, really a sublime spectacle. Surveying the immense mass of human heads, nothing was more singular to the eye than the innumerable white *mutches* or caps of the women. All in a species of breathless silence, there were to be discerned in slow movement on the scaffold the criminal, attended by the hangman, with usually a clergyman or two, and some of the authorities. Often a longer and shorter time elapsed in bidding adieu, and offering up prayers, but which seldom exceeded ten minutes. The criminal and hangman then mounted the table, and the latter proceeded with his preparations by adjusting the rope, placing it round the neck, putting on the white night-cap, and giving into the hand of the pinioned arms of the trembling criminal the white handkerchief for his last signal. In a minute or two afterwards the handkerchief was dropped, the hangman drew the bolt or pin, and the criminal suspended, writhed his body, struggling with his last enemy—Death. At this moment the excitement throughout the assembled multitude was intense. Weeping might be witnessed, deprecations and curses heard, and the mingled opinions whether the criminal had got justice or not in his trial and exit, and whether he died soon or not, as gathered from his convulsions. In the hum, noise, and confusion, resounded every here and there hoarse voices that bawled out for sale ready-manufactured halfpenny *broadsides* of the "last speech and dying words" of the criminal. After hanging an hour, he was cut down—the shell or coffin destined to receive the corpse lay on the scaffold, and, if his crime was that of murder, it was conveyed immediately on a cart to the College for dissection. The scaffold was forthwith taken down, the spectators dispersed, and the Cross resumed its ordinary appearance.

The last execution at which I was present at the Cross was that of *a highway robber, named* Ferguson. He was a little well-built man,

and I believe never gave any signs of penitence, and suffered in his usual apparel of coloured clothes. He appeared in his latest moments to have been in a fit of anger, throwing away the signal handkerchief as far as his bound arms permitted. Through some mismanagement the drop fell but imperfectly—his feet clung to it, and for a few minutes, between it and the rope, his body was only half suspended. The vociferations of the crowd were deafening. The hangman, whether he had speedily retired or was frightened from his duty, never came forth. One of a company of soldiers who always guarded the scaffold on these occasions, generously mounted it, and extricated the criminal's feet with his bayonet.

From a deep rooted antipathy that functionary, the *executioner of the law*, was regarded with abhorrence, and by men even of more than ordinary minds. I recollect of a hangman who had a house within a public market, then on the east side of Montrose Street. It was perhaps convenient that he might be there located, to collect from particular commodities sold what were called the "hangman's dues." He kept to his market domain very closely; but woe to him when he ventured out. Any sort of indignity was deemed too lenient for such a wretch. The most of schoolboys had a deadly hatred to him, and I cannot conscientiously clear myself of not, along with other juveniles, throwing stones at him, when we judged ourselves at a safe distance from "Hangy." Very considerately did the magistrates set apart a lodging in the new Jail, or the "*Stone Frigate*," near the Clyde, for the last of the tribe, Mr. Thomas Young. It must be allowed that in respectability he was of the best of his order. The quiet old gentleman (who was known but to few of the public) I frequently saw in a good black suit (none of the old-fashioned glaring livery) taking his forenoon walk round the Green, accompanied by his dog, and when they had both snuffed sufficiently the "caller air," rested themselves on one of the "*summer seats*." A venerable citizen, of varied learning and information, an intimate acquaintance of mine, was in like manner accustomed to take his forenoon walk in the Green; and, by-the-bye, frequently fell into conversation with Mr. Young, whom he described to me as a civil, communicative man. I knew he was not aware of his accidental companion, and I presumed on the liberty one day of explaining to him the *status* of his associate. Could you conceive of one who had been struck by a thunderbolt, and immediately again recovering his senses, then you have an idea of the surprise of my acquaintance.

A shower of his youthful verdant reminiscences of contempt for the official at once became powerful, and I believe that, for a considerable time afterwards, he denied himself the pleasure of his favourite walk in the Green, in case of being recognised by the functionary.

In the foregoing remarks, I have brought before the members of the Society, a few, perhaps, of the more striking points belonging to the Old Tolbooth of Glasgow. I claim for them no originality whatever. My purpose is served if they assist in inducing the members to future investigation and discovery, as the field is wide, and also important and curious, in illustrating many sections of Glasgow Archæology. The Tolbooth and the Cross were both long the scenes of the principal stirring events which occurred; and around and near them may be said to have been concentrated the largest proportion of the wealth, industry, and intelligence displayed by our ancestors. When I began this Paper I had no idea it was to be so lengthy, for which I claim the indulgence of the Members. Commencing such a subject, I am ready to run to an extreme; besides, to adopt the language of an elegant writer, "It is a useful exercise of the mind to pursue any truth through a course of circumstantial evidence."

NO. III.

ON THE LETTER OF GUILDRY, AND THE MERCHANTS' AND TRADES' HOUSES.

BY

LAURENCE HILL, Esq., LL.B.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 6th December*, 1858.]

In the carefully prepared "*History of the Guildry and Merchant House of Glasgow*," by the late Mr. James Ewing, many years Dean of Guild, it is stated that, "in the sixteenth century, violent contests arose between the merchant and the trades' ranks respecting the government of the city. The merchants had exercised the whole sway, monopolised the magistracy, and assumed the sole right of managing the funds. The trades, who were more numerous, insisted on a participation of office. The animosities which had arisen from this source were at last allayed by a submission to Sir George Elphinston, then provost of the city, the parson of Glasgow, and two ministers of the city, '*anent their privileges, places, ranks, and prerogatives.*'" The award of these arbiters is the Letter of Guildry; and as during many years prior to the enactment of the late Parliamentary and Municipal Reform Bills, by which it was so effectually altered, I had the honour of holding the office of Collector and Director of the Merchant House, and had much occasion to observe both the accuracy and liberality of Mr. Ewing, I confess I was surprised, and perhaps mortified somewhat, to find in a recent publication, not merely the accuracy of our Merchants' House account and traditions impugned, but an undue attempt to disparage the character or zeal and regard of the mercantile class, or those who, whether *de facto* or *de jure*, or both, were in the government of the city at the time, for the reformed religion, by exalting the character or regard in that respect of the sister house of which the Guildry consists, and a flippant and scornful allusion to some of our ancestry as "serfs," and

particularly to the antecedents or causes of that letter as "a mere squabble," and to elevate or change at the same time the real dispute into a case of religious warfare or feelings, which, so far as I have had occasion to observe, did not exist between the two classes of disputants. The objectionable passage, and the publication to which I allude, is by my friend Mr. George Crawford, and I particularly refer to the epistle dedication prefaced to "*A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Trades' House of Glasgow*," printed at Glasgow in the present year, 1858, and addressed to the Deacon-Convener and other respectable gentlemen, who, I daresay, will not object to, but rather fully concur in any observations I may now submit. "I soon perceived," says Mr. Crawford, "that the 14 Incorporations, of whose federal union the Trades' House is the result, existed while *the inhabitants of Glasgow were the serfs* of the Roman Catholic Archbishop, who ruled supreme, and as the Lord of the Barony, and latterly of the Regality, appointed the Magistrates; and as I found that *some recent* writers," among whom he afterwards specially enumerates Mr. Ewing, "had represented that the Letter of Guildry of 1605 proceeded from a mere *squabble for precedence* between the merchants and tradesmen of Glasgow, I thought it necessary," says he, "to glance at the history of the city itself, in the view of testing the accuracy of this statement. This convinced me that what is treated as *a mere squabble* for precedence was the struggle of the craftsmen, who had early imbibed the principles of the Reformation, for the maintenance of these principles against the supporters of Popery, and latterly of Episcopacy in Glasgow; although it suited the interests of these supporters to represent it as a local squabble for precedence." I confess I have seen little or nothing entitled to be called a test or new evidence, or evidence at all, in my friend's publication, of any dispute either about religious principles or about this thrice repeated squabble for precedence, or even of "squabbling" at all, as preceding or resulting in the Letter of Guildry, excepting it be the old story about John Howison, which occurred in the Cathedral in 1581, or nearly a quarter of a century before; and there seems anything but the expected evidence, "or test of accuracy," in the petition to Parliament in 1587 (of which I certainly do not recollect seeing any previous publications), representing the then ruinous and decayed state of the city; and which was, before the Reformation of religion, "interlynet and uphalden by the resort of the parsons, vicars, and other clergy," and bearing the names or supplications, doubtless, of as

many honest tradesmen or craftsmen as merchants. This document is the last in date and order of the documents or facts referred to by my friend in the chapter preceding that titled "The Letter of Guildry," which sets out with the names of Mr. Ewing, and the other writers, who are there again told of their base misrepresentation of the grand religious struggle of the crafts as a "mere local squabble," or "dispute for precedence." Now, in evidence of the greater accuracy and propriety of Mr. Ewing's account of our municipal differences, I refer you to the letter, of which I have here the original, for your inspection, under the signature of no other than His most gracious Majesty King James the Sixth, dated the 28th September, 1606, addressed to three of our citizens, two of whom at least, Messrs. Robert Rowatt and Mathew Turnbull, we find in the list of the Magistrates about that time; and there His Majesty expressly states his "understanding the chief ground of your differences at that cittie to be a question amongest the equallity of merchants and craftis in the government of the town." And he gives his recommendation that the councillors elected should be "the most wise, discreet, and peaceable men. One half of them were to be merchants, the other half crafts, according to the rules," says he, "that we have sent you enclosed." The enclosure, or rules said to be enclosed, I am, contrary to expectation, unable to lay before you. I was so fortunate as to see them for the first time about three or at most four years ago. They were also superscribed by his Majesty, and written on a large sheet or sheets of paper, in precisely the same somewhat peculiar but distinct MS. as the above letter, which last I had not then seen. I was then only in Scotland on a visit, and I had no opportunity of copying them or getting them compared with the rules of election set forth in the Letter of Guildry, or the other terms of our municipal constitution. But as the document showed clearly what the constitution was which His Majesty wished to give the city, and was now become of an interesting nature—(and in truth I do not the less so regard it from only now observing that the above letter is dated at the time of the first annual election, immediately after the award of Sir George Elphinston and the other arbiters, with which possibly His Majesty may either have then been unacquainted, or perhaps even been dissatisfied on some points)—and as I have the most distinct recollection of the paper, and of the small folio volume of several collected MSS. in which it was bound up, I announced to you my intention of applying to the gentleman in

whose collection both documents were, to have it, in order to lay before this Society; but, on doing so, we found to our astonishment and regret that what I was in quest of had somehow been abstracted from the folio volume in question. I would fain hope that it may yet be found, or that a duplicate of it may even be found in some other repositories. The letter, however, which I now exhibit to you, sufficiently demonstrates its interesting character, and is, I submit to you, a very decisive "testing of the accuracy" of the statement as to what the Letter of Guildry of 1605 proceeded from, as given by Mr. Ewing, being greater and more to be depended on than that now, and for the first time, given by Mr. Crawford upon that subject.

To the other expression in the dedication, or the assertion that the 14 Incorporations constituting the Trades' House "existed while the inhabitants of Glasgow were the *serfs* of the Roman Catholic Archbishop," I can as ill reconcile myself. The statement is equally improper and incorrect. If it be the occupants or rentallers of the neighbouring lands, from which the Archbishopric or Church revenues were derived; whom, as I rather suppose Mr. Crawford must mean to indicate or include under the term or character of serfs, because they possessed or cultivated the lands mentioned in the "*Inquisito David Principis Cumbrensis de terris ad Ecclesiam Glasguen pertinen C. A.D.* 1116," of which I have now, by permission, the privilege of exhibiting the authenticated copy received from the Scots College of Paris before these documents were again abstracted or said to be lost at the time of the first French Revolution, I can also assure Mr. Crawford he is egregiously mistaken both as to any idea of such parties or occupants and possessors of the land favouring the Catholic in preference to the Reformed religion, and as to the nature of their holding or the tenure of their lands. Church vassals, or churls, as that word has been contracted, in one sense they no doubt were, and such necessarily were all the landowners in almost the whole district of Clydesdale, with the exception of those in Renfrewshire, all of whose infeftments, I may remark, gave the title by courtesy of baron, as that of laird is now elsewhere given to the owners of land, and also with the exception of those of the Hamilton, Mynto, Maxwell, Fleming, and some other military barons. And for the character of these churls in our own immediate neighbourhood at least, it may be enough for me to refer to the case of the proprietors of Lambhill, with whom our citizens have some good cause of acquaintance, although I could also refer to others who have held their lands immediately at

and after the Reformation, whose religious sentiments are well known or demonstrable. But I will here refer only to the narrative of the first charter by the Crown, taken from the original saisine, which I hold in my hands, of Mr. Hutcheson, dated 2nd January, 1595, in which it is stated that the rights of these rentallers of the Archbishopric were, "*for time past the memory of man*," always estimated and reputed as equally sufficient to them as if the lands had been disponed to them, although the want of regular feus or charters unfortunately did not enable them to contend against the exorbitant demands for compositions and feudal casualties with which it was the wish of King James the Sixth to enrich his favourite, the Duke of Lennox. If the term serfs, however, is to be held as applicable only to the inhabitants of Glasgow, who were engaged either in merchandise, or trade, or mechanics, but who were not landowners or Bishops' rentallers, I still equally object to the statement as applicable either to the merchants or craftsmen, or any other parties. Then, as to the existence of the fourteen Incorporated Trade Associations now constituting the Trades' House, all of whom are said to have existed during the supposed era of serfdom, it would certainly have been desirable that, instead of the most meagre simple allusions to the dates of the early charters of the Corporations of Hammermen and others, of 11th October, 1536, or 1546, or 1556; 27th February, 1558; and of 4th June, 1528; of which charters and their dates, I have no doubt, we had been favoured with copies at length of these interesting documents, which are not printed in any of the accounts or annals of Glasgow, at least that have fallen into my hands; and this regret, extends, of course, most particularly to the charter so shortly quoted from, as given to the masons on 5th October, 1057, of which I have some recollection as having, many years ago, seen a copy; but I was under the impression that it had referred rather to the mystic ties existing between the Mason Lodge of St. John's, Glasgow—which, I believe, is admittedly as old as, or older than any such in Scotland—and our Grand National Establishment, or Association, than any connection with the respected civic body called the Trades' House of Glasgow, which I had no idea whatever of apparently dating so far back as the days of Malcolm Canmore, or so long before the annexation of England to the Crown of Scotland. Then as to the latest but one of the incorporated trades—that of the Barbers. The account of this respectable body, to whose profession belonged the most popular of our Scotch poets after Burns, and many

another man of talent, and which profession, with the clergy, I believe, at a very early date, monopolised nearly all the learning and skill of Europe, begins in these terms:—"The Barbers.—The Surgeons and Barbers were united under a charter granted by King James, dated 30th November, 1559. A gift to *them*, under the Privy Seal in 1599, was ratified by Parliament 1672, chap. 127, Charles II." But I must take the liberty of being more than sceptical about the existence of any such charter of union, as that dated 30th November, 1559; and as to the alleged gift to the barbers, or to the supposed united trade incorporations of surgeons and barbers, in 1599, said to be ratified by Parliament in 1672, it would seem that the sketchy historian refers to the Royal Charter or grant forming the constitution of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, dated 29th November, 1599, but for the unfortunate difference of a day as to the date, and the fact that there is not one word about the union of the barbers and surgeons, or about barbers at all, in the gift or charter to which I allude. And again, it so happens that the very first authentic mention which, after considerable pains and inquiries, that I know took place in regard to the history of the surgeons and barbers, or barber-surgeons, that was to be found at Glasgow, or reference to the barbers or their craft, is dated the 22nd day of June, 1602, and is in the following somewhat naive terms, which I quote from the Act Book or Records of the Royal Faculty:—"It is statut and ordained that barbers, being ane pendecle of chyrurgerie, shall pay at their admission fortie punds Scots, and ilk yeir of 20 shilling to the puir, and limited not to midle wt any thing farder belonging to chirurgerie, under the paine of five punds toties quoties, and shall pay to the clark of the calling for his beuking threttie shilling Scots, and to the officer twel shilling."

I must also beg leave to express some doubts about the Regent Murray's gift to the Incorporation of Bakers of the ground at Partick, on which their first mill was built, in reward of the aid its members had afforded him. Of the antiquity of this corporation, and its important services to the king's troops at the time of the battle of Langside, there can be no doubt. But there is in Dr. Cleland's *Annals of Glasgow*, on whose authority Mr. Crawford, I presume, has relied, the account telling how, at a sumptuous entertainment or civic feast, immediately after the battle—"Having expressed his obligations to the citizens for their fidelity and bravery, and particularly to the heads of the corporation, the Regent desired to know if

in return he could be of any service to the corporation. This condescension was so unexpected that *no immediate reply* was given. At length Mathew Fawside, who was deacon of the bakers, thinking this a fit opportunity, informed the Regent that the corporation he represented liberally supplied the army with bread, and so forth, and that if it pleased His Highness to give the corporation a grant of the mill, it would be acknowledged as a public benefit. This oration had the desired effect, as the Regent instantly gave the corporation a grant of the mill and lands connected with it."

"———! vulgique secutum
Altima murmur erat——Donec Laertius Heros
Adstitit—atque oculos paulum tellure moratos
Sustulit ad proceres. Exspectatoque resolvit
Ore sono—neque abest facundis gratia dictis."
————————"Si mea facta requiris."
————————"Doceo quo fimus alendi."
"Proposita arma peto—meritis expendite causam."
————————"Ecquid Facundia posset
Re patuit."

But, for my part, I believe as little, perhaps less of the worthy doctor's account of Deacon Mathew Fawside's oration and its effects as I do of the interesting fable of that of Ulysses seeking and obtaining the armour of Achilles, of which the doctor seems appropriately enough to have adopted the style to illustrate the eloquence or conduct of his supposed Laertian deacon after the battle of Langside; and perhaps it may be regretted, if my information on this point be correct, that in the foundation-stones of the mill last erected by the honourable Corporation at Partick, there has been deposited a plate giving the doctor's version of the acquisition of the mill and mill lands, without sufficiently inquiring into its accuracy. For, in the first place, it does not appear, so far as some inquiries have gone, that there was any such deacon of the bakers as Mathew Fawside at the time of the battle of Langside, unless, at least, he or "his father afore him," perhaps, should have actually been in arms there, in Professor Pillans' sense of the words; while it happens that there was a Deacon Mathew Fawside in the year 1663, or a few years less than a century after the battle, and the doctor's own record or series of these deacons, which he elsewhere happens to give, begins only with the year 1604. And again, it appears that about the time of "this real Mathew Fawside," an Act was obtained from the Scots Parliament, in the solicitation of which, it is probable the corporation minutes will show, he took an active and useful part, for the dissolution from the sheriffdom and annexation to the town of this mill, to

which the doctor, with great pre-historic vagueness tells us "it appears the town had also acquired *some kind* of right." And as we know it was the custom of early ages to confound one benefactor with another, and deify or attribute the origin of all good—real or supposed—to the powers of him whose memory they last cherished; thence, I have no doubt, arose the learned doctor's mythology and the account of the persuasive eloquence of another Mathew, which Mr. Crawford seems also to have received for gospel. The real truth is, that Regent Murray, as well as King James himself, were by no means so thankful and so quick in making any reward for the services rendered at the battle of Langside, or anywhere else. Liberal enough in promises they likely, and, I believe, truly were; but it also so happens that one of the worthy gentlemen with whom my friend, I am told, now under review claims family connection, Mr. Thomas Crawford, of Jordanhill, who is most scandalously chronicled by him as one of "the landowners in the neighbourhood who had acted with the Roman Catholic Archbishop in working the magistracy and political influence of the city," &c., and as "being Papist in heart," was certainly, as Mr. Crawford states, provost of Glasgow in the year 1577-1578; and he it was who had the merit, who, by one of the most daring and dexterous exploits recorded in our Scotch history, surprised, attacked, and took the supposed impregnable Castle of Dumbarton from Lord Fleeming, of Cumbernauld, who was holding it out for the Popish party. He also was present at the battle of Langside, and received, like the bakers, a promise of reward from their good friend Regent Murray, for his services; but the reward was not so "instantly" given. But true it is, and it was but fair that the Provost's turn should come before the Deacon's. He, after much solicitation, I believe, received from the Crown, only on 10th March, 1573, a charter of the mill and other lands in the neighbourhood of Partick, after which, I think, it is most probable that he gave the "some kind of right," which Dr. Cleland mentions, to the town of which he was provost, or perhaps exchanged the mills and mill lands for others in the neighbourhood. At all events, there is earlier and more lasting or tangible evidence of the indebtedness of the citizens of Glasgow or the neighbourhood to him, than either to Regent Murray, or that rough-spoken Presbyter, Mr. John Howie or Howison of Cambuslang, for he almost immediately evinced his good will and public spirit, and his desire to promote education, in founding the first bursary that was instituted at the College of Glasgow, by a

deed dated 26th July, 1576, in which he is designed *Dominus hereditarius et empluteolicus molendini de Partik*, and grants a chalder of meal to be annually taken, as it is to this day, for the support of a bursar in philosophy, out of that mill and the mill lands thereto belonging, and also by building the bridge over Kelvin at Partick, which still stands there, having his name and arms with, it is said, the following inscription beneath—quaint but not altogether inappropriate, perhaps, to the present attempt at vindication of the character of our quondam Lord Provost:—

> "He that by Labour does ony Honestie,
> The Labour goes—the honor bides with thee;
> He that by Treason does ony vice also,
> The shame remains, the pleasures soon agoe."

A word more on another of the corporations of the Trades' House—the Cordiners, of which their charter, dated 27th February, 1558, is said to be in excellent preservation. I would like to see it in return for informing them where I accidentally saw, some time ago, one of their earliest, if not actually the earliest, of their minute books, in much better preservation than, I fear, can be said of many other documents.

NO. IV.

JOURNAL OF A SOLDIER IN THE EARL OF EGLINTON'S TROOP OF HORSE, ANNO 1689.

TRANSCRIBED FROM HIS MANUSCRIPT BY

GABRIEL NEIL, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 6th December*, 1858.]

PRELIMINARY REMARKS BY THE TRANSCRIBER.

The little parchment-covered manuscript pocket memorandum Book now submitted to the inspection of the Members of the Society, may of itself be deemed a curiosity; and, from the narrative which it contains, it is additionally of interest, as referring us back to some of the stirring incidents that immediately followed the memorable British Revolution of 1688.

To the reader of history it is unnecessary to enter into the details that characterised this great event in the Annals of Britain, from which we reap many of those blessings of religious and political freedom now enjoyed. The fact is well known, that with feelings of deep fervency and gratitude the citizens of Glasgow hailed the advent of William, Prince of Orange, to the throne. During the preceding reigns of Charles II. and James II. they had suffered much in their lives, their liberties, and their estates, fully warranting them heartily to desire a constitutional alteration in government. It may simply be mentioned as a tribute of their loyalty, that a regiment* of 500 soldiers was raised in Glasgow, and sent to Edinburgh to guard the Convention of Estates,† who met on 14th March, 1689; and, also, as a noticeable circumstance, that on 2nd July, 1689, the Magistrates and Council were elected *by a poll vote of all the burgesses*, in consequence of the effects of the Revolution.‡ The fine equestrian statue erected to William III. at the Cross, so familiar to every eye,

* This regiment then got the name of the Scotch Cameronians, and, subsequently, the 26th Regiment of Foot.

† *Annals of Glasgow*, by James Cleland, 1816; Vol. I., p. 20. ‡ Ibid, p. 21.

along with its noble inscription,* may therefore be looked upon as of more significance than the mere pageantry of artistical embellishment.

There were, however, in other parts of Scotland, many disaffected persons to the new settlement of affairs; some of them of no mean power and note. These were chiefly confined to the northern Highland districts. It is alleged against these parties that they could have had no sufficient pretext for war and opposition to the government except through a love of plunder; but this charge may be harsh enough, and we should at least give them credit that, although with no important public principle for which to contend, they, no doubt, from a native affection and a generous sympathy, deplored the fate of the extruded Monarch, and sighed for "their ain Stuart back again." Be that as it may, to suppress the turbulence of these mountaineers, who, with Colonel Cannon at their head, made frequent depredations on the neighbouring country, General MacKay and Sir Thomas Livingston were despatched, with large forces, on behalf of Government. The Battle of Killiecrankie, fought on 16th July, 1689, was a severe blow to the future prospects of the rebels; and, according to what may be gathered from the MS. narrative before us, the principal proceedings which had afterwards happened were, in pursuing the "rogs" from place to place, apprehending them, and gaining, in occasional skirmishes, small advantages over them.†

Alexander, Earl of Eglinton, was at that time one of the Lords of the Privy Council of King William, and also one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. Doubtless, with the view of aiding the cause of the King, his royal Master, he had collected a body of men, under the designation of the *Earl of Eglinton's Troop of Horse*, in which the

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* Optimo Principi
Willielmo III. Britannarum Regi, Pio, Forti, Invicto,
Cujus virtute consilio et felicitate
In summo Sæpe discrimine spectatis,
Federati Belgii civitatibus tantum non deletis,
Insperata parta est salus;
Britanniæ et Hiberniæ
Religio Purior, Jura, Libertasque
Sub legitimo piorum Principum Brunsvicensium
Imperio sunt transmissa;
Intentatum Denique a Gallo toti Europæ
Servitutis jugum est depulsum;
Hoc immortalium meritorum monumentum,
Labente Septimo post obitum lustro,
Summo Senatus Populique Glasguensis
Plausu acceptum,
Posuit Civis Strenuus et fidus
Jacobus Macrae,
Coloniæ Madrassianæ Exprœfectus.
MDCCXXXV.

† The clans, wearied with repeated misfortunes, laid down their arms by degrees, and took the benefit of a pardon which King William offered to those who should submit within the time specified in his proclamation.—*The History of England, by Smollett, Edit.* 1828, p. 6.

Author of the MS. had enlisted in May, 1689, and in which he continued for two years, though bringing down his *Journal* only till 10th November, 1690, a period of about eighteen months. While in the service he appears to have kept a regular account of his own military movements in the troop, and also of those in the progress of the main armies, so far as the latter had come under his observation; and had subsequently, at his leisure hours, extended his notes in his pocket memorandum book in the manner in which we find them. In respect to the peculiarities of his MS.—the handwriting is of a good style though not easily deciphered, the orthography is irregular, and from beginning to end of the composition he is regardless of punctuation, and of the ordinary divisions into sentences and paragraphs. Notwithstanding, by a careful study of the contents, they form a plain, clear, and succinct narrative, in which there is conveyed a lively idea of what he intends to represent, and the valiant trooper may be discovered toiling in his marches over muirs and mosses, and through mountain passes, faithful in the discharge of the various duties assigned him.

Unfortunately, the *surname* of the author has been abraded from the parchment cover of the pocket book with the exception of the initial R., and we know no farther of him on this point than that his *Christian* name was *Alexander*. A memorandum at the end of the Journal is as follows,—"The 27 day Nover, 1695, my father was infeft in Cairnbrok and Balfiroch—the clark was Alexr. griarson; John Camell, Jam. M'Kie, Tho. Doibie, John Carsall, witnesses; John Ros, James Blair, wt. ym." The two landed Properties noticed, namely Cairnbrok* and Balfiroch are situated in Wigtonshire, and from his father having been the proprietor of them, the parentage of the author had been respectable. In Notes of his business transactions (including another department of the pocket-book), he frequently alludes to his father as the "old man," and to his "brother," and it is therefore probable that he was the younger son of his family. After his return from the troop, his pursuits appear to have been those of a grazier and rearer of cattle, for which Galloway is still famous; and, on reference to his annual Inventories, his stock of "nolt, milk cous," &c. was numerous. Many of his book entries give the current prices of such live stock in "dollors, miled crouns,

* By a rather singular coincidence Cairnbrok was that of which the *millionaire* John Ferguson, Esq., residing at Irvine, died infeft, whose munificent benefactions for benevolent and literary uses are almost unprecedented.

half-crouns, pounds Scots, grots, &c., it having at that period been customary to reckon both in English and in Scots money. Some of his building operations from their primitive specifications will amuse modern architects, and on this topic we may be excused for quoting an example *verbatim*.—"The yeir of God 1702 I came out of Litel Galdinock to Mikel Galdinock to live, and that yeir I bulded 21 cupell raike (a range of 21 couples or rafters) of houses, and laide the lofte of the chamber 30 dailes in it 27 lib.—a put 8 doore loftes up with 8 paire of bols and bans, evry doore havinge 3 fire dailes in them being 24—5 windows, 5 fire dailes, they havinge 15 paire of bands—the halle hath, and the chamber, 2 hunder turfe of hether, and 4000 scobs—the 2 houses at the end of the close a hundred turfe of hether 5 kleus—the stabel four-score and tuo turfe 4 kleus—the barne 9 score a turfe and 9 hether kleus—the litel barne 5 score and 5 kleus—the litel stabel 33 turfe 2 kleus—tuo men 20 days bulding stone wall at sixpence a man 12 lib.—5 bols of lyme to doore and window chikes at 2 sh. ster. the boll 6 lib (Scots)—Kile 3 days 2 men." We have thus in the foregoing, together with a list of the materials used, some insight as to the expense of erecting, and the amount of accommodation in a homely Gallovidian *steading* 156 years ago, the buildings apparently having been wholly constructed of turf, heather, deals, and *splints*, the door and window "chikes" or *rybets* only being favoured with a *tasting* of mortar, and, moreover, what in those days would be thought an ornamental feature of the plan, a *dry stone* dyke fencing in the premises. Through similar jottings and glimpses, he may be traced from 1694 till 1704 industriously and attentively engaged in the occupations of a man of his class.

The narrative of the author in its particulars bears every mark of genuineness and authenticity, and as a fragment relating to the troubles of the times is of considerable historical value. The MS. book in question to which we are indebted for it, was, I believe, found by a workman in the rubbish of a building several years since, and was placed in my hands. In adverting to this accidental occurrence, I may advise that those persons who are in possession of old Title Deeds, Papers, or similar Documents, should carefully preserve them till examined, as they may contain much valuable information both to themselves and to others. It is rather, I may add, an inconsiderate mode of argument indulged in by some individuals, that such *writings* cannot possibly be of use to any one, and on this account,

without ceremony, they are consigned to the flames, whereas, for the very reason that they are old, it ought to induce special care of them.

With these few preliminary and explanatory remarks, we shall proceed to read that more interesting portion of the author's biography —the JOURNAL:—

> ALEXANDER R——* aught this book, and in [it] ye will ffind ane account of [all] his marches during the tym he [was] in the earll of eglintouns [troup] of hors; he was inlisted in that [troup] in May 168[9] and continued therein for tuo yeirs, when the troups of [hors] was reduced to dragouns and then he com aff.

May 1689 I marched to aire wt Sir James Agnew who was my Lootenant wher the troupe was, and yr we stayed ten days; And then we marched to new mills, and ther we stayed eght days; And then we marched to glasgow being the 26 [day] of May, and ther we wer 2 days; and then we marched to carntilloch, and ther we wer 2 ds; and then marched to Stirling, and ffrom thence to Dumblen, and then to the Castell of dromond which was the Chanslars hous, wher was Captain bryce company of ffot keping garrison, and ther we stayed till the Later of June; but whyll we wer ther we wer always of partys: the 3d after we went ther, I was on of a detachment of twentie hors that was sent to the toune of Muthel; and then marched yt night and cam to my Lord mardeis hous, wher we took soum men prisonars yt had been in rebellion; and that douing we returned back to our standarnd wt the prisonars, and from thence they wer sent to dover. And wthin 4 days our wholl troup marched being in the evening, and before the dauning of the day we cam to the Loch of weims being 30 miles, wher ther was a Litell claghan wher we expected till a met wt some of them yt was in rebellion; but finding non of ym, we returned back marching doun through glenamont; and be the toun of criffe, and [then] to dromond wher ye garison was. About ye 28 day of June, 89, our troupe marched to dumblen, and from thence to the toun of doune, untill we cam to a Lairds house who was in rebelion; And the nixt day we marched to dumbartane, wher we Joyned Captain benats troup of hors, wt thrie troups of dragouns, and glenkerns regment of fott, and Angus

* The MS. here, as well as from accident to the surname, has in several places suffered from age and decay, so that occasionally a few supplemental words [enclosed within brackets] became necessary better to follow out the sense. In all other respects the orthography and characteristics of the MS. have been scrupulously preserved, punctuation *only* added.

regment of fott, and Argyls regment of fot, all under Argyls comand; And then Marched in throw the Lenox, and yt night cam to the head of the gear Loch, where we camped all night; the nixt night we camped at Arencaples hous, the nixt day we marched to the head of Loch fyn, coming doun through M'Nechtans Land burning all yr houses, here they being in rebelion; And nixt cam to Inrera, wher we Joyned Captan yong wt a detachment of five hundred men that had bein sent in to Lern sheir in the begining of June; And ther we camped a fortnight waiting for prowisone that was till a com by sea to us from glasgow; And then we wer to [have] Joined generall M'Caie that was Lying wt five thousand men at the breas of atholl, but our prowisone not coming so soon as expected by ye reson of contrar winds, generall M'Caie, the hig[h]land men Ingaged where gilicrankie was ffoughen, generall M'Caie and his armie returning back to the Lolands againe; we heiring of it Argyll marched with us back, the first days march being to M'Nechtans Land, the nixt to Loch goyel, wher we boted all the fot sending them over Loch Long to the Lenox, the hors marching six myells further to a nerouar part of the Loch, the bots being all ordred to meit us ther when ye fot was over; and from thence we marched till we cam to du[m]bartan wher we camped 2ds; and then we marched to Killpatrik; and thence to glasgow wher we stayed 4 days; and thence we marched to Cader; and from yt to Campsie wher we Lay eght days; and on of them nights the hilland men cam to the Mount above the toune, driving all the Coues and yeous belonging to the contrey men yr about; the gentell men yt coming in to the toun wher our quartermaster was, who comanded ye half of ye troupe yt Lay yr, desiring erneslie yt he would asist ym in persewing of the rogs, and in geting of the contrey mens goods back againe; he causing the troumpat sound a hors, we all mounting about midnight, we marching doun to duntreth, falling in by the back of ye mont wher yr was a pass, wher we expected to a mett wt ym; they geting notice of it that we wer in yr perseut, made yr escape in be Loch Lomont, losing all the catell: the contrey men finding yt we had regained all yr catell, give our quartermaster a grait many thanks, and tould him so long as we wer to stay yr we should pay nothing for man or hors; but within few days the generall give out a rout to us to march to sant Janston; the first day we wer to march to Stirling; the nixt to Sir John dromond of Machames hous who was in rebelione; the nixt day to Perth, wher we stayed eght days being quartred some in ye

toun, and some at Bousie, and some at Moor toun, and some at Skone, Angus regment being ordred by Cornall ramsay who was Comidant to march to donkell; the toun heiring of yr coming all the men went out of it and left the touna to ym, marching into Canons armie, and giving him ane account that yr was only a regment of men com, and fixt a garisone in the Markwis of atholls hous, they desiring aide from Canon, and they wold be at ym out of the toun, which acordingly he did grant ym, they returning back be the toun and fyring upon the outer sentris, which so soon as we hering tell of it my Lord Cadrous wt tuo troups of dragouns, our Loetenan and his troupe of hors, and Captan benat and his troupe of hors, marched wt out orders of the Comidant, and was agains the wakning of the day within tuo myells of donkell, wher we fixed our sentries and refreshed our hors till day light, and yn marched in throu the water and toun, and drew up in the back of the toun in the midell of barly, wher Loetenan Cornall Cliland cam out to us with a grait many of his oficars, shewing us of the highland men upon a mont that was above the toune; So we were ordred to goe into the toun to refresh our selvs, and to be redie upon sound of trompat; which imediatlie yr after the trompat sounding, ther was a detachment of hors and dragouns under the comand of Captan benat and our Loetenan, in order to march to the mont wher the hilland men was: so soon as they noticing us advancing touards ym retired all in throu a wood, we persewing after ym and took four of ym prisonars, and got 7 or 8 hors; And yn returned back in to the toun that night. And the next dauning we noticed their campe, and fyers upon the face of the mont above the toune, and they wer beting in our outer sentris; so the nixt morning they wer all drauen up weiting neir nyne hundred of ym upon the mount, and so yr was a detachment of fourtin hors men, and fourtine dragons comanded by our Loetenan and Cornat Livistoune to march up, and veiw ym, and to bring in notice; so we marching touards ye enemy, ther was neir thrie hundred of ym, in the back of a litell stony knou, som of ym being in ambush; we march tourds the tope of the litell hill expecting none neirer then thos was on the face of the mont, receved the most pairt of all ye thrie hundreds fyer, Cornat Livistoune being shot throu the Leg, myself being wounded, and tuo or thrie of the dragouns; so kiping our ground untill such tym as Captan Monro cam up with a company of men, they seing us geting aide sster back to the body of ther men; we perceuing kiled one and tuentie of ym; they Joyning ther body we retired

back to the toun, wher the rest of our men was, Cornet Livistoune and the rest of the wounded being put in the Cassel and yr wounds dressed; then our wholl body of ffot and hors marched tourds the enemy, we Lying clos ouer against other, skirmising and fyring all yt day with litell Lose; And yt day Cornal ramsay who was our Comidant wrot to my Lord Cardros ordring him to return wt hors and dragons; Cardros writing back giving him ane account, that hors and dragons was feu aneuch in regard the enemy was so numrous; but he would not alow of yt, but ordred us in all haist to return wt the kings standart to St Janston wher he was, which we did, and stayed yr 7 days untill generall M'Caye cam to St Janston, wt Sir John Lynirs regment of hors, and Colchesters, and princes anes, and tuo regment of dragons being english men; And then the generall with Lynirs regment of hors, and Colchesters, and princes anes of dragons, And our troupe, and my Lord Ross troupe, and Captan benats troupe of hors, with six regments of fot marched, being in the begining of September 89, and marched to donkell; and in marching throu the water ther was ane Inglish man drouned caled havrog; the nixt day we marched up the water of tye, and camped in glen lyons Land; the nixt day we marched till we cam to the cassell of blair in atholl, ther we camped ten days; And all that tym the highland men cam in to the generall [to] maik up yr peace; and yr after fixed a garison at blair in atholl, and yn marched back to donkell; the nixt day we marched to Sant Janston, and yt night we cam to the brige of Trone, and stayed yr till we wer ordred to march to abernethie; and in the midell of October I cam hom with my Loetenan and stayed a month on forloff, and then we returned back wher the troupe was at Stirling; And then nixt day we got a rout ordring us to march to Carstorfine; the first night to Lithgo; the nixt to Carstorfine; And wt in ten days I was one of a party of six hors, that was sent in to the Mers to ses for deficiancie of ses yt the gentell men of yt contrey was ouing, And was in yt contrey six weiks but for the most pairt in the toune of donts; and yr was on day being about the last of decr 89 that Robert ffergusson and ane of ballhevens troupe caled John Witherspone and I, went from donts doun the water of whitilar, and be the toune of Chirnysid, and fouldone, and be the boullrod, till we cam to Berik in Ingland; and within a day returned to donts where the rest of the party was; and within feu days we went out to was in a little toun all up said lintone, from thence we went to Kelso toune, and was a night

yr, and from thence to Liteltenis hous at menthorn, where we wer all night, and receved our ryding mony; and then returned to donts to alexr. Lorns wher we quartred; the gentell men yt was deficient of yr ses in yt contrey was Sir Alexr Portious, Fieldine, Car, Hardeker, Ledikirk, the laird of Swintone who wer a qualaty. The 6 day of Januar 1690 we returned back be Locker-mekers, and by danskin, and cam yt night to Heding toune, wher we met with Mr Zekiall Montgomerie who was clark to our troupe; the nixt day Robert fergeuson and I cam throw tranent, and muselbrugh, and cam to eder that night; nixt day to carstorfine wher our standart was; stayed yr till ye later of Januar, and yn the troupe was quartred, some in the west kirk parich, som in Cramont, and some in Ratho, and som in Curie parich, and som in Cramont, Alexr boyd and I receving our Localitie from ye Laird of Drylas tenans; ther was five of us quartred in James Lies in the moton holl, ffrom the begining of fever till the 7 day of May, being Robert montgomerie who was one of our brigadirs, Walter montgomerie, Alexr boyd, Alexr Ros,* Robert ferguson, and our brigadirs man, each man receaving from our Leadre a boll of corn and stra conform in the weik; with six shills. Scots a day, and our brigadir a Shill, we granting a receat for it; Alexr boyd and I cam in to gal[a]way in march, and was back at the moton holl against the midel of it; at which tym ye parliment sat doun, and our troupe gairded the Comisonar till such tym as the Kings gaird relivd us; the 7 day of May we was caled all into eder, and yt day we marched to the quins fferie wher we halted, and yt night cam to Inder Kidine; the 8 of May marched to Kinros, 9d to faklan, and was quartred [in] the pariches adjacent, such as freuchie, markins, Leslie, kinros, Stremiglo, achtermuchtie, and was in yt contrie till the midell of June, but always on parties, tourdas Sant Andros, New brock, Couper of ffyfe, and several other places; And about the 18 day of June we cam to sant Janston, wher generall M'Caie with eght thousand men was camped in the north inch; And the nixt day we marched for the highlands each man of us ordred to have eght days provisone, marching 6 myls above donkell to glen Lyons Land wher we camped 2 d[s]; but upon the morow being the 20 day, the generall comanded a brigadier with tuo troupars, I being one of ym, to goe back to the reir guard that was at sant Janston, and order ym to stay there untill tuo ministars cam to us, we to conduck ym to the

* Since writing the "Preliminary Remarks" it has been suggested, and with the utmost probability, that the name of the author of the MS. was *Alexander Ros*, in this passage enumerating himself as *one* of the five "quartred in the moton holl" farm.

armie; but they not coming we marched within 4 days, not overtaiking the armie till they wer in braemar which was six and fortie myls, we going from St Janston in the afternone, marching in all haist to couper of Angus, being ordred by the generall to march be aberdine, and thence to joyn the armie, it being the safest way for a smal partie; but Cornat Livistone who comanded the reir gaurd, and Capten Durie who was ane Ingyneir, finding a neirer way, presed a guyd and marched throw the water of Tyla, and marched verie hard till we cam neir glenbog, wher we went to refrech our hors; but the hillan men knowing of our being yr fiyred neir 20 shot on us; but being in the night tym did us litell harm; Cornet Livistone caling for the gyde askt him if he knew ye way, but he told if it wer day he wold know it; So being mounted [all] on hors back till it was neir day, being ready to atend the enemys motione; So in the dauning we marched up through the bog ower Kernwel mont, wher we cam in sight of our campe, and when we came into the campe we drew up before the generals tent, the generall asking Cornet Liviston, and captan durie, why they did not obey his order in marching be aberdine; but they told him that they found a neirer way, so he told that give [gif] he had lost anie of his men by coming yt way it wold a bein worse wt him; so he ordred each man to goe to his oune standard; and imediatlie they decamped and marched 18 myls in tourds the midell of braemar, wher being sad straitned for provisone, and som of us went out to Looke for Cous or yeous, wher fynding thrie or four cous and fyring at ym, on of M'Caies regment shot one of Argyls regment; the nixt day we marched untill we cam to Collinakyll on the water of Spey, wher Sir thoms Livistons was wt his regment of dragoons, Angus, and grants of ffott, and ther we camped 2 days; and then marched to badinoch till we cam to rivan of badinoch, and camped yr a night; and yn marched to Clounie M'fercens; And in marching yr our Cornets man his carabin went of and shot him in at the okstar, and out at the tope of the sholder, who died within thrie days; nixt night to the head of Lochaber, wher in marching the enemey cam doun a mont expecting till a had som of our bagage, but was beat back with our rire guard, losing yr highland plyds wt what bagage they had; so we camped in a holow on Labor water, and the highland men cam to the brink and fyred neir a hundred shot in on the campe, which med a grait alairm, the wholl camp standing at yr arms all night; the nixt day on our march 2 hundred of ym ingaged our wan gard but was bet; major M'Caies

company ingaging first wt ym, and ther was tuelv of ym kiled, and som taiken prisonars; yt night we cam to Kepochs Land; the nixt to Inderlockie, wher major ffergusson wt the detachment, and tuentie one hundred men was, that had bein sent to Mull and Jura, and som of the westren Isls, to supres the hilland men in the hinder end of apryll, and captan polenger wt other four men of war had come to Inderlochy, and landing major ffergusson and his men at Lochhels hous, where they intrenched themselvs till generall M'Caie and his armie cam up, and then joyned our armie, wher we camped neir a 20 days, being sore straitned for provisone by the resone we expected the ships wold [arrive], and furnised us; however stayed there till such tym as the trinch was mad up caled ffort William, and tuell hundred men Left in it, Cornall hill, Governor: And about the midell of July the generall wt the rest of his armie returned back, marching 5 myls up the water of Lochy, pasing the water nire the korn mils wher som of the ffot was drouned; marching the nixt which was about the 19d of July doun glen ley till such tym as that we cam to the head of the water of roy, ca[m]ping in a glen al night; nixt day marching down the water of Roy till we cam to badinoch, and camped in a waley called blarie belonging to Macintosh; and on the morow ye generall with [a] detachment of thrie hundred hors and dragons marched to rivan of Badinoch, myself being one of ym, wher ye generall placed a garison of grants men, we returning to the camp of blairie yt night; nixt day marched to Lochgarie, nixt days march to blair in atholl Cassel, nixt days march to Litel dunkell; and yt night yr was a detachment of ten out of everie on of six troups, with 30 dragons comanded doun the water of tey, to som gentell mens houses yt was in rebelion, Captan Dill who was our generall adjacitnt Comander of ye parte; but found non of ym only geting some hors and nolt, taking ym along to St Janston wher ye armie had marched, wher we camped 3 days; nixt marching to black forde; nixt days march be Stirling and Sant ringans, till we cam to dunepece parks; nixt day being ye beg[in]ing of agust marched to Bathgat, wher our troup Lay 2 days; And then we were quartred in Lenrick shyr, in munkland, and St Lourane parich till the 16 day of Agust, which day yr was detacht myself out of our troupe ordred back to West Cader, wher Captan who comanded that partie was of men, And 10 of Lord newbotels 10 of polwarts, and marched be pentlan hills, Linton toun and pibels, and ouer minch more, and then doun the water of

yearou till we cam to new work upon yearou; and in the dauning cam to Selcrik, wher we took on thomas berie yt was one of ye cabalars; and yt day marched to Jedart, the morow we cam to Capt benats hous, and I was on of a partie of six hors comanded into the fot of Chiviches hills to one Sandie burns hous on ye water of bomont wher we stayed 2 days; and then we cam doun ye water till we cam to yelim toun, wher we met wt Captan benat; and yn cam doun the water of Kyll, till we com to Cliftons land ouer against morbitel, and within 2 days we marched to Kelso, and returned back to our quarters yt night; and the morow being the 23d of augist we marched to Jedbruch wt thoms berrie prisonar, and to morow returned to our quarters at Clifton and stayed till the last of Agust; and yt day the captan of ye wholl party marched all night be N[ew]ark, and yn touards Carlyll, wher we took the Laird of Dinkbyers and his son and Arthur foster and several others, whyll we wer in that contrey: the 2 day Septr we marched back be inverla mont and cam to Jedert with ye prisonars; And on the 3d returned to our old quarters neir captan benats hous wher we stayed till ye fift day; and then marched to Kelso, and ye 6 day to dalkith, and the 7 day we cam in to eder to guard the Comisonars, staying yr till ye parliment was ajurned; and yn the partie went over the water, marching to St Janston wher ye troup was, I staying at eder untill my hors recovred that fell unwel; and yn marched to Lith the 21 day October, and went ouer the water landing at Kingorn, and yt night went to an english mans hous neir markins; the nixt day went to perth wher the troup was, staying yr till the forth of nover. being the Kings birth day; and that night tuo of our men caled James Kirshin, and Walter Montgomerie, and I, faling in a clamper with som Dutchmen, the Captan of the gard coming comanding to silens, And we resisting him, not knowing him to be captan of the guard, and throwing him in the dirt, and disarming a serjan, then the wholl guard coming and disarming us, and puting us in prison under the hands of the provo; and then we being examined, and I being found the man gulty in abusing the captan, then the provo being ordred to put the ffetters on me, and so to continue untill a Counsel of war wold be holden on me; but our troup geting orders to march to Kilmarnock to ther winter quarters, Lifftenan dromond with severall other oficars, Interceding with Captan Mora who was Comidant, that I shold be set at fridom to march with the troupe and not a counsell of war helde, which throw ther moioun being granted, and the morow being the 6 day

nover 1690 the troupe marched to Ochtriarder, the nixt night to Stirling, the nixt night to glasgow wher we stayed tuo nights, and then cam to Kilmarnock being the 10 day of nover 1690, and stayed ther till the troup of hors and then [here the narrative breaks off].

(Transcript, while being read, compared with the original MS. by LAURENCE HILL, *Esq.)*

NO. V.

REMINISCENCES OF THE GLASGOW CUSTOM-HOUSE, TRADE OF CLYDE, STEAMERS, &c.:

BY

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The earliest notice which I can trace regarding the Glasgow Custom-house, is the report of Mr. Thomas Tucker, who was commissioned by Cromwell, in 1656, to introduce order into the Customs in Scotland; from which we learn that duties were in these days imposed equally on exported and imported goods, and that the revenue from Customs duties in Glasgow then amounted to £554.

We also find, from the same report, that no larger vessel could come up to the Broomielaw than those carrying from three to six tons.

This amount of revenue, taken in connection with the very limited capacity of the vessels which could then come to Glasgow, seems unaccountable, when we consider that the Customs duties are, or were, for a long time past, confined to goods imported and exported. Still, at the early period alluded to, when the excise department was in its infancy (being first established by the Long Parliament in 1643), I conclude that the Customs had charge of the collection of revenue on goods brought into the town by land carriage; besides, the revenue referred to could not possibly be applicable to either Port-Glasgow or Greenock, as the ground for laying out the former town and harbour was not feued till 1662, nor the quay at Greenock begun till 1707.

The fact of the establishment of a Custom-house at Glasgow prior to 1724 is undoubted (although the date of commencement is unknown), there being still an order extant, dated 5th September of that year, appointing a Mr. Blair collector there in room of a Mr.

Loudoun, and authorising the new collector to continue to rent, as the Custom-house, the same large chamber in the coffee-house kept by Mrs. Shields that his predecessor had so occupied, likewise the cellar for the King's Warehouse, all at the annual rent of six pounds, together with four shillings yearly to her servant for cleaning the office and putting on fires, which was certainly not an extravagant allowance, being only equal to about half-a-farthing per day. I cannot discover any notice of the place where the coffee-house was situated.

The next mention of the Custom-house is in 1757, and it was then situated in Stockwell Street, convenient for the bridge, and although the King's Warehouse was within a hundred yards of the office and fronting the street, it was broken open on the 9th April, 1761, about mid-day, and several casks of spirits and some tea carried off.

In 1765 the Custom-house and King's Warehouse were on the east side of Madeira Street,* described to be on the north side of the Broomielaw; which premises getting greatly out of repair, another removal took place, in 1779, to the second flat above the ground storey of the *then new* tenement fronting the Broomielaw, described to be opposite the middle of the Quay, and situated at the south-east corner of Madeira Street foresaid, with the King's Warehouse attached, which had been let with the former Custom-house, and which was situated higher up that street. The then described *new* tenement is still standing, but Madeira Street is no longer known, the more humble appellation of Wood Lane being now the recognised name of the opening.

As the tenements lately forming Madeira Court, in Argyle Street, were due north of Wood Lane, and as Jamaica Street was not formed till 1763, nor the bridge at the south end of that street opened till 1772, it is probable that Madeira Street, although previously laid out, was abandoned in consequence of the superior advantages which Jamaica Street acquired by the erection of the bridge; the intermediate space between Wood Lane and Madeira Court, being, for many years subsequent to the opening of Jamaica Street, occupied as an extensive wood yard. The opening of Ann Street through this property is comparatively of recent date.

The Custom-house was again removed, in 1791, to an apartment in the street floor of the northmost of the three self-contained lodg-

* Madeira Street is laid down in Barry's map of the city attached to Gibson's history, published in 1777.

ings, having a double flight of steps in front, then situated on the west side of Queen Street—the whole tenement had for several years previously been rented as a dwelling-house at £50 per annum. The removal at this time was made in order to suit the trade of the canal, as well as that of the Broomielaw; Queen Street being then the most centrical, as well as the nearest *direct* communication between these places; Buchanan Street then going no further north than what is now Gordon Street, and none of the streets westward went farther north; and it will be considered an extraordinary circumstance, contrasted with the state of matters in the present day, when I state that it was reported, 7th September, 1791—"there is not just now a house empty in Glasgow."

The next removal was in 1797, to a half-sunk apartment of about 18 feet square, in the south-east corner of the large lodging which stood at the head of Virginia Street, the site of which as well as of the garden behind, bounded by Ingram Street, is now occupied by the Union-Bank.

In 1803 the Custom-house was removed to the south-west front apartment on the ground floor of the Assembly Buildings in Ingram Street, now possessed as the Athenæum.

Another removal took place in 1808, to a street flat in the large tenement in Union Street, at the south-east corner of that and Argyle Street.

In 1815 the Custom-house was again removed to a self-contained lodging on the west side of St. Enoch's Square. When this building was taken possession of by the Crown the rest of the houses in the square, with the exception of the Surgeons'-hall, were all private dwellings; and by the time the Custom-house was removed therefrom, in 1840, there were not any of the buildings therein occupied as dwelling-houses, all being converted into shops or places of business.

The last removal of the Custom-house was in 1840, as above mentioned, to the present premises in Great Clyde Street, the ground for that erection having been purchased by the Crown at £3 per square yard, free of feu duty or ground annual, and the house built expressly for the Custom-house. A government architect, however, was sent to Glasgow in 1836, in consequence of directions from the Lords of the Treasury, with the view of reporting fully to their Lordships upon a proposal for purchasing land and erecting a building capable of uniting the Customs, Excise, and Post-office departments under one roof; as, also, the sum which would be required to purchase land

and erect a Custom-house only. The local authorities disapproved of uniting all these departments, as suggested, considering that the two latter should be kept about the centre of the city. The Excise Office was then in Miller Street, and the Post-office in South Albion Street; and, consequently, the parliamentary vote of £14,800 on the 26th June, 1837, was restricted for the ground and erection of the Custom-house.

This building, according to the plans fixed upon, was erected, and, including the price of the ground, only cost about £13,000. It may, at same time, be proper to mention that the Crown was not indisposed to allow the erection to be made more ornamental than that fixed by the plans, provided the extra expense was furnished from local sources.

The Custom-house and Excise Office at Greenock were erected in 1818, under one roof, at a cost of about £30,000; and parliament, in 1853, voted £45,000 for the erection of a Custom-house and Excise and Post Offices at Belfast, and it is believed that a larger sum will be necessary.

The ground so purchased for the Glasgow Custom-house formed, prior to 1736, part of the land occupied as a bottle-work, and so continued till after 1830. The bottle-work company purchased the same from the Town Council of Glasgow by disposition dated 14th May, 1742, wherein the land is described—"the plot of ground lying at the foot of the old green *and* the Broomielaw."

This old green is described by M'Ure, the historian, in 1736, as "lying close to the south-west corner of the city;" and it further appears, by the *Glasgow Magazine*, to have been then "the fashionable promenade;" while the Broomielaw Quay at that date extended eastward to the outlet of St. Enoch's Burn, which is now situate immediately west of Dixon Street. The bottle-work premises extended continuously from Jamaica Street, along Great Clyde Street, to the lodging built by Mr. William Gray, jeweller, (No. 72,) now possessed by Messrs. John Poynter & Son and others.

A military guard, consisting of a corporal and three privates, were continuously kept on the Glasgow Custom-house from 1785 till about 1818, and was only withdrawn on a reduction in the army.

From time immemorial, fresh and cured fish were mostly brought to the Broomielaw in open boats, and sold on board, or at the north-west end of Jamaica Street Bridge; but the Harbour Trustees having removed the market, about 1840, from the west to the east side of

the bridge, and the shed and stone tables of which partly extended to opposite the Custom-house, the Crown officers procured a perpetual interdict, dated 24th January, 1845, prohibiting the Trustees from constructing or using any erection on the ground between the River and the south side of Clyde Street, opposite the Custom-house, or opposite any part of the ground contained in the contract of ground annual entered into by the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow in 1804, "except such cranes, sheds, or other buildings of that nature, as may be necessary for the improvement of the navigation or the port of the River Clyde." The contract also contained a clause, introduced on the suggestion of the late Bailie Hood, that should the ground be afterwards required for harbour purposes, it was to be restored on the price paid under the contract being returned. This reservation greatly benefitted the Trustees when the ground was so required.

In connection with the sale of fresh fish at the Harbour, I may mention that, till about thirty years ago, the Water Bailie was furnished with a pretty liberal sample of each boat load, in order that he might decide whether the cargo was marketable; and when there were various arrivals at the same time and his honour got overstocked, it was usual for him to send the surplus for the use of the Town's Hospital; hence this civic functionary, who was a recognised magistrate in 1664, was familiarly known by the appellation of the "Skate Bailie."

Salt made in Scotland after 1st May, 1714, was, by the eighth article of the Union, liable to a duty of 1s. per bushel of 56 lbs., and imported salt, 6s. 8d. The Custom-house officers were required to visit the salt market weekly, and cause the bagsters who pitched their sacks of salt in the market to produce proper permits for the same. The revenue therefrom, in 1788, yielded £18,043.

Port-Glasgow was constituted the head port of the Clyde towards the year 1700, Glasgow and Greenock being deputy or sub-ports thereof till 5th July, 1812, when each of them were declared independent ports. A great change has taken place since the latter date, as Glasgow has now become the port of most importance, Greenock next, and Port-Glasgow the least.

From the detections made little less than a hundred years ago, the smuggling of tobacco was then carried on here to a considerable extent, as in September, 1764, the Custom-house officers burnt at the Broomielaw, protected by a party of military consisting of a cor-

poral and six privates, 4,605 lbs. of sound leaf tobacco, and 445 lbs. of snuff; and, in like manner, on the 5th July, 1765, 2,601 lbs. of tobacco, and 543 lbs. snuff; and, again, on the 17th January, 1774, 1,245 lbs. of tobacco. Such quantities, however, do not appear of great magnitude compared with the imports, as, in 1775, out of 90,000 hogsheads imported into Britain, Glasgow alone engrossed 57,143, and at one time, shortly after the commencement of the American War, there were thirty-two ships in Port-Glasgow harbour laden with tobacco, having on board in all 14,762 hogsheads; and what would now be considered a surprising event, 47 hogsheads were removed from Ayr to Glasgow in a coasting vessel in 1771. Such large importations are at least partly accounted for by the state of the law at that time, the Navigation Act (the then masterpiece of legislation) requiring the produce of all British Colonies, and which at that time included the United States of America, to be sent exclusively to the mother country.

The commercial distress in 1793 led parliament to authorise the issue of Exchequer Bills to aid private credit, and commissioners were appointed to grant the relief under certain prescribed regulations, the particulars of which were communicated to the chief officers of Customs at Glasgow in a letter from the secretary to the commissioners, dated 10th May, 1793, and Glasgow got aid accordingly to the extent of £319,730; and it was not considered necessary to remove the goods tendered in security from the warehouse in which they then were, if they could be put into the custody of Customs or Excise officers in such a manner as might satisfy them as to their safety. *(Vide the concluding paragraphs.)*

A general embargo was laid on all vessels in the United Kingdom by an order of King George III., in council dated 18th February, 1795, with the exception of those employed in river or canal navigation, and colliers, or any vessel laden with grain to be carried coastwise; and so strict was it observed, that in the Clyde no vessel, except as aforesaid, was allowed to pass west of the Cloch and Dunoon; and even the small packets under thirty tons plying between Greenock and Rothesay with passengers and merchandise were prevented from sailing till 7th of March following, when the order was so far relaxed as to allow vessels to ply to places in the Clyde above the island of Cumbrae, but the embargo was not taken off generally till sometime after.

The high price of provisions in 1796, led to a bounty being

granted by parliament on the importation of corn and grain, which was availed of to so great an extent that the bounty amounted to £565,802, and unfavourable seasons continuing, greater and more various bounties were granted in 1800; which bounties reached in that year the sum of £1,251,479, the quantity imported having amounted to 2,259,379 statute quarters. At this distressing period a subscription was raised in Glasgow for the purchase of grain, and which was made to the extent of £117,500; but on the return of plenty prices fell, and a loss was sustained of £15,000 on the stock imported on Glasgow account.

It will sound strange in the ears of the present generation to learn that, while a convoy duty was imposed during the war from 1793 to 1802 on ships trading with foreign countries, of 1s. per ton outwards and a like rate on the return trips, a similar duty to the extent of one-half, or 6d. per ton, was charged on vessels in trading between Britain and Ireland.

Irish corn on importation into Britain was governed by the Corn Laws, and liable to duty till the free interchange took place in July, 1806. A permanent duty of 1s. per quarter is fixed on the importation of all foreign corn since 1st February, 1849.

A reduced rate of duty was first made on free-labour sugar in 1844, and extended to that produced by slave labour in 1846; and after the 5th July, 1854, the duty on *all* sugar was equalized, including British Colonial produce.

There was 6 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on foreign cotton wool in 1825; it was altered to 5s. 10d. per cwt. in 1831; reduced to 2s. 11d. per cwt. in 1834; and since 1845 this article is duty free.

Formerly the import duties on spirits, paper, leather, and other articles were partly collected by the Excise and partly by the Customs, which led to great inconvenience and delay, as officers of both revenues required to be present when any transaction took place. This grievance was removed in 1825 by placing the whole under the Customs.

The trade of Glasgow was greatly cramped prior to 1817; the duties requiring to be immediately paid there on all imported goods (except corn) on arrival. In that year, however, the privilege was first conceded to Glasgow of securing goods in warehouse under bond for the duties and the joint locks of the Crown and merchant. At first only a few trivial articles were permitted; in the year fol-

lowing more important goods were added. Glasgow was constituted an East Indian port in 1828, and the produce of that country permitted to be warehoused. A similar privilege was bestowed in regard to tobacco in 1832, and to tea in 1834. The first ship which arrived in the Clyde from India was the "Anna Robertson" in January, 1817; and the first with a cargo of tea from China was the "Cambden" in October, 1834.

The privilege of bonding alluded to had an important effect upon the Customs revenue at Glasgow, as well as upon the trade of the port, as is strikingly exhibited by the accompanying statement of the amount collected during more than the last seventy years. The river and harbour revenue is also given for the same period. The Customs, in 1787, only produced £370; in 1800, £469; 1820, £11,428; 1840, £472,563; and the year just ended, £803,356. *(See table marked *.)*

At the Union with England, in 1707, the whole public revenue of England was £5,691,803, and of Scotland, £160,000; of which sums the Customs produced, in England, £1,341,559, and Scotland, £34,000. The Excise at said period stood thus—England, £947,602, and Scotland, £33,500; and the Post-office, viz., England, £101,101, and Scotland, £1,194—the value of the exports from England at that period being £5,913,357, and from Scotland, £300,000.

There were neither wheat nor wheat flour imported into England at the Union, but, on the contrary, 74,155 quarters were exported.

The Customs duties of Scotland from 1708 to 1856 are given in the return herewith furnished, whereby it will be observed that £44,396 was collected in 1710, £122,402 in 1750, £562,468 in 1800, and £2,118,379 in 1856. *(See table marked †.)*

The value of goods exported in 1755 averaged, in England, £11,708,181, and Scotland, £663,401; and, in 1800, England, £34,381,617, and in Scotland, £2,346,069. *(See table marked ‡.)* In 1810 Scotland was £4,740,239, while the United Kingdom was £43,568,757; and the value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from Glasgow in 1840 was £2,214,320, and Greenock, £1,214,970; making together, £3,429,290, and mostly on Glasgow account. The amount in 1850 is even more, the two ports giving £4,124,339—thus, Glasgow, £3,768,646, and Greenock, £355,693. *(See table marked §.)*

The whole Customs revenue collected in the Clyde, in 1792, amounted to £169,772 5s. 7d.; in 1840, £898,580 19s. 2d.; 1850,

£1,172,958 11s. 11d.; and in the year just ended, £1,525,266 7s. 10d.

The nett public revenue of the kingdom at the accession of James I. (1603) only amounted to £600,000. When William and Mary succeeded, in 1688, it had reached £2,001,855; in 1760, when George III. ascended, it was £8,523,540; in 1830, on William IV. succeeding, £47,139,863; and on our present beloved sovereign ascending the throne in 1837, it had reached the sum of £50,663,353. *(See table marked ¶.)*

King John, about the year 1200, in order to secure speedy payment of an exaction of 10,000 marks from a Jew in Bristol who resisted payment, ordered a tooth to be pulled out every day till the payment was completed. On the eighth day the Jew's fortitude failed him, and he paid the money. By such financial means did this *mild* king provide for the public expenditure!

In the year 1784 there were at least thirteen separate and distinct rates of duty on all goods imported. A copy of an entry for twenty reams of paper is subjoined, and in that day it was the practice first to compute the duty at *twenty times* the proper amount, and by another column to shew the nett amount due, thus creating twenty-six separate calculations for twenty reams of paper, and all other articles in the same manner. This minuteness was rendered necessary, as every new loan provided, in these days, an independent sinking fund for its repayment. To do away with the trouble and inconvenience which such a method necessarily created, Mr. Pitt, in 1787, introduced his famous Consolidation Act, which at once effected the desired object. It contained a tariff of about 1,400 articles, subject to duty inwards. However, to carry this measure through parliament, upwards of 3,000 resolutions of the House of Commons were required, and the proceeds of the new tariff were carried into one fund, called "the Consolidated Fund." *(See table marked * *.)*

The war shortly after led, from time to time, to new war duties, and by 1799 the branches had again risen to ten, which brought about a new consolidation of duties, and which were again from time to time renewed, till the rates are now all embraced in one sum for each article.

The statutes relating to the Customs were in a still more complex condition, as, in 1825, there were found to be 443 Acts then in force relating to the Customs—a practical officer had been, for about five years previously, employed in rescuing, out of those passed since the

reign of Richard II. (1394), what still were unrepealed. In 1825 these old statutes were repealed, and the useful and necessary portions were re-enacted in eleven new Acts, classified into different branches for the more ready and convenient use of all having occasion to be governed thereby, and these have again from time to time been so simplified that, in 1853, all existing Customs enactments were embodied in two Acts—one the tariff of duties, and the other the necessary regulations, &c.

In 1660, there were 1,630 articles liable to Customs duties; in 1787, they were reduced to 1,425; in 1826, to 1,280; 1841, to 1,052; in 1849, to 515; in 1853, to 466; and, in 1855, they only amounted to 414.

The estimated aggregate reduction of Customs duties made between the years 1831 and 1857, both inclusive, amounts to £15,138,613. Deduct therefrom the duties increased during that period, being £4,573,521, which leaves a clear diminution of Customs duties alone, within the last twenty-seven years, of £10,565,092; of which there took place, in 1857 alone, £1,619,436; thus—tea, £1,054,637; sugar and molasses, £418,983; and coffee, £145,816, being all articles in general use, and which, unquestionably, must have added greatly to the comforts of all classes of the people.

It may, perhaps, not be considered out of place also to state, that the revenue derived in Glasgow from the Customs, Excise, Stamps, and Post-office, in 1857, amounted to £2,015,601 11s. 11d., and, in 1858, £1,821,050 5s. 8½d.; and I estimate that the whole Crown taxes collected in Glasgow, in these two years, would be £2,748,000 in 1857, and £2,189,000 in 1858.

The falling off last year is readily accounted for by the fact, and which it will be gratifying to learn, of the repeal or reduction of taxes in 1857. The loss of revenue which such occasioned in the United Kingdom was estimated at £10,753,582 per annum, and hence a corresponding saving to the public; while the only new tax imposed that year was on the solitary, and not very important article of rice dust imported, the supposed produce of which was £92.

The loss of revenue by the reduced rate of the Property and Income-tax, last year alone, was estimated at £9,125,000, and it is reasonably inferred, that Glasgow would be benefitted by that single reduction of rate to the extent of about £360,000 per annum.

THE TRADE OF CLYDE, &c.

The important improvements on the Clyde commenced, under the direction of Mr. John Goulbourn of Chester, shortly after 1770, by the erection of 117 jetties at various places along both sides of the river, which confined the channel within narrower bounds than formerly, so that the rapidity of the stream scoured the bottom and at same time confined the tide. The success of this measure was so satisfactory that, by January, 1775, vessels drawing six feet water could come up to the Broomielaw. A further improvement was the formation of parallel dykes connecting the ends of the jetties. Soon after, 1798, a few punts and ploughs were also employed, as well as a dredging machine wrought by seven men. In 1824 more decided and powerful means were adopted for deepening the river by having a steam dredging machine constructed. The great success attending it led to another being provided in 1831, and a third in 1833—these, with the numerous buckets and powerful steam apparatus, cost nearly £12,000; and, by 1855, six machines were in operation. A diving bell was provided in 1831, and found to be of so much advantage that a second was obtained in 1833.

The revenue arising under the Clyde Navigation Acts is exclusively appropriated to the purposes of the river and harbour, and the yearly increase is a great test of the success of the measures followed out, and of the progressive improvements which have taken place. In 1775 the revenue was £402; the year following it reached £1,984; in 1800 it was £3,319; in 1820, £6,328; in 1840, £46,536; and last year it amounted to £78,783.

More than two millions and a-half pounds sterling have been expended on the river and harbour within the last ninety years, without any parliamentary aid or grant from the Crown.

In 1800 the quay was wholly on the north side of the river, and extended no further west than to opposite York Street, measuring 1,142 feet. There were at that time only two cranes on the quay, both of wood, of a very clumsy construction, and capable of lifting little more than a hogshead of sugar. There were neither lights, sheds, nor police on the quay in 1810.

An addition was made to the quay prior to 1815, and it was then found to measure 2,080 feet. A further extension of 1,254 feet took place in 1828; and, at same time, 1,290 feet of quay was erected on the south side from the bridge westwards. Further extensions from time to time took place on both sides, and also a quay formed eastward

of Jamaica Street bridge (north side). The quays now measure, in whole, about 13,300 feet.

In 1800 the quay at Port-Dundas measured 1,645 feet; and now, 5,805 feet.

There were five vessels, of 274 tons, here from foreign ports in 1800 all at Port-Dundas, and only ten, of 389 tons, from Ireland at the Broomielaw; while, in the year just ended, 474 vessels, of 121,325 tons, arrived with full cargoes from foreign, and 1,014, of 231,347 tons from Ireland. *(See table marked † †.)*

In 1800 no vessels cleared out for foreign, and forty-one, of 1,919 tons, to Ireland; while last year, 834 vessels, of 239,495 tons, cleared with cargoes for abroad, and 1,485, of 258,144 tons, to Ireland. *(See table marked † †.)*

Three vessels of 552 tons arrived here from places east of the Cape of Good Hope in the four years ended in 1832, and thirteen, of 2,577 tons cleared out during that period; while, in the last year alone, five vessels of 1,728 tons arrived, and 100 of 58,967 tons cleared for places eastward of the Cape. *(See table marked ‡ ‡.)*

It is almost incredible to imagine the mighty results which have followed the fitting up with steam machinery of the little vessel "Comet," of three horse power, at the Broomielaw, within the last fifty years, contrasted with the general application of that power now in every quarter of the world, as well for purposes of war as of commerce, and how steamers are so rapidly superseding sailing vessels. Twenty-nine steamers of 17,586 tons arrived here from abroad with cargoes last year, and seventy-five, of 28,770 tons cleared out; while, in the Irish trade, the contrast is more striking, 812 of 218,084 tons having entered inwards, and 819 of 221,055 tons cleared outwards.

Glasgow vessels were not permitted to be registered at Glasgow till 1809, and even then the privilege was confined to those which traded direct from that port; and such limitation was not removed till the passing of the new Registry Act in 1824, when it became imperative to register vessels at the port where the owners resided. Prior to these dates the owners required to proceed to Port-Glasgow or Greenock for the registry of their ships. The enormous increase of ships belonging to Glasgow is established by the fact that now there are 640 ships of 228,873 tons on the Glasgow register of existing ships; while there were only 63, of 4,922 tons in 1815, and 217 of 39,432 tons in 1830. *(See table marked § §.)*

STEAMERS, &c.

Our city deservedly holds a high position as regards the successful application of steam power to useful and valuable purposes, it being here that our distinguished fellow-citizen, the celebrated James Watt, commenced his experiments on the steam engine, in 1763, in a garret in King Street, and subsequently matured those mighty discoveries which have proved so valuable and important to mankind; and it was here also that the no less important and beneficial application of that power was first successfully put into practical use in Europe in the propulsion of vessels on rivers without the aid of wind or tide. The advantages and facilities which have flowed therefrom are felt and appreciated all over the world, and have even become of such importance as to form a topic in Her Majesty's last speech to parliament, wherein Her Majesty signifies that the universal introduction of steam power into naval warfare, will render necessary the reconstruction of the British Navy.

Henry Bell, another of our respected citizens, projected, and successfully worked out here, that great and important object in the vessel "Comet," of 25 tons measurement, built in 1812. The engine was of three horse power, with a cistern of fresh water to feed the boiler. The vessel was first propelled by four wheels, having four shovel-shaped paddles in each.

The Clyde retained for several years thereafter the exclusive business of building and constructing of steam vessels; those following, with the exception of the "Archimedes," were built and fitted up there, and the Clyde still deservedly holds a high position in this branch of trade.

Mr. Bell, in his original advertisement, dated 5th August, 1812, intimated that the vessel would sail between Glasgow and Greenock, with passengers only, by the power of wind, air, and steam; and leave the Broomielaw on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays about mid-day, or at such hour thereafter as might answer from the state of the tide; and leave Greenock on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays in the morning, to suit the tide;—that the elegance, comfort, safety, and speed of the vessel required only to be proved to meet the approbation of the public; and further, that a vessel would be in readiness to convey passengers in the "Comet" from Greenock to Helensburgh. The fares were fixed at 4s. for the best cabin, and 3s. for the second, without any allowance to servants or others about the vessel. The voyage was performed from Glasgow to Greenock

in one tide, five miles an hour being generally made, even against a head wind. The "Comet" was lengthened, and underwent many improvements at Helensburgh in 1813.

The next steamer, the "Elizabeth," 40 tons measurement, having an engine of ten horse power, was built in 1813; first plied between Glasgow and Greenock, and sometime after became the first steamer that plied to Helensburgh.

The "Clyde," the third steamer, of 69 tons, and an engine of ten horse power, built in 1813, after being employed in the river trade for some time, was the first steamer that extended the trip to Gourock.

The "Dumbarton Castle," 81 tons, with two engines of sixteen horse power each, was built in 1815. The early trips were confined to Gourock, but at a later period they were extended to Rothesay. The first attempt to extend the trip to that place (which proved successful), was considered so extraordinary a feat that some Glasgow gentlemen presented to Mr. James Johnston, the commander, a punch bowl, made of cast iron,—polished, superbly painted and gilt, in imitation of Indian China. The time employed in the conveyance of passengers between Greenock and Rothesay in the sailing packets then in use, which were all under 30 tons burthen, sometimes extended to a whole day; and even two or three days were known to have taken place in the outward or inward trip alone.

The "Glasgow," 52 tons, and fourteen horse power, built in 1813, was, after plying some time on the river, the first steamer that extended the trip to Largs.

The "Trusty" and the "Industry," each of 58 tons, and ten horse power, were built in 1814. These were the first steam-lighters for the conveyance of goods between Glasgow and Greenock, in which trade the "Industry" is still employed, and believed to be the oldest steamer in the world. Before these vessels commenced, there were a great many gabbarts or lighters employed in that trade; and, besides which, it was no unusual occurrence for thirty or forty carts loaded with goods to be despatched to Port-Glasgow and Greenock for several successive nights before the sailing of convoys to the West Indies and America; and at all times a great quantity of goods were then sent by carts to ships lying at the lower ports, and goods were brought therefrom in the same manner.

The "Britannia," 73 tons, having two engines of fourteen horse power each, was built in 1815. The early trips were confined to the

river, after which they were extended to Campbelton, through the Kyles of Bute, and subsequently to Londonderry.

The "Rothesay Castle," having an engine of thirty-four horse power, was built in 1816, and plied to Rothesay. This steamer or the "Dumbarton Castle" already mentioned, was the first that plied to Ardrishaig and Inverary.

The "Rob Roy," of 56 tons, with an engine of thirty horse power, was built in 1818, according to a model furnished by David Napier, who owned and engined the vessel. This was the first sea-going steamer in Europe, and was at once put on the station between Glasgow and Belfast, and proved very successful; the cabin fare being twenty-one shillings, exclusive of steward's fee.

Mr. Napier lately gave a very amusing account of the means which he employed in preparing the model for the builders. After stating that he was not satisfied with the knowledge that he had acquired from some French books he had procured, he proceeded thus:—"I commenced a set of experiments for myself. I took a block of wood of a given size. After weighing it accurately I attached a string to it, which I extended over a pulley on an elevated frame; at the other end of the string I attached a weight. I then launched the block on the mill dam at Camlachie, which bounded my premises, and noted accurately the time the weight took to descend, drawing the block after it through the water; and every alteration I made on the shape of the block I took care to keep the weight always the same. I continued altering until the difference of time the weight took to descend was imperceptible. I sent the identical block—or model as it may now be called—to the ship-builder, to build the 'Rob Roy' for me exactly the same; which vessel was not only the first that successfully navigated the open sea, but was the fastest on the Clyde at the time."

The "Robert Bruce," 90 tons, built in 1819, had two engines of thirty horse power each, was the first steamer that plied between the Clyde and Liverpool, and was confined to the carrying of passengers.

The "Majestic," built in 1821, and the "City of Glasgow," in 1822, both of much larger dimensions, and each of them having two engines of fifty horse power each, were employed in the same trade, and all belonged to the same owners.

The "Samson," 53 tons, having two engines of twenty horse power each, built in 1819, was the first steamer employed in towing vessels up and down the river, and the first steam tug in Europe.

Prior to this period sailing vessels bound for Glasgow had to rely on their sails only, till they reached Renfrew; from thence they were generally towed up to the Broomielaw by horses, along a towing path formed for the purpose on the south bank of the river; and for the privilege of having this towing path through the grounds of Mr. Speirs, of Elderslie, the River Trustees paid him £150 per annum. The windings in the river frequently prevented sailing vessels from reaching Renfrew for several days, and the outward bound were in like manner sometimes detained, after being towed to Renfrew, in proceeding down the river. The "Samson" was a mighty acquisition, and gave a great impetus to the direct trade with Glasgow, as ships could then have the advantage of being taken in tow by the "Samson" at the Tail of the Bank, and the likelihood of reaching Glasgow the same tide; the time so occupied seldom exceeding three hours. Outward bound ships had also a like opportunity of being towed to the Tail of the Bank in the same space of time.

The "Post-Boy," 54 tons, built in 1820, engined with one engine of twenty horse power, was the first steamer that plied on our river at a certain fixed hour daily, without reference to the state of the tide. All the steamers previously plying had to sail about high water, and also to arrive near the height of the tide. This proceeding was a great boon to passengers, as they then knew the prescribed hour of the daily sailing of this vessel, in place of being in uncertainty, as the other steamers' time of sailing, as also arrival, fluctuated according to the state of the tide.

The "Ben Nevis," 44 tons, having one engine of thirty-two horse power, built in 1824, was the first steamer that traded from Glasgow to places outside the Crinan Canal; but from an iron tablet placed in the churchyard at Row, by Henry Bell, as a tribute of honour for sixteen years' faithful services of Captain Robert Bain, who died in December, 1827, it is recorded that he (Bain) was appointed by Mr. Bell to the command of the "Comet" steamboat in 1814, by which vessel a communication was opened up between the Western Islands of Scotland and Glasgow, through the Crinan Canal, in July, 1819: further, that he (Bain) was the first captain who commanded a vessel from sea to sea through the great Caledonian Canal, in 1822. I further find that the "Comet" must have gone through the Forth and Clyde Canal in 1815 or 1816, as Bell writes in the latter of these years that "she plies on the Frith of Forth, between the east end of

the Great Canal and Newhaven, near Leith. The distance by water is 27 miles, which she performs in ordinary weather in three and a-half hours, and the same down."

The "United Kingdom," 335 tons, built in 1826, with two engines of ninety-five horse power each, and furnished with copper boilers, was the largest steamer at the time in existence in Europe, and it was generally thought there was no line of trade where she could be profitably employed, considering the great expense of outfit—she was however subsequently sent to London and sold.

The "Marjory,"* of 70 tons, built in 1814, with one engine of fourteen horse power, was the first steam vessel on the Thames. She was taken south along the east coast of Scotland; and, when she reached the Thames, passed close to the English fleet, there at anchor, and her appearance created great commotion amongst the officers and men, as none of them had ever seen a steamer before, and by some was taken for a fire-ship.

The "Aurora," of 286 tons, "Camilla," 324 tons, and "Thetis," 199 tons, were the first steamers which plied between Glasgow and Belfast sailing at a fixed hour daily, without reference to the tide, and commenced doing so the 16th July, 1849, carrying the mails free of charge to the Government.

The "Britannia," "Acadia," "Caledonia," and the "Columbia," each about 1135 tons burthen, were all built in 1840, and each of them furnished with two engines of 222 horse power each, were the first steamers that plied between Liverpool, Halifax, and Boston, carrying the mails. The "Canada," "America," "Europa," and "Niagara," were built for the same line in 1847 and 1848, each about 2690 tons burthen, and fitted with two engines of 700 horse power and four boilers, the engines and boilers of each weighing about 600 tons. But these remarkably fine ships are all outstripped by the splendid iron steamer "Persia," built and engined in 1856, for the same line, the tonnage being 3,076, and having two engines of the combined power of 900 horses.

The first steamer built of iron was the "Aglaia," of 30 tons, in 1827, and plied on Loch Eck, *en route* to Inverary, was clencher built, and of a most unusual model.

The first iron steamer which plied on the Clyde was the "Fairy Queen," of 39 tons, built in 1831. This vessel was conveyed by land from the building yard at Old Basin (Hamilton Hill) to the

* Left Glasgow for London in November, 1814, and the "Argyle" followed in May, 1815.

Broomielaw, a distance of a mile and a-half, and launched into the Clyde. The iron plates were not plated as iron vessels now are, but rivetted in the same manner as those of a boiler.

The first steamer in the kingdom wrought with a screw was the "Archimedes," of 237 tons, built in the Thames in 1839, having two engines of the collective power of ninety horses. The screw was of one convolution, which was set in the dead-weight. This vessel cost £10,500, was some days in Glasgow in June, 1840, and made the passage therefrom to Greenock, including stoppages at Renfrew, Erskine, Dunglass, and Port-Glasgow, in two hours and twenty minutes.

The first iron steamer wrought with a screw propeller built and fitted up at Glasgow was the "Fire Queen," in 1845, of 135 tons, wrought with two engines, of the collective power of eighty horses.

The first steamer which plied between Glasgow and New York was the "City of Glasgow," of 1609 tons, built of iron, in 1850, wrought with a screw propeller. After making some voyages to New York she was sold, and subsequently plied between Liverpool and Philadelphia. She sailed on the second trip from Liverpool, with many passengers, but was never heard of, other than that a portion of the bow of a vessel having "City of Glasgow" thereon, in large gilded characters, was found washed ashore at Ballochgair, near Campbelton, the 25th October, 1854.

The "Princess Royal,"* of 446 tons, 380 horse power, built in 1841, and propelled with paddle-wheels, was the first steamer built of iron that plied between Glasgow and Liverpool.

The "Alliance," built of iron, in 1857, is a twin steamer, of an unusual construction, and having the cabins on deck. This vessel may be described as an entire vessel cut into two from stem to stern, and strongly bolted together, with a space of twelve feet between, wherein the paddle-wheel is placed for propelling the vessel. There is an engine and boiler in each of the halves—the vessel is still on the river.

There was a steamer formed about thirty years ago, having the appearance of a square wooden house, which rested upon two long iron tubes, some feet distant from each other, each of the tubes resembling a cigar, hence was called the "Cigar." Many experiments

* I find I was in error in stating the "Princess Royal;" it should have been the "Royal Sovereign," of 447 tons, built in 1839. I was supported in the error by the paragraph published in the newspapers, immediately after the death of Mr. John M'Gregor, partner of the firm of Tod & M'Gregor (who built both of the vessels), in September, 1858.

were made, and much money expended, but it became a complete failure.

The first sailing vessel in Scotland built of iron was the "Vulcan," built at Tophill, on the Forth and Clyde Canal, and plied on the canal.

The first sea-going sailing vessel built of iron in the Clyde was the "Iron Duke,"* of 393 tons, ship rigged, built in 1840—she sailed from Glasgow to India.

The "Glasgow," also an iron sailing vessel, of 100 tons, schooner rigged, built in 1842, was the first iron vessel which plied between Glasgow and Rotterdam, *via* the Forth and Clyde Canal. Several eminent scientific gentlemen took much interest in ascertaining, by personal observation, at Port-Dundas, the effects of the iron hull upon the ship's compass; and much valuable information was obtained, which has since proved very useful to shipping.

ADDENDA: 15TH FEBRUARY, 1859.

I have just discovered, in *Cleland's Statistics*, Ed. 1832, earlier mention of the Glasgow Custom-house than that mentioned by me at the meeting, namely, that in 1639 the Custom-house was at the south-west corner of Stockwell Street—only taken down a few years ago to make room for the present elegant erection—that on the 30th June of that year, the Town Council directed a dyke to be built at the head of Stockwell Street, and a port put therein; and a dyke to be built from the Lit-house to the Custom-house, at the bottom of Stockwell Street, with a port therein; likewise, one between the bridge and the deceased John Holm's house, in a comely and decent form, with all convenient diligence. I observe, however, in the publication *Glasgow Past and Present*, that Senex thinks this was not the Government Custom-house, but merely the place where the burgh dues, or "the common good of the city," namely, an egg out of each basket, and a bawbee for every barrel of sour milk, &c., were collected. Now, as these dues were leviable alike at every port and gate of the city—eight in number in 1736, according to M'Ure—it was extremely improbable that such an office would be placed at the utmost extremity of one of the corners of the city; while, with the then extent of the population, namely, 7,644 in 1610, and

* James M'Nair, Esq., addressed a letter to the Editor of the *Glasgow Herald*, dated Auchineck, Drymen, 5th March, 1859, stating, with reference to the "Iron Duke," that his yacht, the "Cyclops," of about 30 tons, well known to the members of the Royal Northern Yacht Club, launched in 1836, was built up to the water lines of iron, and that he sailed her for many years in the open sea.

14,678 in 1660, the amount must have been exceedingly trifling: while the Crown Customs revenue, in 1656, according to Tucker's report, was £554; in the collection of which there were employed a collecter, a cheque, and four wayters; and probably even more in 1639—as he also alludes to the shallowness of the river, *every day more and more increasing and filling up.* Glasgow was then the port of the Clyde, having attached thereto Renfrew, Arskin, Kirpatrick, and Dunbarton, and the five ports following were also within the district, viz.:—1st, Newarke (Port-Glasgow); 2nd, Greenock; 3rd, Fairley, Calburgh (Kelburne), and Saltcoates; 4th, Island of Bute; 5th, Irvyn;—one wayter being constantly stationed at Newarke, another at Greenock, and a wayter extraordinary had care of Fairley, Calburgh, and Saltcoates, who advertised the head port when any thing came thither. The official Customs records further state that, when the Custom-house was in the large chamber in Mrs. Shields' coffee-house, in 1724, that establishment consisted of a collector, a comptroller, two surveyors of land carriage waiters, and ten land carriage waiters. I therefore, on the whole, have no doubt of it being the Crown's Custom-house.

TONNAGE OF SHIPS CLEARED OUTWARDS FOR FOREIGN PARTS, INCLUDING IRELAND, UP TILL 1814, FROM GREAT BRITAIN, DISTINGUISHING, WHERE ASCERTAINED, THE TONNAGE OF THE SHIPS CLEARED FROM SCOTLAND FROM THOSE FROM ENGLAND.

Year.	Tonnage. Cleared from England and Scotland.	Year.	Tonnage. From Scotland.	Tonnage. From England.	Year.	Tonnage. From United Kingdom.
1760	647,478	1760	73,500	573,978	1814	2,447,268
1765	798,617	1764 to 66, Av.	80,354	708,008	1820	2,598,654
1770	869,617				1825	2,699,908
1775	950,613	1769			1830	2,860,515
1780	885,397	1775 to 77, Av.	98,330	843,920	1835	3,325,211
1785	1,182,346				1840	4,781,872
1790	1,573,831	1780	78,104	807,293	1845	6,031,587
1795	1,523,017	1785	127,093	1,055,253	1850	7,404,588
1800	2,130,322	1790 to 92, Av.	175,032	1,493,757	1851	8,108,104
1805	2,101,030				1852	8,242,702
1810	2,762,801	1801	192,128	1,958,373	1853	9,447,104
		1809	237,714	1,993,188	1854	9,507,721
					1855	9,538,231
					1856	11,035,915
					1857	11,703,593
					1858	11,348,281

*CUSTOMS REVENUE AND RIVER AND HARBOUR DUES COLLECTED AT GLASGOW.

Year.	Customs Revenue.			River and Harbour Dues.			Year.	Customs Revenue.			River and Harbour Dues.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1787	370	12	9¾	1,975	16	4	1827	74,255	0	1¼	14,316	15	9
1792	2,020	19	11¼	2,739	5	7	1828	70,964	8	4	17,669	14	10
1795	125	13	0½	2,836	6	9	1829	59,013	17	3	20,194	10	4
1798	2,267	16	0	3,199	1	6	1830	72,053	17	4	20,296	18	6
1799	3,456	16	1½	3,233	18	3	1831	68,741	5	9	18,932	0	7
1800	469	13	6½	3,319	16	1	1832	97,041	11	11	22,496	0	3
1801	427	17	7¾	3,400	10	9	1833	166,913	3	3	21,578	5	2
1802	1,621	13	10½	4,085	15	11	1834	270,667	8	9	22,859	14	10
1803	1,394	5	10	4,640	16	10	1835	314,701	10	8	33,676	16	3
1804	1,942	6	3¼	4,193	7	7	1836	389,702	2	10	37,544	5	5
1805	1,323	7	11¼	4,065	10	5	1837	394,144	11	8	37,644	16	0
1806	3,176	5	3½	4,299	14	3	1838	403,904	17	9	39,030	1	0
1807	6,909	17	10¼	5,000	6	9	1839	468,974	12	2	47,879	11	10
1808	3,484	16	8¼	5,472	0	9	1840	472,563	19	9	46,536	14	0
1809	7,479	7	4½	5,407	9	8	1841	526,100	0	11	49,665	15	7
1810	10,434	9	7¾	6,676	7	6	1842	503,871	11	9	40,678	16	8
1811	3,124	2	4¼	4,755	3	8	1843	497,728	10	2	43,301	2	0
1812	7,511	6	5½	4,597	19	7	1844	551,851	2	5	41,286	18	8
1813	7,419	12	8¾	5,169	13	9	1845	589,527	15	0	45,868	10	11
1814	8,300	4	3¾	5,275	6	11	1846	634,305	14	8	51,198	12	2
1815	8,422	9	2¾	5,902	2	8	1847	659,834	19	1	59,017	2	9
1816	8,890	18	1	5,843	7	8	1848	610,978	2	10	60,621	8	1
1817	6,802	1	3	7,028	0	7	1849	640,568	7	9	59,034	14	1
1818	8,384	3	4	7,732	18	11	1850	645,669	11	11	64,243	14	11
1819	11,000	6	9	7,386	2	10	1851	675,044	15	10	68,875	4	9
1820	11,428	19	0	6,328	18	10	1852	653,283	14	9	76,077	9	4
1821	16,147	17	7	8,070	2	2	1853	688,608	9	8	77,919	18	6
1822	22,728	17	2½	7,984	3	8	1854	668,556	9	4	86,580	5	11
1823	29,926	15	0	8,380	16	4	1855	700,476	17	5	73,943	9	1
1824	41,154	6	7	8,555	0	0	1856	718,800	1	1	74,995	7	9
1825	78,958	13	8½	8,367	11	7	1857	752,597	14	4	82,796	17	5
1826	71,922	8	0¾	16,204	6	6	1858	803,356	18	1	78,783	17	6

†CUSTOMS REVENUE COLLECTED IN SCOTLAND.

Year.	£	s.	d.	Year.	£	s.	d.
1709	33,360	10	1¾	1800	562,468	11	3¾
1710	44,396	14	7¼	1805	793,173	6	5½
1715	61,890	6	2	1810	1,183,776	0	2½
1720	58,575	19	10	1815	1,151,975	16	3
1725	63,726	2	0¾	1820	736,842	0	2½
1730	54,730	6	7¾	1821	772,499	10	0¾
1735	62,293	19	7	1822	175,993	16	3¾
1740	59,800	11	1½	1823	758,316	0	0½
1745	76,336	10	5½	1824	891,434	17	7
1750	122,402	14	7¾	1830	1,370,240	0	0
1755	119,328	1	8¾	1834	1,338,030	0	0
1760	173,169	14	7¼	1835	1,441,245	0	0
1765	195,438	2	1¾	1836	1,529,810	0	0
1770	249,457	4	5½	1839	1,666,399	0	0
1775	285,848	19	0¾	1840	1,699,131	17	8
1780	164,168	8	4¼	1852	1,951,981	0	0
1785	257,726	15	2	1855	2,042,396	0	0
1790	235,149	1	11¼	1856	2,118,379	0	0
1795	211,164	12	4¾				

CUSTOMS REVENUE COLLECTED IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

Year.	£	s.	d.	Year.	£	s.	d.	
1709	1,257,332	0	0	1775	2,481,031	0	0	
1712	1,315,423	0	0	1780	2,723,920	0	0	
1713				1785	4,592,091	0	0	
1714 Av.	1,588,162	0	0	1790	3,782,822	0	0	
1715				1795	3,569,360	0	0	
1726				1800	6,799,755	0	0	
1727 Av.	1,621,731	0	0	1805	13,753,714	0	0	United Kingdom.
1728				1810	16,886,655	0	0	
1736				1815	16,623,971	0	0	
1737 Av.	1,492,009	0	0	1820	14,100,521	0	0	
1738				1825	20,367,653	0	0	
1749				1830	21,084,525	0	0	
1750 Av.	1,565,492	0	0	1835	23,148,899	0	0	
1751				1840	23,657,943	0	0	
1755				1845	22,007,578	0	0	
1756 Av.	1,763,314	0	0	1850	22,194,142	0	0	
1757				1855	22,245,118	0	0	
1760	1,969,934	0	0	1856	23,481,818	0	0	
1765	2,271,231	0	0	1857	23,959,528	0	0	
1770	2,546,144	0	0	1858	24,155,852	0	0	

‡VALUE OF GOODS EXPORTED FROM SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND.

Year.	Scotland.	England.	Year.	United Kingdom.
1755 } Av.			1815	£58,629,371
1756 } Av.	£663,401	£11,708,181	1820	48,949,880
1757 } Av.			1825	56,320,182
1760	1,086,205	13,644,571	1830	69,700,748
1765	1,180,867	12,806,109	1835	91,157,783
1770	1,727,917	12,142,187	1840	116,481,015
1775	1,123,998	13,032,757	1845	150,877,902
		Great Britain.	1850	197,311,310
1780	981,199	11,363,574	1851	214,387,930
1785	1,007,635	13,656,048	1852	219,504,909
1790	1,235,405	17,636,428	1853	242,060,989
1795	976,992	22,239,793	1854	243,879,892
1800	2,346,069	34,381,617	1855	258,414,653
		United Kingdom.	1856	291,929,377
1805	2,504,867	31,064,492	1857	286,194,531
1810	4,740,239	43,568,757	1858	305,542,703

§ Declared Value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported from Glasgow and Greenock respectively, in the Years following :—

Year.	Glasgow.	Greenock.	Year.	Glasgow.	Greenock.
1839	£1,849,256	£1,136,334	1845	£2,639,217	£955,534
1840	2,214,320	1,214,970	1846	3,024,343	478,806
1841	2,007,192	839,810	1847	2,812,859	576,337
1842	1,649,349	666,533	1848	2,271,364	337,471
1843	2,261,480	660,911	1849	2,768,859	398,050
1844	2,344,888	848,478	1850	3,768,646	355,693

¶ NETT PUBLIC REVENUE AT THE ACCESSION OF SUCCESSIVE SOVEREIGNS.

Sovereigns.	Year.	£	Sovereigns.	Year.	£
James I.,.....	1603	600,000	Anne,.....	1701	3,895,205
Charles I.,.....	1625	896,819	George I.,.....	1714	5,691,803
The Commonwealth,.....	1648	1,517,247	George II.,.....	1727	6,762,643
			George III.,.....	1760	8,523,540
Charles II.,.....	1660	1,800,000	George IV.,.....	1820	46,132,631
James II.,.....	1685	2,000,000	William IV.,.....	1830	47,139,863
William & Mary,	1688	2,001,855	Victoria,.....	1837	50,663,353

**INWARD DUTY PAID ENTRY IN 1784.

*Acts imposing the several Duties.	20 Reams French Royal Paper, thus—10 Reams Atlas, Fine—10 Reams Super Royal, Fine.								
	Branches of Revenue.	Gross Money as computed on the Bills.			Nett Money as entered in Cash Book.		
12, Charles II., cap. 4,.....	Old Subsidy,.....	£20	0	0	1	0	0
9 & 10, William III., cap. 23,	New Subsidy,.....	20	0	0	1	0	0
2 & 3, Anne, cap. 9,.....	1/3 Subsidy,.....	6	13	4	0	6	8
3 & 4, Anne, cap. 5,.....	2/3 Subsidy,.....	13	6	8	0	13	4
21, George II., cap. 2,.....	Subsidy 1747,.....	20	0	0	1	0	0
32, George II., cap. 10,.....	Subsidy 1759,.....	20	0	0	1	0	0
4, William & Mary, cap. 5,....	Impost 1692,.....	100	0	0	5	0	0
7 & 8, William III., cap. 20,..	French Duty,.....	100	0	0	5	0	0
10, Anne, cap. 19,.....	Duty on Soap, Paper, &c.,	280	0	0	14	0	0
12, Anne, cap. 9,..... ...	Additional Duty, do.,.....	140	0	0	7	0	0
24, George III., cap. 18,.....	Duty on Paper, 1784,.....	140	0	0	7	0	0
		860	0	0			
19, George III., cap. 25,.....	Impost 1779,.....	43	0	0	2	3	0
22, George III., cap. 66,.....-...	Impost 1782,.....	43	0	0	2	3	0
		£946	0	0	47	6	0

* The different statutes enumerated above were not required to be specified in the entries, and they are only shewn here to illustrate the perplexity of the system then followed.

††VESSELS IN THE FOREIGN AND IRISH TRADE WHICH ENTERED AND CLEARED AT GLASGOW.

Year.	Foreign Trade.				Trade with Ireland.			
	Inward.		Outward.		Inward.		Outward.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
1795	2	85	1	30	7	343	21	981
1800	5	274			10	389	41	1,919
1805	5	325	11	706	115	6,121	235	12,917
1809	4	279	4	273	266	15,130	383	22,247
1815	15	1,138	51	3,860	131	8,021	392	23,464
1820	29	2,246	68	5,836	395	26,872	467	31,363
1825	58	6,142	56	5,990	637	42,839	512	33,565
1830	81	7,635	66	5,898	863	80,589	1,062	93,746
1835	164	19,315	154	18,359	1,129	112,032	1,610	146,327
1840	291	50,196	424	72,158	...	...	...	...
1844	316	58,816	442	83,621	...	...	...	...
1849	313	72,158	512	121,666	...	...	...	...
1857	489	138,079	868	252,775	1,154	239,394	1,773	271,678
1858	474	121,325	834	239,495	1,014	231,347	1,485	258,144

‡‡FIRST VESSELS WHICH ARRIVED FROM, OR CLEARED FOR PLACES EAST OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE AT GLASGOW.

Date.		Vessels.	Tons.	Of what Port.	Masters.	From Whence or Whither Bound.
1828.	Aug. 2.	Hind, ...	141	Glasgow,	Alex. Rodger,	From Hobart Town and Sydney.
	Dec. 4.	Margaret, ...	152	Ayr,	David Coulthard,	From Sydney.
1829.	Mar. 28.	City of Aberdeen, ...	259	Aberdeen,	Alex. Duthie,	From Mauritius.
1827.	May 2.	Tigress, ...	192	Glasgow,	Pat. Sheriff,	To Calcutta.
	June 4.	Packet, ...	149	Do.,	Jas. M'Arthur,	„ Calcutta.
	July 7.	Hind, ...	143	Do.,	Alex. Rodger,	„ Hobart Town and Sydney.
	Sept. 21.	Margaret, ...	152	Ayr,	David Coulthard,	„ Do., Do.
1828.	Feby. 2.	Welcome, ...	255	North Shields,	George Paul,	„ Calcutta.
	„ 28.	Columbia, ...	243	Aberdeen,	O. H. Wilson,	„ Hobart Town and Sydney.
	Mar. 21.	City of Aberdeen, ...	259	Do.,	Alex. Duthie,	„ Calcutta.
	April 2.	Mary, ...	251	Scarbro',	John Dobson,	„ Do.
	July 18.	George Canning, ...	119	Whitby,	Joseph Craig,	„ Do.
	Sept. 25.	Tigress, ...	192	Glasgow,	Alex. Rodger,	„ Hobart Town and Sydney.
	Nov. 15.	Industry, ...	104	Bo'ness,	Thos. Packwood,	„ Calcutta.
1829.	May 8.	City of Aberdeen, ...	259	Aberdeen,	Alex. Duthie,	„ Batavia.
1830.	Sept. 22.	Ditto, ...	259	Do.,	John Alexander,	„ Do., Singapore and Manilla.

NOTE.—No further Arrivals or Sailings at Glasgow, for Places Eastward of the Cape, up to 1st June, 1832.

§§VESSELS BELONGING TO, AND REGISTERED AT GLASGOW.

Year.	No. of Vessels.	Tons.	Year.	No. of Vessels.	Tons.
1809	10	703	1834	297	54,335
1810	24	1,956	1835	316	59,151
1811	35	2,620	1836	312	59,123
1812	45	3,400	1837	313	60,759
1813	50	3,676	1838	331	55,977
1814	59	4,829	1839	351	71,878
1815	63	4,922	1840	403	85,707
1816	69	5,728	1841	431	95,062
1817	70	5,623	1842	451	101,786
1818	74	5,523	1843	455	108,121
1819	85	6,604	1844	472	111,612
1820	77	6,131	1845	512	130,001
1821	90	6,605	1846	512	134,603
1822	94	7,916	1847	519	137,533
1823	94	8,979	1848	511	136,686
1824	111	14,084	1849	507	137,909
1825	186	31,089	1850	512	140,741
1826	219	36,048	1851	508	145,684
1827	222	35,911	1852	500	156,064
1828	220	36,965	1853	568	182,845
1829	233	40,978	1854	601	192,895
1830	217	39,432	1855	594	207,709
1831	223	39,000	1856	563	204,331
1832	244	41,744	1857	612	219,134
1833	275	49,437	1858	640	228,873

Exchequer Bills in 1793.

Mr. M'Dowall, member for Glasgow, on his return to London from that city, in April, 1793, stated to the Committee of the House of Commons (of which he happened to be a member), "that all the commercial houses and manufacturers there were in the greatest distress from the stagnation of commercial credit, and the total want of private confidence." On the motion of Mr. Pitt, shortly after, the House of Commons passed a resolution, followed by an Act, allowing five millions pounds sterling to be issued by Exchequer Bills in aid of private credit, to bear interest at the rate of twopence halfpenny per day on the £100, in sums of not less than £4,000 on the deposit of goods of double the value of the amount asked; the goods to be lodged in warehouses to the satisfaction of the principal officers of Customs or Excise at Glasgow, Edinburgh, or Leith, in Scotland, or certain other ports in England.

The very first intimation of the intention of the legislature to support the merchants, operated all over the country like a charm, and in a great degree superseded the necessity of the relief, by an almost instantaneous restoration of mutual confidence. The entire number of applicants for advances was 332, and the entire amount applied for was only £3,855,624. The applications by forty-five parties for £1,215,000 were withdrawn, and forty-nine applications for £438,324 were rejected, as not coming within the intention of the Act, or otherwise; so that the whole amount that was actually advanced was £2,202,200, to 238 applicants, as follows; thus:—London, £989,700; Glasgow, £319,730; Manchester, £246,500; Liverpool, £137,020; Bristol, £41,500; Leith, £25,750; Paisley, £31,000; Dundee, £16,000; Edinburgh, Perth, and Banff, £4,000 each; and to other places, £383,000. Every farthing of these advances were repaid, together with interest, amounting to £13,033, or £4,348 beyond the expenses of management; and, of the 238 parties who were assisted, only two became bankrupt. Long before the end of the year confidence was perfectly restored, and the facility of raising money, both in London and in the country, had become as great as it usually is in a healthy state of the commercial system.

The following letters were written by a commercial correspondent in Glasgow, whose sound sense and genuine veracity was undoubted. The one during the distress was as follows:—

"The distress began to be felt here in a few days after it began in London, in the month of February last (1793), but we had no

failures till the 28th of March, when the banking-house of Murdoch, Robertson & Co. were made bankrupts, for about £115,000. This was followed by the banking-house of A. G. & A. Thompson, who owed about £47,000. The first will pay every shilling to their creditors, and it is supposed that the last will do so also. One or two more of the country banks in the West of Scotland were under temporary difficulties, but made no pause; and having got assistance, they went on, and as all the other banks did, drew on their funds, and lessened their engagements. Some of the banks here did certainly continue to discount some bills, but in a less degree than formerly. All of the banks were under the necessity of allowing many of such bills as they held to be renewed at two or three months date, either in whole or in part, according to circumstances; which, in fact, was the same thing as a new discount. In this way all our banks have been going on to this hour, by making renewals when they could not obtain payment, endeavouring to lessen the amount at every renewal, so as gradually to draw in their funds."

Another letter from the same party after the distress, dated 9th December, 1793, is as follows with reference to the commercial crisis—"The truth is, that most of us are of opinion that the late stagnation has been exceedingly useful to our trade, and that if it does not proceed too far, it will be attended with the most beneficial consequences to men of real capital. For, previous thereto, the sales were so rapid, the returns so quick, and money so abundant, that much business was established upon little better than mere paper speculation, or circulation alone, which is now at an end. The wages of our labourers, too, had got to such a height that we must, in all probability, have been gradually undermined in foreign markets by foreign manufacturers; and, if this had once occurred, it would have been much more difficult to recover from than any temporary shock like the present. Besides, these high wages occasioned much idleness and dissipation, and much of the time of our workmen was consequently spent in ale-houses, where they became politicians and government-mongers, restless and discontented."

"Upon the whole, therefore, we may say with truth, that all which has hitherto happened has been for the best."

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

OF THE

Glasgow Archæological Society.

SESSION 1861-62.

To be Submitted to the Annual General Meeting of the Society, to be Held on 1st December, 1862.

GLASGOW:
PRINTED BY JAMES MACNAB, 11 MILLER STREET.

MDCCCLXII.

FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Council of the Glasgow Archæological Society.

During the Session which has just closed the following interesting Papers were read at the usual Monthly Meetings of the Society:—

I.—"On Monumental Brasses," by the Rev. R. S. Oldham, M.A.

II.—"On the Remains of a Vitrified Fort or Site on the Island of Cumbrae, with Notes on the Vitrified Forts of Berigonium, Glen Nevis, Craig Phadrick and Bute," by Wm. Keddie, Esq.

III.—"On the Norwegian Invasion of Scotland in 1263," by Hugh Tennent, Esq., of Errol.

IV.—"On Partick in the Olden Times," by James Napier, Esq.

The Meetings were also enlivened from time to time by the exhibition of objects of antiquarian interest, accompanied by short verbal communications, eliciting conversation and discussion.

The Second Part of the Transactions has at length been completed and distributed to the Members. The delay in the publication of this Part has been caused by exceptional circumstances, which, it is hoped, will not in future intervene. The Council intend to proceed at once with printing Part III. of the Transactions; and in future the Transactions will be published with the least possible delay. The Council feel confident that in this way the usefulness of the Society will be promoted, and the general interest in its proceedings be greatly enhanced.

In the beginning of this year the Society having been invited by the Council of the Philosophical Society to co-operate with that and other learned Societies in Glasgow with the view of obtaining suitable permanent accommodation for these Societies, appointed two Members as their representatives in a joint committee, charged with the furtherance of that object. That committee have not as yet agreed upon

any definite line of action, but your Council are not without hope that this important movement will ultimately result in the attainment of the object, which is felt to be so great a desideratum; and they take this opportunity to commend it to your consideration and encouragement.

During the past year seven new Members have been admitted into the Society; and it will be observed from the annexed Abstract of the Treasurer's Accounts, that the Finances of the Society continue in a satisfactory state.

Owing to the increasing urgency of his professional engagements, Mr. Honeyman, who has held the office of Honorary Secretary since the constitution of the Society, has felt it to be his duty to resign that office; and your Council have great satisfaction in proposing that Mr. William Henry Hill, 1 South Frederick Street, should be appointed his successor.

In conclusion, the Council desire to thank those gentlemen who, either by reading papers, exhibiting antiquities, or otherwise, have contributed to the prosperity of the Society and the interest of its meetings during the past session; and, looking forward hopefully to the new session, and relying on the co-operation of the Members, the Council confidently anticipate for the Society an increasingly prosperous and useful career.

Sheriff Strathern and J. T. Rochead, Esq., Vice-Presidents; the late Mr. Neil, Mr. Hart, Mr. Baird and Mr. Galloway Members of Council, are the Office-Bearers who this year fall to retire, but are eligible for re-election; a Member of Council also requires to be elected in room of Mr. Buchanan, whose resignation the Council regret to report.

In name, and by authority of the Council,

JOHN HONEYMAN, Jun.,
Hon. Secy.

25th November, 1862.

Abstract of the Treasurer's Accounts.

RECEIPTS—

Balance in Treasurer's hands at 1st November, 1861,					£53	14	0
Arrears of Subscription Session 1857-58,	£0	10	6			
Do. do. 1858-59,	0	10	6			
Do. do. 1859-60,	0	10	6			
Do. do. 1860-61,	2	12	6			
Subscriptions for Session 1861-62,.....	25	14	6			
				29	18	6
Price of last year's Dinner Tickets, received by Secretary,.....				3	0	0
				£86	12	6

PAYMENTS—

Cost of Place of Meeting,.....	£0	15	0			
„ Refreshments at Conversazione of 3d December, 1861,.....	3	15	0			
Advertising, ...	0	17	3			
Printing, Ordinary,.....	1	17	0			
„ to account of Part II. of Transactions,.....	30	0	0			
Postages, Stationery, and Incidents, per Secretary,.....	4	7	4			
Do. do. do. per Treasurer,.....	1	13	2			
Balance in Treasurer's hands as at 1st November,.....	43	7	9			
				£86	12	6

GLASGOW, 25*th November*, 1862.

(Signed) WM. CHURCH, JUN.,
Hon. Treasurer.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

Archæological Society of Glasgow.

NOVEMBER 1862.

Anderson, George, 84 Charles Street.
Anderson, William, 30 John Street.

Baird, John, 114 West Regent Street.
Ballantyne, William 39 Hutcheson Street.
Boston, Thomas, 12 Argyle Arcade.
Brand, William, 9 Park Quadrant.
Browne, R. Bennet, 21 St. Vincent Street.
Buchanan, John, 28 Hamilton Drive.
Buchanan, Walter, M.P., of Shandon.
Burns, William, 41 West George Street.

Campbell, James, A., 3 Claremont Terrace.
Campbell, James, Athole Place.
Carrick, John, Police Chambers.
Clark, William, M.D., Bellshill.
Church, William, Jun., 67 St. Vincent Street.
Connal, Michael, Virginia Buildings.
Crawford, William, 5 Claremont Gardens.
Crum, Walter, of Thornliebank.
Colledge, William, 175 Hope Street.

Davidson, Robert, 1 South Frederick Street.
Douglas, Campbell, 157 Hope Street.
Dalrymple, James, Woodhead House, Kirkintilloch.

Euing, William, Royal Exchange.
Eadie, William, M.D., 25 Newton Place.

Faulds, William, B., 112 West George Street.
Ferguson, Alexander, A., 48 M'Alpine Street.
Fleming, James, 83 Jamaica Street.
Fleming, James, S., 136 St. Vincent Street.

Galloway, Alexander, 59 Bath Street.
Gildard, Thomas, 104 West Regent Street.

Hart, Robert, Cessnock, Govan Road.
Handyside, N., 45 Union Street.
Hill, Laurence, LL.B., of Barlanerk.
Hill, William Henry, 1 South Frederick Street.
Hoggan, Andrew, 1 South Frederick Street.
Honeyman, John, Jun., 154 St. Vincent Street.
Honeyman, P. S., 46 West George Street.
Howatt, James, 11 Miller Street.
Hendry, James, 18 Queen's Crescent.

Isdale, Rev. John, of Free St. Andrew's, 286 Renfrew Street.

Kirkwood, James, D., Roseland Terrace.
Kirsop, John, 98 Argyle Street.

Leitch, William, 34 Hill Street.

M'George, Andrew, Jun., 3 Victoria Place.
M'Kinlay, David, Pollokshields.
M'Haig, John, 21 St. Vincent Place.
M'Gregor, Alexander B., 136 St. Vincent Street.

Marshall, John, Jun., 45 West George Street.
Maxwell, Sir John, of Polloc, Bart.
Maxwell, Thomas, 38 Hope Street.
Murdoch, James, Barclay, 223 St. Vincent Street.

Napier, Robert, of West Shandon.

Orr, Sir Andrew, of Harvieston and Castle Campbell.
Oldham, Rev. R. S., 190 Renfrew Street.

Pagan, James, of the *Glasgow Herald.*
Patrick, William, Cathedral Lodge.
Paul, John, 19 Canning Place.
Penn, Alexander J., 77 West Nile Street.

Robertson, A. D., 48 Dundas Street.
Rochead, J. T., 201 West George Street.
Ross, A., Customhouse.
Richardson, Alexander, 1 Royal Crescent.

Scoular, John, M.D., 100 Arlington Street.
Shields, John, Jun., 101 West Nile Street.
Smith, James, of Jordanhill.
Stewart, D. P., M.D., Kirkintilloch.
Stevenson, H., 138 Hope Street.
Strathern, Alexander, Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire.
Strang, John, LL.D., City Chambers.
Stott, John, Secy. Scot. Amic. Assur. Socy., 39 St. Vincent Place.

Tannahill, R. Dunlop, M.D., 93 Hill Street.
Taylor, James, 5 Alston Street.
Tennent, Hugh, of Wellpark.
Thomas, James Boyd, Campsie Junction.

Watkins, James H., 77 West Nile Street.
Watson, George, 107 Union Street.
Williamson, Stephen, 13 Virginia Street.
Wyllie, R. D., 45 Buchanan Street.

York, James, 69 Moray Place, Cumberland Street, West.

Macnab, Printer, Miller Street.

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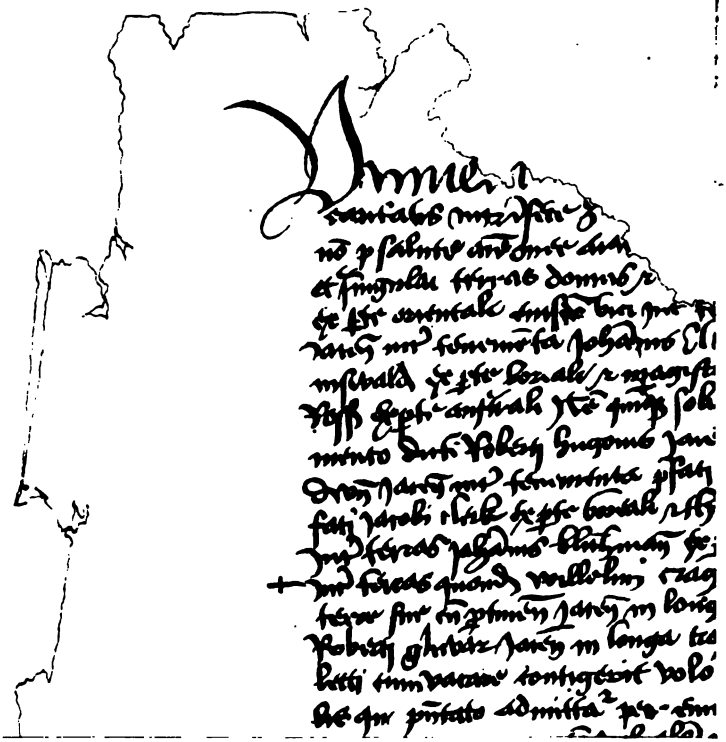

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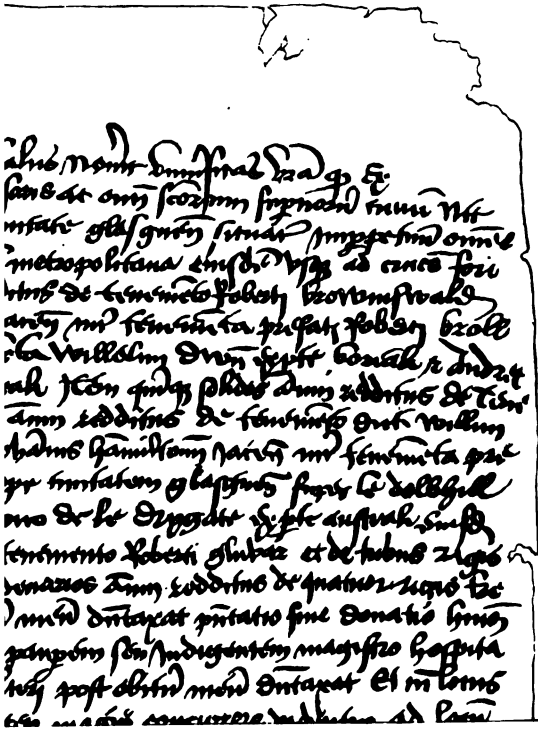

NO. VI.

ENQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF SOME NAMES OF PLACES IN SCOTLAND, AND PARTICULARLY IN CLYDESDALE:

BY

ALEXANDER GALLOWAY, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Glasgow Archæological Society, on 3d January*, 1859.]

At the anniversary meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland held in Edinburgh, 30th November last, Lord Neaves, the president, remarked that the study of antiquities is important in two principal ways,—first, as a help to the history of periods which have records, and, second, as a substitute for history as to those earlier periods of which no written memorials remain; that the study should be pursued independently, with minuteness and detail, for the customs and usages, the remains and traditions of many other nations must be known before we can draw safe inferences from what we meet with in our own country; that in these pursuits caution must go hand in hand with knowledge; that one of the most important subjects of antiquarian research is language, which is indeed the most certain and significant of all the signs of pre-historic events; and that the names of places in Scotland, when examined with minuteness and care, seem to point at important information.

The following slight contribution in the department of enquiry as to old names of places is here submitted, not as pretending to contain important information, but as being some results of an "independent" examination, in so far as researches of the kind may be properly so termed. If, fortunately, it shall stimulate to similar efforts others more competent and having more leisure for such pursuits, some of the good which the National Society's respected president has thought derivable from them may be ultimately attained.

The difficulties in the way of enquirers should not discourage them, neither should even the vexatious uncertainties which are inseparable from the subject. When we begin to study the laboured productions of the writers on Scottish history and philology who have attracted

the most attention, and, comparing one with another, see that hardly any of them are in conformity as to fundamental facts from which results are to be drawn; that if such facts as they do assume were sufficiently vouched, their reasonings are seldom satisfactory; and that, after all, the practice has been to assume fancies quite as often as facts for the basis of broad conclusions; we gradually feel relieved from some of the awe at first conceived. When, after much weary labour in acquiring knowledge of languages deemed suitable for enabling us to progress, we find that our skill is of small avail, and that we are confused by endless differences in dialect and provincialisms in pronunciation, we need not despair, but we should persevere rather, and believe that fresh efforts in comparing and analysing those differences may help us out of our perplexities.

Unfortunately, it has happened that some of our most industrious enquirers in this line have been drawn aside by the spirit of controversy, or that the aims and objects of party have largely influenced them in the investigation. They have evidently sought more earnestly to support a theory than to discover exact truth; and, in this spirit, those who have most loudly professed impartiality and condemned the one-sided speculations of predecessors have commonly made themselves liable to censure for similar error. Boldly denouncing dogmatism, they have been intolerant and dogmatic in a still higher degree.

One of the leading parties has sought to convince us that the original and only language in all the country now called Scotland was Gaelic; that prior to the time of the first Roman invasion Celtic tribes alone occupied the whole inhabited surface; that English-Saxon dialects gained access into the Lowlands after the tenth century; that the partial immigration of Scandinavian tribes at various times modified the Saxon, and produced the Scottish language of Gawin Douglas and Robert Burns; and, that in seeking to trace the origin and meaning of very old names, it is only necessary to go to the fountain-head, which they affirm to be the Gaelic. Another class of writers has seen reason to doubt the whole of these facts, and particularly to disbelieve such results of English invasions upon the dialects of the Scottish Lowlands. These are disposed to assign earlier dates to the occupation of the country by Teutonic population, and do not see in the ancient names of places trustworthy evidence of Gaelic origin. They tell us that upon a close investigation of names in districts known to have been exclusively, or at least chiefly occupied by Celts

during the last six centuries, many are, in their opinion, not at all Gaelic, some are doubtful, and others, although certainly Gaelic, are without proof of great antiquity. In not a few instances, they say, the first recorded names have been laid aside and a Gaelic translation has been substituted.

The brief space of time which can be allowed for the reading of a Paper at a meeting of this Society forbids details by which principles so broadly based may be materially affected. Moreover, the present object is comparatively a humble and narrow one. Still, for assisting those of the Members who have not turned their thoughts much in the direction of philological objects to judge of results here presented, a preliminary glance at some conditions and circumstances tending to produce those results may be advisable.

The British islands, so near to the Continent and so similar in physical aspect, may be conceived to have been shaken off from it in some great convulsion of nature. Passing along the water space which has filled up the crevice, we see the geological features on either side the same, only the mountains and plains of the Continent are larger. Between the opposite shores of England and France the distance is so small as that both are in view at the same time. Northward the space becomes broader. The coasts of Flanders, Holland, and Friesland are about one hundred miles from the land-line between the Thames and the Wash; those of Bremen, Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland are about two hundred miles from ours of Lincoln, York, Durham, Northumberland, and Scotland up to the Forth; and the general breadth of the water between the west of Scotland and Norway is about three hundred and fifty miles. These narrow seas are, by the all-wise providence of the Creator, bountifully stored with large supplies of food of one kind for the use of man. On either side extend fertile plains, rich valleys, grassy dunes, hills, and mountains, well fitted for the culture and the rearing of other foods needed by teeming multitudes of the human family, besides supplying, in profusion of timber and minerals, the means of shelter and commerce, and affording favourable scope for the application of skill and industry to accumulate wealth, and for the enjoyment of what wealth will command.

It seems to be an almost universal belief that the plains of Asia were first peopled, and that emigration proceeded thence westward into Europe. How soon the European plains became extensively peopled we know not. Our first information about their condition

comes from Greek and Roman records, and we are told that numerous nations, peoples, and tribes occupied then, more or less densely, nearly the whole of the various countries, and were busily employed in governing, cultivating, herding, hunting, fighting, trading, spinning and toiling, and multiplying and replenishing the earth, in manner not much different from our own. The seaboard districts of the Continent opposite Britain had in earlier ages been engaged in maritime commerce with the shores of the Mediterranean and the Levant, and they had become populous, as a natural result of prosperity and of the attractions which a course of successful adventures will always inspire. Wars in the interior countries had pushed westward and northward much of the population of the great plains, till arrested by the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic. Accumulating and continued pressure of this kind would naturally impel multitudes across the narrow seas into Scandinavia and the British Islands.

In the century prior to the Christian era the most prominent nations of Europe were the Romans, the Gauls, and the Germans. The first had, after an extraordinary course of fighting, become masters of extensive countries in Asia and Africa, besides having conquered all their European neighbours. Gaul was then composed of Savoy and modern France with Belgium and Holland to the Rhine. Germany, covering a much larger area, extended from the Rhine to the Vistula, and from the Danube to the Baltic. The Romans had been long engaged in endless contests with these two nations, who were both now gradually falling under the Italian sway. Their illustrious conqueror, Julius Cæsar, has recorded an important observation as to their languages and manners, namely, that he found in central Gaul a people calling themselves Celts and using language, institutions, and laws peculiar to themselves, while the rest of the Gauls and all the Germans spoke dialects of one language, recognised under the generic name of Teutonic. He has told us further, that, seeing his enemies supported by troops and other assistance from Britain, he resolved to advance into that country also, and that its inhabitants, so far as he went, were similar to the Belgians and spoke a similar dialect. Tacitus has recorded that his father-in-law, Agricola, who, as general of a Roman army about eighty years later, traversed the greater part of England and Scotland, considered the people to be generally of German descent, using corresponding institutions and language. He remarked that the Caledonians after the battle of the Grampians fraternized readily with their continental conquerors, for they began

to imitate the Romans in their more elegant style of house accommodation and of dress and manners. Subsequent history and local relics shew that the Roman army of occupation in Britain was composed chiefly of Germans.

The early Roman writers have stated that the Celtic people in Gaul were not addicted to shipping and commerce, but that the Belgæ were mercantile and maritime in their habits. Beyond the Rhine, northward along the coast, the Suiones were powerful in the number of their people, their armaments, and their fleets, and held riches in high esteem; "viros armaque classibus valent; est apud illos et opibus honos." The great focus of riches had long been Carthage. The Phœnicians, and afterwards the Carthagenians, had established an extensive trade with all the coasts of Europe, and particularly had frequented the North Sea and the Baltic, and encouraged the fisheries; cargoes of cod and herrings, and other fish, besides metals and amber, being in constant demand. The nature of the seaboard countries of north-western Germany necessarily engendered seafaring habits. The adventurous spirit of the race led them to follow the example of the eastern merchants and commit themselves fearlessly to long voyages, while a rapidly increasing population compelled them to seek new settlements. Manifestly uncertain although a conclusion must be in the absence of other evidence, the greater probability at least is, that, long before the Roman armies approached it, Britain had been peopled by German rather than by Celtic races.

Scandinavian annals say that in the time of Frode I., a Danish king who distinguished himself as a great warrior and compiler of laws civil and military, the people of the Frisian and Baltic coasts carried their victorious arms into England and Ireland. This must have been between A.D. 23 and 35. The general name by which those people chiefly were distinguished at that time was Suevi. Two centuries later the Suevi had thrown off immense swarms into various quarters of Europe. The Goths, one of these swarms, called by Pliny, Tacitus, and Ptolemy, Guttones or Gotones, a territorially descriptive name, indicating either that they were from the fertile plains or *good* country, or that they were from their god Odin's country, or regarded themselves as his worshippers, had risen into importance and were occupying the country between the Vistula and the Don. Another, calling themselves Vandals, or people from the river valleys, who had left their former country between the Elbe

and the Vistula, were now settled in western Dacia, part of modern Austria and Hungary. Another large body had emigrated in like manner to the fertile districts at the foot of the Alps, and some had passed into Spain. In the parent country a confederation of various small states or kingdoms between the Rhine, the Maine, and the Lahne, the Necker, and the Upper Danube, was being formed for mutual support, which took the name of Allemans or Allemannen, meaning simply all men. Another confederation was formed by about twelve small states between the Rhine, the Weser, and the Elbe, who took the name of Franks to denote their aspirations after freedom and independence. At an earlier date the inhabitants of the countries now called Holstein and Schleswig, and others near the foot of the Elbe, had taken the name Saxons, indicating armed men, or that they carried habitually the side weapon or short broadsword called a sach. While the Allemans and Franks aimed at the subversion of Roman power by attacking Gaul, the Saxons employed their shipping and their troops in ravaging its coasts, plundering its towns, and passing across to the British coasts where they planted colonies. In the following century they extended themselves eastward, or up the country between the Rhine and the Elbe, and greatly increased their shipping, their commerce, and their colonies.

Early in the fifth century the Visigoths (West Goths) advanced from Dacia into Upper Gaul and formed settlements, occupying the whole country within the Loire, the Rhine, the Durance, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Alps, while at the same time the Vandals made conquests in Spain and Africa. The Burgundians, a people also originally from the Oder and Vistula, followed the Visigoths, and established themselves in the Upper Rhine district and in Switzerland. The Franks, after many defeats by the Romans, passed the Rhine, conquered central or Celtic Gaul, and began to lay the foundation of the new kingdom of France in Gaul.

At the fall of the Roman empire, the general movement or migration of the Germans southward made room for that rapid increase of the Scandinavian and other German populations on the sea coast, which now became remarkable. Professor Geÿer, in his Svenka Folket's Historia, says "Scandinavia then contained a redundant population, larger than the land could support. They considered it part of their vocation to live, and they actually did in great part live at the cost of the rest of the world. The result of a bad year, or a famine, or intestine quarrels, was always emigration in quest of new dwelling

places. At such times it was determined by lot which of the young men were to emigrate. Of their colonies some were in Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Isles, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the British Isles." Danish writers say part of Britain which had been colonized by Frode I. in the first century threw off its allegiance after the death of Frode III. in 348, but it was again conquered. Roe, son of Halfdan III., who built the famous city of Roskilde, gave up his continental inheritance to his brother Helge, about 560, for the Danish kingdom of Northumberland, which he preferred for his residence, and conquered several neighbouring provinces. Between these two last dates, at least six separate invasions and settlements by the neighbouring people called Anglo-Saxons are mentioned in English annals. Roe was succeeded by Ivar Vidfadme in 588. This king, who died 647, conquered still more of England. Harald Heldetand, who succeeded Ivar as king of Denmark and Sweden with their colonies, overran more of Britain. His naval resources are represented as immense, his "fleets covering the Sound from shore to shore." He was killed at the great battle of Bravalla in 735, fighting against his nephew Sigurd Ring, who had present at the engagement 2,500 ships. Harald's army included thirty thousand nobles, besides the soldiers and seamen and all the court poets. Sigurd reigned from 735 to 750, and regained Northumberland, which had taken occasion from the absence of a Danish army to assert its independence. After his death it again revolted, allying itself with the Anglo-Saxon king Ella, while Sigurd's successor, the famous Ragnar Lodbrok, was occupied with his invasions of Saxony, Russia, and Turkey. Returning from these, Ragnar advanced through Ireland and Scotland, and along the east coast of England, where, having landed part of his troops, he fought a battle with Ella in 794, was made prisoner, and soon after died.

About this time Ireland, according to her own annalists, was "completely subject to the Danes and Norwegians, who had spread themselves over all the country and built karrs and castles, appointed a king in every district, a jail in every community, a priest in every church, a magistrate in every town, a soldier in every house."

Returning to Scandinavian authorities, Sigur Snogoje, son of Ragnar, led an army into England to revenge his father's defeat and death, and routed entirely the Anglo-Saxons in the battle of York. His army advanced as far as the mouth of the Thames. Northumberland and the other provinces north of the Humber and the Mersey

became exclusively Danish territory. Sigur was killed in a battle with the Franks in 803.

Harald Harfager, King of Norway from 863 to 934, rose to great power, and superseded the Danes in command of many of their colonies. He took possession of the Scottish Isles and all Scotland north of the Grampians, also of parts of the Danish possessions in Ireland, appointing in both countries Jarls to manage and pay tribute to the Norwegian Crown, with feudal rights depending on it. His armies also conquered parts of France, afterwards called Normandy. Harald's son Erik succeeded, and was received as king also of Northumberland, then said to be peopled by Danes, who not being satisfied with him, after some years expelled him. He was killed at a battle in 940, and was succeeded by Hakon the Good, so called because he endeavoured to convert his subjects to Christianity. He gained a battle against the Danes in England, established telegraph beacon stations along the coast, and fell in battle against rebels in 963.

Harald Blatand of Denmark reigned from 941 to 991. His fleet assisted the Normans of France in 944 against Louis D'Outremer, off Cherbourg, when Louis was made prisoner, and renounced his pretensions to Normandy. In 981 his son Svend landed an army at Southampton, and overran and ravaged the country from the Thames to the Mersey. In 995 a fleet of Danes and Norwegians landed in the Humber, and wasted the country thence as far as Kent and Hampshire, when a permanent tax was imposed on all England under the name of Danegelt. For enforcing it the Danes made frequent depredations. A massacre of some of their number in 1002 excited their vengeance, in consequence of which they took London and compelled the English chiefs there to swear allegiance to Svend as their lawful sovereign. He died at Gainsborough in 1014. Knut (Canute) succeeded, and was proclaimed King of England by the Anglo-Saxon thanes immediately after the death of his father. His history is so well known that it need not be followed. He died in 1035, leaving to his son, Horde Knut, the crowns of England and Denmark.

Regarding Scotland about this period the Norse Sagus, say Hako Jarl (called the bad), was severe in exacting tribute from the Scottish Isles, 977 to 995, and Olaf Tryggvesson pursued the course of a pirate and freebooter on the coasts of Scotland, England, Ireland, the Hebrides, Isle of Man, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Wales, and also on the coasts of France, between 980 and 1000.

The Norsemen and Danes are stated to have firmly established themselves north of the Grampians in Scotland, and to have had their chief seats of government for that province in the district which they called Mœrhœfi or Moray. In Svend Knutson's reign, between 1030 and 1035, they sent a strong fleet up the Forth, wasted Fife, advanced to Perth, where they were routed by Banquo and Macbeth, while part of their fleet was wrecked at St. Andrews, and some of their party put to the sword near Kinghorn. It may only be farther noted as to this branch of the subject, that the Shetland, Orkneys, and Hebrides, continued subject to the Norsemen until 1468, but the inhabitants were nearly all Norse or Danes, and were governed by Danish laws until 1650.

Having come to the period of Canute of England we can pause in historical narrative and arrange materials now within reach for examining the then existing dialects of North-western Europe, comparing them with each other, and with the dialects now in use. The early Anglo-Saxon records are so well known that time need not here be spent upon them. Those of the early Gothic are exceedingly interesting, because they shew us not only that more than a thousand years have passed without making any material alteration on the dialects of the German nations, but that those dialects were, and have always been, wonderfully akin to each other and to those spoken in the plains of Britain. If one will give himself the trouble to study carefully the translation of the Gospels by Ulfilas into the language of the West Goths, ascertained to have been written in the fourth century, he will have little difficulty in making out the Anglo-Saxon chronicles of the fifth, and down to the tenth century, and the Heliad. If he takes up the German writings of the fourth and fifth century, as the Sage von Sigfried dem Drachentödter, the Sage von Reinhart dem Fuchs, the Lied von Hildebrand und Hadubrand, the Geschichte von Walther von Aquitanien (in which Attila is mentioned) or the poem of Beovulf, King of the Jutes, he will see how extensive in its area was the old language of the Germans, and how nearly identical it was with the oldest Anglo-Saxon. If he comes on to the first classical period of German poetry and takes up the Nibelungenlied, which was a number of separate Lieder, partly composed in the fifth century, united about 1170, and committed to writing in 1210, relating to personages who lived between 451 and 500, or the Sage von Ecken Ausfahrt, or König Laurin, both known to have existed in writing in

the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, he will mark the slight differences between them in manner and matter with the contemporaneous writings in England. The Sage vom König Artus, the Parcival Sage, the Titurel Sage, Lohengrin, and Tristram und Isolt, all relating to Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, and written in the thirteenth century, might have been read in England as in Germany in those days. Erik and Iwein, by Hartman von der Aue, written between 1180 and 1190, and completed 1204, and the numerous ballads, legends, and poetical tales, together with the fables and Minnegesang of the thirteenth century, present pictures of society exactly like what we know to have existed in England at and prior to the Norman Conquest, and which were but slightly modified in the following century by the effects of that revolution.

If we now turn to the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian Sagas, written prior to the twelfth century, we find them all to be nothing else than dialects of the old German. In so far as we have the means of judging by comparing them with the earliest writings in Scotland, we see those Sagas are more akin to the dialects and manners of the Scottish Lowlands than of the English southern districts; and, if we can forbear attaching importance to small differences and make reasonable allowance for distance of time, we may, without violent straining of probabilities, come to be satisfied—indeed, we can hardly avoid concluding—that the old dialects of Scandinavia were so nearly the old dialects of the Scottish Lowlands, that the two peoples must have easily understood each other.

While we have seen that the Teutonic or old German language was so extensively in use throughout the broad surface of Europe, we fail to trace the Celtic language, from the total absence of authentic written documents sufficiently bearing upon it. We find at the present day the language of Germany, in various dialects, remaining where it prevailed about the beginning of our era, and we observe it extending over other and distant continents. But we hardly know now where to find a few hundred people living together and using Celtic dialects. We begin to doubt if it ever had any very extensive use. We have been broadly assured by various writers that it was once the most prevalent language of the European Continent, and that all over Britain and Ireland it was universally spoken. But they have shewn us no reliable evidence of this. They have only pointed to words, and we have examined these and found them either uncertain in their parentage or of another family. The

Teutonic dialects and the Celtic dialects have a certain affinity, and they have many radical words which are the same, or nearly the same; yet they differ on the whole so widely that they can readily be distinguished by the student. The difference may be compared to Roman and Gothic architecture. They may be seen passing into each other, but no architect mistakes the (to him) broadly marked separate characters. On the Continent almost incessant wars have raged and caused changes and fusions. In Spain mixed language has been ever the rule, and one element has alternately with another become predominant. Italy has received into its old stock various new modifying elements. France has formed a new language out of the old Roman, the Celtic, and the Teutonic dialects. England has received into its German stock a little of all the languages its trading community has come into contact with, and it has disguised some of the vowel sounds by a strange whim of fashion. Germany has been truest to itself, as having changed the least. In respect of the Celtic, we can only assume that probably it has remained as long, or perhaps longer, unchanged; for circumstances favour the assumption in so far as our information extends. In our own country, until towards the beginning of the present century, the Celtic people seldom approached the Lowlanders unless for plunder or war, and they always returned into their mountain fastnesses as quickly as they came down from them. There was nothing to tempt the Lowlanders into the Celtic district, unless the recovery of booty or the gratification of revenge. Partial intercourse of a peaceful kind, and intermixture of the races, near the borders and in the smaller islands, would naturally occur at all times; but, in a broad view, the rule has been that, mutually regarding each other with dislike as foreigners, there was little intercourse.

Theories as to the time when first the Celtic language was introduced into the island are as vain as those relating to the introduction of the Teutonic. Conjectures only can have place, but these, if ventured, should be in accordance with recognised history, and not opposed to tradition where reasonable and fairly attested. We may suppose that, from the proximity of France to England, emigration in very early times took place, and that, their numbers being few, the strangers found it necessary to confine themselves to the mountainous districts of the west coast. We may suppose that parts of Ireland were in like manner peopled by Celts from France. We know that in the first four centuries the Romans did not remark their

existence in England, and that Agricola, after sailing round Ireland, thought its whole population so small, or disunited, that he offered to the Emperor to subdue it by a single Roman legion. We may suppose that the Celtic population in Gaul kept up intercourse with their countrymen in Wales and Ireland, and that, finally, when the great continental revolution occurred, and the German Franks burst in upon the plains of central Gaul, multitudes of the Celtic soldiery, forced back to the sea-shores, would at once seek safety for themselves and their families by emigration thence to Ireland. We know that while Ireland was being overrun by, and made tributary to the Danes, Irish Celts in great numbers crossed over to Scotland and settled in highland districts, where some of their countrymen had previously held precarious or irregular possession. The accounts, combined with the traditions and with the state of the local names, lead to the conclusion that Argyleshire and Inverness-shire were the districts first so occupied, Perthshire, Wigtonshire, and other places much later, and that, after the decline of Scandinavian power in the island, the Celts expanded gradually until the seventeenth century.

Fantastical ideas of national patriotism have prevailed in most countries, and led to the exaggeration or falsification of history. The natural tendency to hero worship has had equally unfortunate results. Representations of events, if agreeable to the popular mind and often repeated, although baseless, or disguised, or magnified in relative importance, become occasionally received belief which it is hardly safe to disturb. To some extent the subject under consideration is in like manner predisposed of. Nevertheless, endeavouring to avoid misleading influences, and forbearing to criticise or condemn opinions which we do not approve, we proceed to examine some local names, and humbly to state our impressions regarding them.

We have already adverted to the meaning of a few fundamental early names, as Goths, Visigoths, Vandals, Allemans, Franks, Saxons, and we may usefully refer to a few more, although rather generally known, because they will serve as a key to classes of other words. *Germania* is the Roman form of expressing the country of a people who, although truly one as speaking but one language, preferred to use subdivisional names, as we have seen. In meaning, the word differs only in degree from the word Saxony, for the one denotes warmen's and the other arms-bearing-men's country. It will be observed throughout that the Roman *via*, contracted commonly into *ia*, is the equivalent of the Teutonic *veg*, *weg*, *way*, *ge*, *je*, *geit*, &c., according

to dialect. It comes at the end of words and stands for country or province or district. It is also one of the words used to signify a road. The first syllable of Germania was pronounced, not as we, but as the French pronounce it, *guerre*, *ger*, or *wer*, or *war*.

Gallia, the country of the *Gauls*, as expressed by the Romans, was by the old Germans called *Gall-land*, or *Wall-land*, to import that it was a country in which people spoke a language different from theirs. The modern Germans have transferred the name to Italy. The Anglo-Saxons gave it to Wales. Luther, in translating into German the first verse of the tenth chapter of the Acts, referring to "the band called the Italian band," writes "*der Schaar die da heisset die Welsche.*" We meet with it also in Schiller and elsewhere; and, indeed, in current conversation.

Celtæ, the Roman word corresponding with the Greek word Κελτοι, and similarly pronounced, imports Forest people, or rather a people who kept in the bush, Bushmen. Another meaning is obtained by applying the Teutonic word *Heil* in its oldest northern form, *Keil* or *Kell*, whence heilig, kelig, and perhaps keltic, equal to our holy.

Britannia is the Teutonic words *Breit* or *Bret*, as still used, signifying large, not only broad, but altogether extensive; *Œ*, an isle; *Lan*, or land; and the Roman terminating *via*, or *ia*. Their word for island was Insula; the modern German is Insel, easily contracted provincially into Insch; the Scandinavians retain only the Œ.

Hibernia, the Roman form of Iverne, Ierne, Ier, Hier, Eir, Ir, Œr, the Teutonic dialects adding *land*, instead of *ia*.*

Caledonia may have been from *Kelig*, sacred; and *Dun*, a very old and almost universal word in ancient Europe for hill.

England may have been so called rather from the angular shape of the country when intersected by the old boundary line from the Humber to the Mersey, than because that portion of the island was peopled by Saxons from some insignificant angular shaped province of Denmark, called Anglia. More probably the Gothic people on the south of the Humber were called Angles and Anglo-Saxons only to distinguish them from German Saxons.

Northumberland was the term used to denote sometimes all the island north of the Humber, sometimes from the Humber to the Tay, and at other times less.

* The word Hibernia may have been formed thus:—*Œ* (with the aspirate) Island; Bern or Vern (the beginning consonant employed for euphony, or, as was common in the Teutonic, only to lengthen and make more distinct the sound of the previous vowel), Lords, Landowners, Masters, *Gintlemen*, as Herr, singular, and Herren, plural, in modern German.

Scotland has been barbarously treated by philologists. Some have sought for its origin in the ancient Scythia of Russian Tartary, and some in an obscure district of Denmark which had borne a similar name. Others, observing the Icelandic word *Skot*, used in relation to cattle and sheep, have said it means a beast. In Dr. Ogilvie's admirable introduction to the Imperial Dictionary, and elsewhere, that interpretation is given. The old Norse and other Scandinavians used the word as their common term for a tax or contribution. The Saxons, substituting *sh* for *sk*, according to their constant practice, said *shot*. The one still call us *Skottiske*, while the other call us *Schottische* or *Schotten*. In English and Scotch both forms are preserved in such a phrase as "one pays his shot, and another goes scot free." But, as in old times the tribute was payable in beasts, skot came in that way to have a relative meaning. Probably in practice the worst of the flock were handed over to the tax-gatherers, for we still call these the *shots*. In Swedish history we have a curious illustration of the use of this word. It is said Christianity did not there become the established religion until 1001, when their king, Olaf, was baptised with his family, and became zealous in the propagation of the new faith. Having entered into an arrangement with the Pope about clerical matters, under which he engaged to pay a yearly tax to the court of Rome, his own people gave him the sirname of *Scot* Könung, or the *tribute* king, under which cognomen he has descended to present times. We have in this word a natural solution of a long vexed question as to a migration of Scotch from Ireland into Scotland, having given the name to the latter country. The simple case appears to be that a large portion of Ireland was tributary to the Danes and Norwegians, and in like manner a large portion of Scotland was tributary, so that both the two countries were Scotlands. While the superior nations were at peace or under one government, there was regular delivery of the tribute cattle at the appointed harbours or *wicks;* but when continental wars occupied the Scandinavian fleets and armies, the delivery became irregular or was refused. For enforcing the delivery and punishing the neglect, cruelties were often committed. Our own old clerical annalists have recounted many instances of the losses and sufferings of their people on these occasions, in very warm terms, imploring maledictions on the barbarians and reivers, as they called their exacting overlords. Applied to a subdivision or people of Roman Caledonia, the word *Scot* first appears in Ammianus, who says the Scots and Picts and

Saxons and Attacotti made frequent incursions within the northern wall, in or about the year 360. The two latter peoples were probably those who had rendered the Caledonians north of the wall their tributaries.* The Scandinavians did not use the term *Picts*. Whether these were a community allowed to live in Caledonia scot-free, or were people who cultivated the soil and not merely reared cattle, is a more rational question than the one whether they were of Teutonic or Celtic race, which so much paper has been wasted upon.

Here it may be well to advert to the social system of the Scandinavian and Gothic nations in times prior to the first crusade, when the feudal system became general and caused considerable change. The Romans were in the habit of describing all their enemies indiscriminately as barbarians. Modern practice is not always greatly more accurate. At the late Crimean war we called the Russians barbarians, and in China we have the same term applied to ourselves. Yet, when we read in the sober historical prose of Plutarch that in the fourth century, at a battle on the plains of Vercellæ, the army of the Northerns contained, besides its infantry, 15,000 men splendidly mounted, each soldier's helmet surmounted with high plumes; his body covered with a polished steel cuirass; his arms a long lance, two edged darts, and a broad heavy sabre, we must doubt if such an army and the nation which furnished it were barbarians. When we turn to the Nibelungenlied descriptions of Court manners and dress in the fifth century, we see a degree of elegant taste and high-toned honour, a magnificence in style and a propriety in conduct, which are in consonance only with the occupations of brave, gallant, and not uncivilized people. The brilliant appointments and knightly bearing of Siegfried and his little party setting out on their journey to the Burgundian Court are quaintly described in the four verses beginning—

> "Am siebenten Morgen zu Wormes an den Strand,
> Ritten schon die Kühnen; da war all ihr Gewand
> Aus rothem Gold gewoben," &c.

The Court ladies at Burgundy were correspondingly superb—

> "Von ihrem Kleide leuchtete gar manchen edle Stein," &c.

The arrangements of political life which we have to notice were—1st, A supreme chief or king for the whole community. His pedigree

* The name Attacotti may have referred to Norsemen of Caithness, for, when we first come to reliable information about the inhabitants of that part of our island lying north of the Dornoch Firth, we find they were called Catti, and that they had been long a colony of Scandinavia. Taking into account the use by the Romans of the Greek word Atta, "vocula in sermone plane abundans," as pater, we may suppose the founders of this colony to be the people meant.

was commonly a long one, and began with some very great hero or demigod. 2d, A chief, called also a king, for each considerable pro-province, selected from the most distinguished for high lineage; but always publicly and at general meetings of all the freemen at their principal local courts. These assemblies were called Lands Thing or Tinda. For extraordinary occasions, such as the election of a provincial king, a prominent hill top, with a large heap of stones crowning its summit, was the place of assembly. Every freeman capable of bearing arms had an equal voice or vote, and the new sovereign was elevated upon the top of the cairn, "amid the clash of arms and the shouts of the multitude." For judicial purposes, assemblies of a like kind were held on some lesser hill, or on an artificial mound in a plain. These were called Lag* Things, and were presided over by the local king, attended by his Skalds or Lagmen, and principal nobles. For religious purposes their assemblies were, when convenient, in dense woods of aged trees, regarded as sacred by past ages—"Heilige Hallen;" and, where such solemn groves were not at hand, an open moor was commonly selected. In either case a circular range of tall stones marked the bounds within which only the privileged might enter. Relics of this kind may be still seen all over Europe. The 3rd order of the community was the nobles, who were also the officers of the army, some of them being Skalds or Lagmen. The 4th order was the Freemen, regarded as an important social distinction, and derivable only from birth. All freemen of proper age were liable to serve in the army or navy, and they considered such service as their chief occupation or privilege and honour. The 5th class was called the People, "Pöbel." These had to perform most of the servile labour of the fields and flocks, and of the public commissariat department.

The same condition of things prevailed in the colonies and countries under the control of the Gothic races. Scotland is not without remarkable illustrations in its names of places. Our own county was anciently *Lan rik*, viz., the supreme king's land, or the royal province. Traditionary accounts confirm this, and the remains of the king's castle may be faintly traced at the south end of one of the old *geits* or streets in the ancient town where now a bowling-green occupies the site. A few miles southward is the well-known hill Tinto,

* The final consonant in this word was silent in pronunciation, and was used to lengthen the sound of the preceding vowel. The same with veg or weg and others. So also final d after l, n, or r. V was often silent, and it was generally employed where we use w, its sound, when expressed, being that of our v or w, according to dialect.

doubtless the Tinda Hill where the great assemblies were held and the kings proclaimed. The eastern shoulder of this hill is still called the Skald Fell, and the adjoining lower elevation the Wee Fell. The town and county name of *Ayr* conveys the idea of the nobility's province, or rather the army's, viz., *Hær*, *Heer*, *Er*, *Edelhær*, &c. The word applied also to the navy; and *Arran*, off the coast of Ayr, is known from Norse records to have been the place of rendezvous and a sheltering station for the ships and troops. The name is simple, as contracted from *Er-æ-land.* The sound of Arran was written *Heræiar sund.* Their Holy Island and their Got Fell, or God's Hill, are prominent objects now as then. The next county, Dumfries, gives the idea of the freemen's hills, or free hills; for *Dun* and *Free* were words in common use at all times. The adjoining county, *Peebles*, may be conceived to have been so named, in respect of the People. As we are here on the margin of the well-known royal forest, some of the localities or parish names may be noticed.

Ettrick Forest is plainly Jagt rik, or Jagd reich, its pronunciation Yettrick, and its meaning royal chase or hunting grounds. *Selkirk* may have been Selv Gaard, or Selbst Gard, pronounced sel or selvst kar, meaning the king's own castle or hunting seat. In the valley flows the *Yarrow*, or Jager aa, the huntsman's stream; *Yetholm*, hunting plain, or perhaps Jagthiem or Jagd heim, the huntsman's home; *Jedburgh*, the town of the hunting forest; *Roxburgh*, the town of the horses; *Hownam*, or Hundhiem, the hounds' kennels; *Oxnam*, or Oxenheim, the cattle houses; *Bedrule*, Bederulle, the sheep walk; *Ednam*, Edel hiem, the noblemen's villas; *Macherston* and *Maxton*, tradesmen's villages; *Melrose*, Mölle or Mühle reise, the mill race; *Galashiels*, the stranger's huts; *Kelso*, Kel, or Heil Schau, the sacred grove or assembly place for worship; *Boswells*, Bauerswald, the farmer's or peasant's forest; *Cavers*, Kälber, the calves' or breeding ground; *Crailing*, Kräge lan, the crows' lands; *Traquair*, Thor-quar, fourth of the hill wood, &c.

A curious group of places, now the names of parishes, relating to another of the royal sporting grounds, occurs in Perthshire. *Perth* itself is probably Pferch, a word both Danish and Saxon, signifying a sheep district; *Monteith*,* Teith moor, or Morian tieg, quiet moor; *Tibbermore*, Tipper mor, border of the moor. Then *Rattray*, Raat rige, royal deer grounds; *Bendochy*, Bahn Dachse, badgers'

*A dry moor was commonly expressed by *mor*, and a wet one by *morian* or *moran*, and, in combination with another word, the latter by contraction became *man* or *men* or *mon*.

grounds; *Fowlis*, Fugles, fowls' grounds; *Gask*, Gassig, geese grounds; *Madderty*, Medertig, fishing grounds; *Methven*, Mede Vand, fishing water; *Trinity Gask*, Trænte Gassig, boundary of geese grounds; *Monzie*, Morian æ, moor islands; *Monzievaird*, Morian Varde, moor, watch-tower; *Strowan*, Strœmvand, torrent stream land; *Fosseway*, Fosse weg, waterfall district; *Moulin*, Mühle lan, mill land; *Kinclaven*, Könge Klöven, king's apportioned land; *Kincardine*, Könge Gaardtun, king's castle town; *Comrie*, Kammer rige, royal chamberlain's property; *Crieff*, Krig lan, battle ground; *Forteviot*, Fort tyo Hvid, thieves' white tower; *Fortingall*, Forten gall, strangers' tower; *Dunbarney*, Dun Baernig, the bears' hill; *Muthil*, Mædel, place of meeting; *St. Madoes*, Sammen trædes, places of assembly; *Blair Athol*, Blær Adel, noble proprietors' or army officers' buildings; *Dunkeld*, Dun Kellig, holy hill, (or hill of springs, for the noun kell means a well or spring of water); *Cargill*, Gaard Kellig, holy castle; *Callander*, Kell avand Thor, holy stream, wooded hill; *Collace*, Kell Aäs, burying ground; *Coupar*, Ku Pferche, cow park; *Culross*, Ku Reise, cow path; *Dunblane*, Dun Balävand, river side buildings on hill.

We return to Clydesdale. The name *Clyde* continues the same as in the Roman period. Ptolemy has written it Glotta, but Tacitus, who was the first to mention it, has given it Clota. "Nam Clota et Bodotria, diversi maris æstibus per immensum revectæ, augusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur. Quod tum præsidiis firmabatur," &c. To speculate on the meaning may be in vain. The English verb *glide* is the German verb *gleiten*, and the Danish verb *glide*, all having the same sense; but we do not know whether this has any connection with the river Clyde. The chief affluents of this river are the *Daer*, Daara, the deers' stream; *Duneaton*, *Dun Œden*, stream of the hill wilds; *Snar*, rapid stream; *Elvan*, elf stream; the *Culter*, from Culter Fell, Ku Thor Fjelds, cows' wooded rocky hills; the *Douglas* water, *Dygtlos*, or Tugend los, without bravery district; the *Mouse*, Muss, froth; the *Nethan*, Nedvand, lower stream; the *Avon*, A vand, river stream; the *Calder*, Kell a vand Thor, contracted to K'aa Thor, sacred stream in wooded slopes; *Kelvin*, Kell vand, sacred stream.

Of the district mountains we may mention the *Lowthers*, probably Læv Thors, base wooded hills or slopes; *Biggar*, Big Thors, big wooded slopes; *Dunsyre*, Dun Seier, hills of victory; *Quothquhan law*, Wolf Qvægen Lag (Ting), the wolf cattle law court hill. The

word wolf here reminds of the ancient family legend of the Somervilles, who once owned the district and had their castle at *Carnwath*, wolf castle. The word *Car* begins many place-names in Clydesdale, as elsewhere—*Carluke*, *Carstairs*, *Carmichael*, *Carmunnock*, *Crawford*, corrupted from Carford. The Danish word Gaard was an old Gothic word of very extensive use in Germany and Scandinavia to denote a castle or place of defence. It came to mean also the proprietor's mansion house, and latterly it has come into more general use to signify farm buildings if enclosed by a wall. Its pronunciation is indifferently Kar, Kart, Kard, Gar, Gart, Gort, &c., according to provincial practice. More examples of its application will occur to every person who knows the neighbourhood of this city; those given here will be seen to signify Luke's Castle, Stair's Castle (or perhaps great castle), Michael's Castle, Mungo's Castle (or more probably castle on the moorish ground), Castle Ford. These names remind us that sirnames were not used prior to the twelfth century even by the greatest noblemen, and that in the time of the crusades the use of family names was gradually introduced by gentlemen adding to their baptismal and honorary names that of their district or territory or castle, when they subscribed deeds or transacted public business. Thus we find among our parishes, as in Scandinavia and some parts of Germany, the word town, or ton, or ten, to denote the estate of a principal chief, or the village of his retainers, as Wiston, Roberton, Lamington, Symington, Thankerton, Walston, Liberton, Covington, Dolphinton, Hamilton. In the county there are no parish names ending in By or beginning with Bal except Blantyre, but there are a few place-names of the former kind, and many of the latter in it, or near Glasgow. The verb Bol, to build, is found in all the early languages of Europe, and these two are its application to any kind of buildings for dwelling in.

The remaining parish names may now be noticed. *Avondale*, aa vand dal, river stream valley; *Dalserf*, Dal saarig or saaret, valley of the wounded; *Dalzell*, Dal yell or geld, barren valley; *Wandell*, Vand dal, stream valley; *Blantyre*, Bal vand Thor, Building on the wooded bank of the river; *Bothwell* might in Gothic or Saxon be Boden wald, meaning wood or forest on the plain as distinguished from hill wood, but in Danish, although there are various words the same in sound, the application of them is unsatisfactory;* *Cambuslang*, Camus lang, long curve; *Cambusnethan*, Camus neden or ned vand,

* The Anglo-Saxons used the word Bótel, an object built, to express an abode or mansion.

curve below, or at, river, but the meaning not obvious; *Kilbride*, perhaps Gaard bret, large castle; *Stonehouse*, Steen huus, stone built house; *Shotts*, Skotsk, ground for rearing poor cattle; *Monklands*, modern name given by the clergy in the thirteenth century; *Lesmahagow*, Lös mor hei gae, free moor highway; *Glasford* and *Glasgow* are uncertain in Danish, but may be resolved simply enough if the Gothic, or the Anglo-Saxon, or the modern German be applied in respect of the first syllable, by using the old verb *lassen* in its participle, which may give *Gelassen*, contracted to *Gelass*, or left off in use; Glasford thus becomes an uninhabited fort, and Glasgow an old road or forsaken district; *Govan*, Ku vand, cow streams; *Rutherglen*, Ruderick land, Roderick's land; *Renfrew*, Riende Færge, public ferry; *Greenock*, Grün vik, green bay; *Dumbarton*, Dun baar tun, the bare (rock) hill town; *Leven*, Läv vand, the low river, or the river at the lower end of Loch Lövni. This last word is so written in the Danish account of the Battle of Largs, which took place in 1262.*

The sub-kingdom of Strathclyde or Lanrik probably included more than the district now defined as Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, which together are counted as Clydesdale. The latter county was always part of the former until about 1406. The word strath, like many other common words, has been generally assumed by our philologists to be exclusively Gaelic, in which language it is written srath. But this word may be seen in old writings of various other languages, applied to denote a river valley occasionally, although signifying most frequently a street or highway. The Roman form was stratum, the Italian, strada, the German, strasse or strasze, the Dutch, straat, the Danish, stræde. The Anglo-Saxon chroniclers wrote *Strætclyd.*

* As a strange popular error has arisen about a circumstance mentioned in that account, it may be worth while to notice it, especially as our best modern Scottish historian has been misled by previous writers who had not examined the Danish chronicle, or had misunderstood it. Tytler says—Haco sent a fleet of sixty ships up the Clyde into Lochlong; the sailors then dragged their boats across the land between Arrochar and Tarbet, and launched them into Lochlomond. Another writer says that Lochlong in Gaelic signifies the loch of ships, and that the Icelandic word for it in the chronicle is an exact translation of Lochlong. Even Worsaae himself, a most learned Dane, has adopted the incident, supposing, no doubt, that from abundant local tradition Lochlong was known to have been anciently called the Skipa Fiord. The whole affair is an obvious mistake. The chronicle described the fleet as lying some time in Arran Sound, and then passing to the Cumbraes. While lying off these islands the king sent forty ships *into the Firth*. The words are—"Tha sendi Hako Konongr floratigi Skipa inn i Skipa Fiord," meaning, doubtless, only the Clyde by the *Ships' Firth*. "Ok er their komo i Fiordin, took their Bata sina, ok drogo upp till Vatnz eins mikils, er heiter Loko Lofni;" that is, when they came into the *firth*, the men took their boats and dragged them *up*—no doubt up the Leven—to a meikle water called Lochlomond. The following sentence says, upon that water, outward, lay an earldom called the Lennox (Löfnach), and then follows the *raid* of the district by the Norsemen, who—"tog morg hundrot Nauta, drap margen Man, ok gerdimikit Hervirki"—took more than a hundred nolt, slew many men, and *garred meikle harrying*. This done they went back to their ships, and, in sailing down to rejoin the fleet off the Cumbraes, ten of their vessels were wrecked by a storm in the firth, "i Skipa Firde."

The commonly received opinions about a kingdom of Strathclyde, occupied by Welshmen after the Romans had left the district, and about the Welsh or Gaelic origin of its old names, may have foundations better than those names supply. The similarity of many words and meanings in different languages, the variety of dialects, the gradual changes in ideas and the manner of expressing them, and in the intonation, inflection, adoption, substitution, and spelling of words and parts of words, make it difficult to discriminate so well as to warrant conclusions differing widely from the popular ones. But a cautious and intelligent comparison of evidence is the more desirable, and, in an archæological view, the subject merits it.

NO. VII.

A VISIT TO THE WALL OF HADRIAN:

BY

JOHN BUCHANAN, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Glasgow Archæological Society, on 5th December*, 1859.]

The ruins of this magnificent military barrier constitute perhaps the most impressive monument of the Roman occupation of Britain now extant, whether contemplated as an interesting memorial of ages little known in our insular history, or as a material testimony to that grandeur of design and Herculean labour for which the ancient masters of the world were so remarkable. Lying chiefly in the wilds of Northumberland, and, until a comparatively recent period, difficult, if not dangerous of access, these lonely remains of remote antiquity have been seldom visited in proportion to the interest which they are calculated to excite.

Having at different times examined large sections stretching over many miles, and having on one occasion in particular had the advantage of doing so accompanied by two eminent English antiquaries, one of whose extensive estates is traversed by the best preserved specimens of the Wall itself, including several of the Roman castles; and the other, author of an admirable volume on this ancient barrier, I propose to notice shortly, some of the more striking objects which came under my observation. But, before doing so, it may be useful to review some points in the Wall's history.

In the second century of the Christian era, the conquests of the Romans in Britain embraced nearly the whole of modern England, and a considerable portion of the Scottish Lowlands. But this subjugation had not been accomplished without an obstinate resistance. It required all the bravery and discipline of the legions, led by the most renowned generals of Rome, to advance the imperial eagles into the heart of the then unknown country, and to vanquish the various island-kings who ruled over a fierce and undaunted people. So strong indeed was the national spirit against the invaders, that even

the gentler sex sallied from the woods, and, to the astonishment of the Roman troops, who mistook them for the Furies of classic mythology, joined the British ranks, and nobly fought, side by side, with their painted husbands, brothers, and sons, the numerous, though then unavailing, battles of freedom. It was long before the country was completely subdued. Frequent and bloody revolts took place, one of the most memorable of which was headed by a warrior-queen, who, stimulated by her own and her country's wrongs, collected and led in person a numerous army, and it was only after one of the most sanguinary conflicts which perhaps ever took place in this island, between her and the skilful imperial general Suetonius Paulinus, that Rome triumphed.

In these early wars the Romans encountered a novel species of assailant in the British dogs. These were large and very ferocious mastiffs, of a breed peculiar to the island, trained to attack the bear, the wolf, the celebrated wild bulls, and other savage beasts which infested the forests and wildernesses of ancient Britain; and now when a new foe from afar appeared on the scene, these canine furies rushed with their tatooed masters, amidst loud cries and their own deep hoarse yells, against the Roman light infantry, to their no small annoyance, as these agile soldiers skirmished in front of the impenetrable legions advancing in battle-array. This breed of dogs became famous in the amphitheatre at Rome, where they not only fought with lions, panthers, and other fierce animals, but not unfrequently worried to death groups of the early Christians sewed in the skins of wild beasts, and thrown to them for that dread purpose. So much prized were these mastiffs in Rome, that a Roman officer was appointed to preserve the breed in Britain, under the title of *Procurator Cynegii.*

Roman-England, thus conquered, was held by means of fortresses, planted in the most advantageous and commanding positions throughout the country. These were connected by roads, bottomed for the first time with stone, along which the cohorts marched, and warlike stores were transported. But within the period now under review no grand line of fortification had been attempted, to mark impressively the determination of Rome not to hold the island by a mere temporary rein, but thoroughly and permanently on massive foundations. Thus the Roman province, though studded with castles, was comparatively open to the wild north, from which, desperate and bloody forays were frequently made, either by the Caledonians them-

selves, or in concert with internal provincial revolts against the common foe.

Matters continued in this state till about the close of Trajan's reign, *anno* 117. The attention of that warlike monarch was too much directed to his wars in Mesopotamia and the remote East, to induce him to bestow much care on far-distant insular Britain. Revolts and confusion therefore took place, and Roman affairs in this country began to assume a serious aspect. At that critical juncture, Hadrian appeared prominently on the scene.

This great man—one of the best of the emperors—was born at Rome, in January, *anno* 76. He was the son of a Roman nobleman, cousin to Trajan. His mother was a Spanish lady, a native of Cadiz, that ancient settlement of Rome's great rival—Carthage. Left an orphan at the early age of ten, Hadrian was placed under the guardianship of Trajan and a Roman knight. He became an accomplished scholar, and having entered the army, saw much hard service. In Domitian's reign he commanded a legion in Mæsia (the modern Servia and Bulgaria), and when Trajan became emperor, accompanied that early and constant friend in his celebrated Dacian and Eastern campaigns, where he became thoroughly master of the art of war, and a complete practical soldier. When his great relative died, in the autumn of 117, Hadrian was at Antioch in command of the Roman army of the East, and the soldiers, full of enthusiasm for their favourite general, with shouts raised him on their shields and proclaimed him Emperor. The senate promptly ratified this choice by the legions, and Hadrian ascended the Roman throne at the age of forty-one.

Among other generous deeds consequent on this elevation, Hadrian remitted the whole arrears of taxes, and burnt in the forum of Trajan all the schedules of the debts, amounting to several millions sterling. He then betook himself to a close survey of his enormous empire, the greatest the world ever saw; stretching from the confines of Hindostan on the east, to the mountains of Scotland on the west; and comprehending Persia, the whole of modern Asiatic and European Turkey, the Crimea, Greece, Egypt, Northern Africa, Italy, the Mediterranean Islands, Germany, the Spanish Peninsula, France, the Cantons of Switzerland, the countries along the Rhine, and great part of Britain. The reins of this mighty empire, then in the zenith of its power, were assumed by a man, sagacious in council, firm in purpose, undaunted in war. While Trajan had sought to enlarge,

Hadrian's prudence led him rather to contract the boundaries of Rome's enormous and overgrown dominions. Grand defensible frontiers were preferred by the latter, to the undefined and seemingly boundless marches of the former. In order that he might actually see and judge for himself, inquire into and reform abuses, the new Emperor resolved to travel over and inspect the whole of his vast territories—a Herculean task, which occupied him no less than eighteen years.

In furtherance of this resolution Hadrian turned his steps towards Britain, his attention to which had been early and urgently called by the imperial lieutenant's alarming reports on the rebellious state of the island. Taking with him additional troops, the warlike monarch arrived in this country *anno* 120. With a vigorous hand he crushed revolt and fully re-established Roman pre-eminence. Marching often on foot at the head of the legions, he shewed them that although an emperor he was not the less a soldier, and encouraged them by sharing with alacrity the fatigues, privations, and dangers incident to war. He penetrated to the very heart of Scotland, where the great Agricola had, forty years previously, signally defeated the confederated tribes of the wild North; and having thus acquired a good knowledge, not only of the physical features and probable extent of the country, but also of the warlike stubborn character of the aboriginal people, he resolved to plant in deep and permanent foundations the Roman power in Britain, and create a formidable military curb against both provincial revolt and northern inroads. This object was to be accomplished by vast and massive lines of fortification drawn completely across the island. The point he selected was the track of country between the *embouchure* of the Tyne near Newcastle and the estuary of the Solway, a few miles north-west from Carlisle. The plan of the works was this:—

First. A huge wall of solid stone, about nine feet thick, nineteen feet high, and seventy-three miles in length.

Second. Along the north side of this wall an immense trench, on an average fifteen feet deep and thirty-six feet wide.

Third. On the inner or south side of the wall a military road paved with stone, about seventeen feet broad, for the march of troops and transport of warlike stores.

Fourth. South from the military causeway were three parallel lines of earthworks nearly as high as the great stone wall itself,

and along the space between the northmost and the second of these earthen parallelograms was another trench of nearly the same dimensions as the one outside the *murus*.

To defend these formidable barriers there were seventeen great forts, fifty-one castles, and three hundred and twenty watch-towers. These were built chiefly against and along the inner side of the great Wall, and were so placed that at every fourth mile stood one of the fortresses; at every mile a castle; and between each castle, four of the military turrets or watch-towers. The form of these forts and castles was square, in the usual Roman fashion, protected by solid stone walls several feet thick, and flanked by ditches; the entrances being secured by double-barred gates and guard-rooms. The forts embraced a space of from three to six acres each, according to circumstances. Each fort was garrisoned by a cohort about 500 strong, commanded by a military præfect. The castles held about 100 soldiers under a centurion. The turrets were stone boxes about ten feet square, the walls of which were three feet thick, each turret holding probably half a-dozen men, performing the duty of watchers or sentinels. The total force guarding these lines may have been about fourteen thousand.

The west end of this grand military barrier was at Bowness, on the Solway, a few miles from Carlisle, and not far from the pillar long afterwards erected to mark the death-scene of that unprincipled aggressor on Scottish liberties, the first Edward; while the eastern extremity rested at the now well-known village near Newcastle called Walls-end, significant of its ancient Roman origin.

Besides these various forts, strong stations were thrown out as supporters and rallying-points, both towards what is now the Scottish Border, to break the first surge of the *Picti*, or painted people, from their gloomy forests and marshes in any assault on the wall, as well as to have a hold of the outlying district; and also towards the English side, beyond the lines of earthworks, to serve the same purpose, against any sudden attack by the subjugated Britons from inner-England. Military roads connected all these outlying works with the grand chain of fortifications already described.

Such was the plan designed by the practical military genius of Hadrian to hold firmly Britain to Rome, and worthy of his name and renown.

An opinion long prevailed that these great fortified lines were not the design of one man, but of several, at successive periods of Rome's

history; more particularly, that only the earthworks, or a portion of them, belonged to Hadrian; while the merit of the wall, or crowning effort of the whole, was supposed to fall to the lot of Severus. But this opinion is now generally discarded by antiquaries. To the late Rev. John Hodgson, and to the Rev. Dr. John Collingwood Bruce, one of the secretaries of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, and an honorary member of our own Archæological Society, chiefly belongs the credit of successfully vindicating the title of the noble Hadrian to be in all future time recognised as the principal author of this stupendous undertaking as one grand whole, in opposition to the hypothesis which split it into parts, and coupled the construction with the name of the ferocious African, Septimius Severus.*

After Hadrian had sketched out the plan he returned to the Continent, leaving behind him a crack legion, the VI., surnamed "The Vanquisher," which he had brought over, and which, along with other two, the II. and XX., remained in Britain as the permanent Roman Guard of this island more than 300 years, recruited when necessary from Italy. To each were attached large bodies of auxiliaries in the Roman pay, composed from various conquered nations. It was by these troops that the grand design of Hadrian was executed. It is supposed that the work consumed about ten years, and that thousands of the enslaved Britons were compelled to forge their own chains, as labourers, under Roman taskmasters, in carrying stones and other drudgery.

The remainder of the Wall's history is obscure, from the destruction of records at the fall of Rome. But accident has preserved to us a most interesting glimpse of the condition of matters on the Wall very shortly before the Romans finally withdrew from the island. This was in the reign of the feeble Honorius. At that period hosts of barbarians swarmed round the empire, eager for its overthrow. It became more than ever necessary for the forlorn rulers of Italy to know precisely the places where all the Roman troops were posted. An army list was therefore drawn up, pointing this out. It has come down to us under the title of the *Notitia Imperii*, and from it we learn how Britain was then guarded. It is a very curious document,

* Pope's beautiful Ode, "The Dying Christian to his Soul," which originally appeared in the *Spectator*, anno 1712, was borrowed from a sonnet by Hadrian to his departing spirit, translated thus:—

"Alas, my soul! thou pleasing companion of this body; thou fleeting thing that art now deserting it! Whither art thou flying? to what unknown scene—all trembling, fearful, and pensive! What now is become of thy former wit and humour? Thou shalt jest and be gay no more!"

The subject of Hadrian's verses was pointed out to Pope by Steele, in a letter wherein he requested the poet to adapt the ideas to modern times. *Vide* Pope's Works.

and affords the last view we have of what the Romans were doing in our native land immediately before the advent of the Saxons. The probable date of this list is *circa* 430.

In the palmy days of Roman power in Britain the three legions before referred to had their head-quarters as follows :—The II. lay at Caerleon, near Abergavenney, in Monmouthshire; the XX. at Chester, principally to watch the *Silures* or Welsh mountaineers; the VI. was stationed at York, to overawe central England. But from the *Notitia* it appears that the pressure of the barbarians on Italy had by that time rendered it necessary for the Romans to withdraw from Britain one of these legions of the Guard, and to confide the protection of Roman interests in this island to the remaining two, and a large body of auxiliaries.

The legion thus recalled to Rome was the XX. It came over to Britain originally in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, and had been in the island about four hundred years, nearly the whole period of the Roman dominion. In the earlier part of its career in Britain (about the date of the destruction of Jerusalem) it was commanded by the celebrated Julius Agricola, father-in-law of the historian Cornelius Tacitus.*

The bulk of the other two legions had been moved from their old head-quarters at Caerleon and York over to the east coast of England, to repel the descents of the Saxons, then a source of trouble and alarm to the colonists and Romanized-Britons. A few squadrons of cavalry and detachments of infantry were stationed at various commanding points in the interior, to check insular disturbances, while the wall of Hadrian was left in charge solely of foreign troops in the Roman pay.

It is a curious reflection at the present time, that in these nearly forgotten days England was protected from the fierce unconquered tribes of our own native North by bodies of Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, Hungarians, Dutch, Thracians, and other Roman auxiliaries. These lay in cohorts and smaller divisions within the fortresses and castles along Hadrian's Wall. The *Notitia* contains a list of these foreigners and the Roman names of the various strongholds garrisoned by them, from the one end of the fortification to the other. These Roman names have for many centuries been overlaid

* The Eagle of this legion is preserved in the Pitti Palace at Florence, belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. It is of bronze, and about the size of a pigeon. The wings are spread, and there is a small aperture for receiving the end of the pole on the top of which the eagle was perched when carried by the standard-bearer. The letters XX. appear in raised characters upon the back of the proud bird of Jove.

by an uncouth provincial nomenclature, under which it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to have fixed a Roman appellation to any particular spot. But a key was found nearly as effectual as that which the famous Rosetta Stone afforded to Dr. Young and to Champollion. Inscriptions on altars and slabs left by these foreign soldiers in the various mural forts were from time to time disinterred from the ruins, and these lapidary-records enabled the earlier antiquaries, and more especially the learned and indefatigable Horsley, to restore the lost *Notitia*-names to most of the ruined fortresses.

But as the barbarian hosts swarmed closer and closer round Rome, the whole of the imperial troops and auxiliaries were at last withdrawn from Britain, and the flower of the British youth drafted from their island-homes to swell the ranks of the Roman army, in the desperate efforts which the ancient Mistress of Nations was then vainly making to ward off impending destruction. The fall of Rome left Britain nearly defenceless. Including London (then called *Augusta*) there were about fifty Roman walled towns, and numerous splendid mansions and beautiful villas scattered throughout Roman-England. All these were doomed to destruction. This is the era in which, if we are to accept King Arthur as a real personage and not a mere myth, that renowned British hero, embalmed in the poetry of Spenser and Scott, and more recently in the beautiful creation of Tennyson, flourished, and with his chiefs, designated by the romancers as the Knights of the Round Table, vainly endeavoured to repel the heathen Saxons from British soil. We can conceive the rich prize which ultimately came within the rude grasp of the Saxons in rifling Roman-England, and the surprise and rapacity of our own wild ancestors as they scaled the barrier of Hadrian and revelled in the spoil of the deserted Roman fortresses and castles which lined its course.

It seems unnecessary to pursue the subject through the gloom of the middle ages. Suffice it to say that many of the fortresses and castles of old Rome along Hadrian's Wall became in later times dens of Border robbers, whose desperate character and daring feats long rendered them objects of terror to the people of both kingdoms in their vicinity, and led to sundry stringent and curious statutory enactments for repressing their lawless acts. To attempt a visit to the more central parts of Hadrian's Wall (or as it was popularly called, the "Pecht's Wall") without an armed escort was long out of the question. When the great Camboden, accompanied by the

celebrated Sir Robert Cotton, founder of the Cottonian Library, both full of antiquarian curiosity, visited the north of England, about two hundred and fifty years ago, and, proceeding from Carlisle, examined the more westerly section of the Wall, they durst not attempt the central portion from dread of the banditti. Indeed, down till far in the last century the track was most insecure. The first person in more modern times who ventured along the whole line was a bookseller in Birmingham, named William Hutton, who walked all the way from that town to and along the Wall and home again, alone; an extraordinary feat for an old man of seventy-eight, but full of the true enthusiasm of an antiquary. This was in 1801, and his book is a very curious record of the journey.* In fact, so late as about 1810, it was unsafe to travel in some parts along the old highway from Carlisle to Newcastle without fire-arms, and people having occasion to cross the country joined together in armed parties for protection. Nay, a respectable attorney in Newcastle (Mr. Fenwick) still living, remembers having been called upon to write the will of a person about to undertake the dangerous journey from that city to Carlisle! When I first visited the district a number of years ago, I was informed by the proprietor of a moorland farm in one of the wildest sections, which now yields a well-paid rent of £300 a-year, that it was purchased in the beginning of last century from a notorious horse-stealer for only £58, which was then considered just so much money absolutely thrown away, as no return would ever be got from it. Now, the whole line may be traversed with as much safety as any part of the island.

Such is an outline of the Wall-history and its accessories.

I have personally examined about thirty miles of this ancient barrier at different times, principally in the wildest, and therefore best preserved portions, starting alternately from Newcastle and from Carlisle. The last is perhaps the best point to proceed from on an exploratory tour. Leaving the latter Border-city by the railway to Newcastle, the visitor should come off at the small station of Rosehill, about seventeen miles east from Carlisle. This part of the country is on the borders of Cumberland and Northumberland, and possesses many objects of great interest. The station-house occupies a position in the very track of Hadrian's Wall; and the neighbourhood was

*Hutton survived this remarkable pedestrian trip about fourteen years, and died in 1815, at the great age of ninety-two. He wrote a number of rather curious books besides that alluded to in the text, one of the most amusing of which is a history of himself and his family, published the year after his death by his daughter, and re-edited in 1841, with notes by her, then in her eighty-fifth year.

a favourite locality with Sir Walter Scott, who drew from it some of the fine pictures in Guy Mannering, and the grotesque character of the stalwart gipsy, Meg Merrilees. "Mumps Ha', or the Beggar's Hotel," so graphically described by him, is still standing, and a very queer looking affair it certainly is.

About a mile from the Rosehill Station is a large, old-fashioned, Cumberland farm-house, named Bird-Oswald. It stands on an eminence, screened on one side by a thin belt of tall black trees, and is rather a conspicuous object. This house is situated within the area of the largest fortress on the whole line of Hadrian's Wall. The house itself and the dykes adjoining have been built with the dressed stones taken from the Roman ruins.* Indeed, all along the line the interesting mural remains have from immemorial time been made use of as a mere quarry for the erection of modern buildings; and *this*, far more than the silent wear of time, has tended to damage this splendid memorial of Roman occupation. The Wall-fortress, now known as Bird-Oswald, is mentioned in the *Notitia* by the Roman appellation of *Amboglanna*. It occupies a very strong natural position on the top of a lofty peninsula, formed by sweeps of the river Irthing, which flows close to the boundary of the two counties.

The banks of the river are high and beautifully wooded. The scenery is said to resemble very much some portions of the Troad. The fortress stands close to the brink of the steep river-banks, and covers an area of five and a-half acres. Notwithstanding the damage which the fort has sustained in past ages its outlines are wonderfully distinct. Considerable portions of the walls are still standing. At one point there are eight courses of masonry quite entire. The gateways and adjoining guard-rooms are also in good preservation. The gates had originally been two-leaved, moving on pivots, and shutting against a large square block of stone placed in the centre of the gateway. The pivot-holes in the stone-floor are quite distinct, and the stone-blocks alluded to bear marks of the abrasion caused by the flinging against them of the heavy gates when closed by the guard. Originally the gates had been wide, but at a later period some of these have been built up one-half. The newer masonry is very coarse as compared with the symmetry of the original, and was evidently built in haste. The same operation has been carried out

* I have recently been informed that a considerable part of this antique farm-house has been re-built since I last visited the locality, in the autumn of 1856.

at various other strongholds along the line, and very significantly reveals the declension and conscious weakness of the Roman power at that particular time, as well as the probable increased boldness of the outlying foe. An arch still stands over one of the passages. The ruts of Roman carriage-wheels are quite perceptible in the paved-way leading into the fort, as at Pompeii, and the steps to the baths are worn thin by the feet of the soldiers. The area within the walls is strewed with ruins of the Roman barracks, amidst which sheep now browse over the once well-guarded home of the long-forgotten brave.

Amboglanna is the fifth of the series of principal wall-fortresses, counting from the west. In the *Notitia* it is stated to have been garrisoned by a cohort of Dacians. These soldiers were from the western shores of the Black Sea, and their country, conquered by Trajan, comprehended modern Hungary and the adjacent provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia, now governed by Turkish Hospodars. About forty inscriptions have from time to time been discovered at this fortress, several of which are preserved in the extensive museum of the Society of Antiquaries at Newcastle. Seventeen of these mention the First Cohort of the Dacians. One of the latter, in particular, is an altar to Jupiter and the deities of Augustus, by the the First, or Ælian Cohort of the Dacians, commanded by Gallicus the Tribune, which is the precise body of soldiers indicated by the ancient Roman Army-list before referred to, as having then been quartered here, and thus fully identifying the place with the *Amboglanna* of the *Notitia*. I saw several broken altars lying among the ruins, and the number thoughtlessly destroyed not many years ago for making drains is much to be deplored, as probably depriving us of curious lapidary-records whose secret has perished with them.

In one of the rooms of the farm-house is shewn the figure of a goddess in stone, found a few years since among the ruins. It had probably been placed in a small temple as an object of adoration by the Dacian soldiers. The figure is about three feet in height, and seated in a semi-circular stone chair. The anatomy is good, and the drapery of the robe, which is partially thrown over one of the shoulders, is gracefully managed and well chiselled. The head and hands have been broken off, probably during the early Christian crusade against Pagan idols, but the former has also been found, and enables us to read the countenance of this ancient local deity, which is mild and expressive. The hair is loose and without ornament,

and the sandaled-feet are nearly hid by the low folds of the drapery.* The class of deities to which this statue belongs is known as the *Deæ Matres*, or Mother Goddesses, a supposed combination of Roman divinities with those of other nations. The Roman mythology was very flexible and comprehensive. The deities now alluded to are generally represented in groups of three, seated, and with baskets of fruit in their laps. Some very perfect specimens have been found in Germany. Altogether this goddess of ancient *Amboglanna* is a very interesting object, and has been pronounced by one of the leading antiquaries of England to be the most complete specimen yet discovered in Britain.

Fine sections of the Great Wall itself are seen at *Amboglanna*. In fact, for about two miles westward both it and the earthworks are in uncommonly good preservation, and will amply repay a visit. At one place called Harehill the *murus* is about ten feet in height, though here it has been stripped of its facing-stones. One of the Roman quarries from which part of the stones used in building the Wall were taken is visible at a place named "Coombe Crag," with rude inscriptions, figures, and scratchings, cut on the face of the rock by the ancient soldier-masons.

As the country has been much cultivated to the westward of Harehill, the Roman works in that direction are much injured. It is better, therefore, to turn eastward into Northumberland across the river Irthing.† Returning then to Bird-Oswald Farm, and proceeding along the space between *Amboglanna* and the edge of the river-cliff, the ruins of one of the mile-castles are visible on the very brink, evidently intended to guard the passage of the somewhat rapid stream. After crossing the river the course of the Great Wall passes over some flattish ground, where it is indistinct, but it soon reaches and ascends successive ranges of basaltic cliffs which traverse the country in an easterly direction many miles. On the very crest of these the Wall runs through the wildest parts of Northumberland. These basaltic ranges are named successively, the Walton, Winshiels, Peel, and Sewingshields Crags, and are included in the general appellation of the "Nine Nicks of Thirlwall." Some parts of the latter are one thousand feet above the sea-level. Gaps or transverse-ravines pierce at various points this elevated region. These were all care-

* The head was found long before the body of the figure, and taken to Newcastle, where it may now be seen in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. It is to be hoped that the body also will be committed to the same safe keeping.

† The Poltross Burn, which runs into the Irthing, is, strictly speaking, the boundary-line between the two counties.

fully guarded. The names of some are peculiar, viz., Thorny-Doors, Bloody-Gap, Bogle-Hole, Pilgrim's-Gap, Caw-Gap, Milking-Gap, Cuddy-Gap, Castle-Nick, Busy-Gap, &c. Many a border-raid by the moss-troopers and other lawless bands took place through their gloomy sides, and many a bloody fray and not unfrequent murders darken the traditions which rest on this dreary track. The low grounds towards Scotland are desolate wastes. Several of these gaps are said to be haunted; and a lonely unroofed house down on the moor, formerly a rendezvous of smugglers and sheep-stealers, is pointed out as being particularly infested by the spirits of those long ago murdered there; while, in stormy nights, lights are seen mysteriously flitting through this dismal crime-stained ruin!

The view from the elevated region now alluded to is most extensive, embracing Skiddaw and some of the Scottish hills, with a wide sweep of dreary moors. Here some of the best preserved specimens of the great Wall are to be seen, especially on the Walton Crags. It is very interesting to observe the consummate engineering skill with which the massive *murus* has been led up and down the various steep ascents and declivities, never refusing the most formidable. The peculiar internal construction of the Wall is here also well seen in the shattered sections. The faces are composed of large carefully dressed stones, in the form of cubes, and built in horizontal lines. The heart has been filled up with splintered stones, laid in layers, and well rammed together. Into and over each layer lime in a heated state has been poured profusely, thus uniting the whole into a peculiarly tenacious and hardened mass, extremely difficult to break up.

The first two Wall-fortresses met with beyond the wooded Irthing are popularly called Carvoran and Great-Chesters. Both stand on the elevated region described. The former covered three and a-half, the latter three acres. In Roman times the first was designated *Magna*, and garrisoned by Dalmatians from the eastern shores of the Adriatic; the second was named *Aesica*, and held by Spaniards. Both are now greatly dilapidated, so that there is not much to detain a visitor at either.

Proceeding still eastwards, with fine sections of the Wall, the moorland farm of Cawfields is reached. This is about midway between the west and east seas. At this point stands the best preserved of all the mile-castles. The mass of rubbish which had long accumulated inside, has been lately cleared away by its learned

proprietor, Mr. Clayton, and the castle walls and gateways are now finely revealed. At one part, nine courses of the masonry are still standing. Each gateway is ten feet wide. The gates had been double-leaved like those at *Amboglanna*, and when thrown open were received into a recess on each side. The pivot-holes are distinctly visible. Among other things found in this mile-castle were, an altar to Apollo, coins of Vespasian and Marcus Aurelius, and an inscribed slab to the memory of a Pannonian soldier, by his widow.

Soon after a wide fall takes place in the elevated ridge, and a wild-looking road runs northwards towards Scotland from the old highway between Newcastle and Carlisle which is here met with. This latter line of communication was constructed in 1746, after the Battle of Culloden, by soldiers under the directions of General Wade, and from this circumstance is popularly known in the district as the "Military Way." In forming it Wade ruthlessly destroyed large portions of Hadrian's Wall for the mere sake of the stones. Now, the road is almost entirely deserted, having been superseded by the railway, and has a peculiarly dreary aspect in its course through the moors.

Near the point where the two old roads alluded to diverge, a very quaint-looking house stands by the wayside. During the greater part of a century this house was a much frequented hostelry, under the somewhat alluring sign, "Twice Brewed Ale." Old Hutton rested here in the course of his pedestrian journey, and has given a very graphic description of its interior. In consequence of the cessation of road traffic, this little Northumbrian inn has recently been discontinued, but the house is a good landmark to strangers in the wilds.

The next fortress reached is called Little-Chesters. It embraced an area of rather more than three acres. Its Roman name was *Vindolana*, and the garrison was the Fourth Cohort of Gauls. This station is sadly dilapidated. It had been placed to guard the wide and picturesque gorge in which the Chinely Burn pursues its brawling course, southwards, by Bardon-mill to the Tyne.* In this beautiful ravine, looking across to the ruined fortress, stands the charming villa of Chesterholm, built, about twenty-five years ago, by a clergyman, entirely from the Roman ruins. Within this pretty place I

* Those who do not wish to traverse the rugged region betwen the Irthing and this point, may start from Bird-Oswald to the Roschill station, and proceed thence along the railway, eastwards, to the station of Bardon-mill, where they should come off and proceed up the gorge alluded to, till they reach *Vindolana* or Chesterholm, about one mile distant.

saw a perfect profusion of inscribed altars, slabs, and other interesting memorials of antiquity, which the amiable owner had carefully collected from *Vindolana.* Within a short distance from the villa on the side of the ancient Roman way stands, like an aged sentinel, a Roman milestone. It is upwards of six feet in height, and thicker than a man's body. There had been an inscription, but now defaced. Horsely read it more than one hundred years ago—"*Bono reipublicæ nato*"—"To one born for the good of the Republic." Another milestone of similar dimensions which stood 1000 Roman paces westward, was sometime ago barbarously split to pieces for gate-posts.

Leaving this beautiful retreat the Wall proceeds eastwards near the farm-house of Steelrig, along the crest of another range of basaltic cliffs called Peel-Crags. At the bottom of these are several small sombre-looking lakes or tarns. Here, again, fine specimens of the Wall and Military Way are met with, and another well preserved mile-castle which has been lately cleared from the rubbish. It is called Milking-Gap. Near this point I walked along a considerable section of the Roman causeway. Other two mile-castles in tolerable preservation are successively met with near Hot-bank and at Cuddy-Gap.

At length is reached the great fort named in the *Notitia, Borcovicus.* It was at one time popularly called "Chester-in-the-Wall," but is now more generally known as "House Steads," in consequence of the numerous remains of buildings which have been for centuries and still are strewed over its extensive area. This is one of the most interesting strongholds along the whole mural line. It covers about five acres, and has been termed the Pompeii of Britain, an appellation not undeserved, considering the numerous and interesting discoveries which have been, and continue to be made within its walls. A considerable portion of the surface is still covered with *debris.* This is in course of being gradually cleared away, under directions of the proprietor, John Clayton, Esq., and almost constantly, as the removal is proceeded with, some new object of interest—an altar—a slab—a mutilated statue or broken column is revealed. Among the latest discoveries is a remarkably well-preserved altar to the god *Silvanus Cocidius,* by a Præfect named *Quintus Florius Maternus,* commander of the garrison. This, and many other interesting memorials are preserved at Mr. Clayton's beautiful mansion of Chesters, to be noticed in the sequel. Others are deposited in the museum of

the Antiquaries of Newcastle, within the fine Old Norman Keep, whose collection of Roman remains and other memorials of former ages is highly instructive. The number as well as variety of antiquities found from first to last in *Borcovicus*, preclude an enumeration in a limited paper such as this. The pages of Gordon, Horsley, Hodgson, and Bruce, supply full details.

The walls, gateways, and guard-rooms, are in fine preservation, and have been lately much relieved from the great accumulation of rubbish, which prevented some of their peculiarities from being properly observed. There are four gateways as usual. The very same features characterise these as at *Amboglanna*. The entrances have been originally closed by double-leaved massive gates, moving on pivots, but at a later period built up one-half. The ruts of wheels in the flagged-gateways; the large centre-stones against which the doors were barred; the pivot-holes; the well-worn steps to the baths; the hypocausts; are, as in the Bird-Oswald fortress, all distinctly visible. The sides of one of the guard-rooms are scarred by the sharpening of the soldiers' knives; and the deep draw-well of the station, cradled with stone, still holds a copious supply of pure water. The ruins of the fortress itself, and those which down till comparatively modern times lay strewed over a large area outside the walls, shew that a Roman town existed here. The outline of the streets, the place where an amphitheatre stood, the kilns for drying corn, and other *vestigiæ* can still be traced. In walking along the principal street of *Borcovicus* I observed, at what we would call the Cross, several large broken columns still *in situ*, one in particular of very massive proportions, which must, in Roman times, have towered to a considerable elevation.

The First Cohort of Tungrians lay in *Borcovicus*. These were crack soldiers. They were from Dutch Brabant, now forming part of the kingdom of the Netherlands. We know of them in Scotland from Roman story. In the great battle between the Romans, under Julius Agricola, and the confederated tribes of the North, described with characteristic terseness and power by Cornelius Tacitus, the attack was made, and the brunt of that bloody conflict chiefly sustained on the Roman side, by two cohorts of Tungrians and three of Batavians, forming part of the auxiliaries attached to the Roman army. Subsequently this very cohort (the First) assisted in constructing the middle portion of our own Antonine Barrier, and lay for sometime at Castlecary and the vicinity of Falkirk, in

both of which places inscriptions by this gallant corps have been found.

At *Borcovicus* altars by five of the Tungrian commanding officers were discovered, from which we learn not only these officers' names, but the favourite deities they adored. These last were Jupiter, Mars, Hercules, the tutelary gods of the Emperor, and as already remarked *Silvanus Cocidius*. Besides these, the Sun was worshipped at *Borcovicus*. In a cave outside the walls, several altars dedicated by centurions and others to the great luminary were found. The translated inscriptions on these altars are to "the God, the Sun, the invincible Mithras, Lord of Ages." At sametime was discovered a bust of Mithras, or the sun personified, flanked by these altars and facing the east.

Hodgson describes him as seated between two hemispheres, surrounded by the twelve signs of the Zodiac, holding in his right hand, opposite *Taurus*, a sword; and in his left, opposite *Virgo*, a torch. The Signs commence after the Roman manner, at *Aquarius*, or January, and end with *Capricorn*, or December. The uplifted torch Hodgson supposes to be intended to denote the rising of the sun above the lower hemisphere; and the sword to indicate that Mithras was coming forth as the conqueror of Winter. Sabaism, or the worship of Baal (the sun), prevailed over a very wide range of the ancient heathen world. Lastly, in regard to the Tungrians, a monumental slab was dug up, to the surgeon of the cohort, named Anicus Ingenuus, who died at the early age of twenty-five, perhaps a victim to the then rigorous climate of Britain.

There is much about the aspect of the general ruins and the locality calculated to excite interesting reflection; while the perfect solitude and deep silence which now reign contrast strongly with the long forgotten past, when the shrill notes of the military trumpet, the clang of arms, and the bustle of a considerable colonial town in which a Roman Prætor interpreted the laws and dispensed justice, animated ancient *Borcovicus*. The only human habitation now near is a small house built from the ruins, and occupied by a shepherd. For the first time since the departure of the Romans *Borcovicus* received within its ruined walls, lately, an assemblage of those who reverence the shrine of antiquity. In the autumn of 1852 the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, then holding a meeting at Newcastle, under the presidency of Lord Talbot de Malahide, visited in a body this venerable mural fortress, under the courteous

invitation of Mr. Clayton; and who among those then present can cease to remember with high gratification the instructive remarks by the masters of archæological science, and the pleasing interchange of thought among the members on the scene then presented for contemplation, and other subjects of kindred character. A similar visit was made last autumn (1858) to *Amboglanna*, from Carlisle.

Before leaving *Borcovicus* I may mention that in the beginning of last century the property belonged to a notorious robber named Armstrong, the chief of a gang of desperate theives, the terror of the district for many miles round. For horse and sheep stealing, and even darker crimes, the fame of these lawless men was widely spread. In 1703 Nicholas Armstrong, of House Steads, was under sentence of death for robbery, and among other crimes, confessed having been instrumental in cutting out the tongue, cropping off one of the ears, and slicing part of the cheek of William Turner, of Cringledykes, "as a satisfaction" for apprehending some of Armstrong's minions of iniquity! Busy-Gap, which lies a short way east from *Borcovicus*, was long a principal outlet of escape, through the ridge, for all manner of desperadoes. The last Armstrong who owned House Steads sold it to a gentleman in Redesdale, Northumberland, and emigrated to America, a great many years ago. It changed proprietors again about twenty years since, and was then purchased by the present learned owner, chiefly for the sake of its time-honoured Roman remains.

After leaving *Borcovicus* by its eastern portals the Roman works continue in fine preservation along an elevated track called Sewingshields, till the next fortress is reached. This mural stronghold is now called Carrawburgh. Its Roman name was *Procolitia*. It covered about three and a-half acres, and was garrisoned by the First Cohort of Batavians. They are mentioned by Cæsar, and their country was on the banks of the Lower Rhine. The Batavians were very brave soldiers, and as already mentioned behaved with great gallantry, along with the Tungrians, at the battle of the Grampians. It is interesting to find them quartered so near their old companions in arms, who lay only about four miles distant, at *Borcovicus*. The ruins of *Procolitia* have so much disfigured it that there is little to detain a visitor at this point.

Proceeding still eastwards the district of Tippermuir is reached. Here the Wall and ditches are in fine preservation. The *fossè* has been cut with immense labour, for a considerable distance, through

a mass of trap, and seems destined to mark the Roman works at this section almost for ever. Huge blocks several tons in weight have been hewn out of the solid rock, then lifted out and laid on both sides, but from some unknown cause never removed. The remains of a mile-castle are also seen in the vicinity. A short way further east the country alters its wild aspect for the smiling and beautiful region watered by the North Tyne. This is quite a relief to those who have toiled through the dreary country, from the confines of Cumberland to this point, along the line of the Great Wall.

Amidst the charming sylvan landscape stands the next mural fortress. It is now called Chesters, a word very extensively met with in the north of England, and always resting on localities where there has been a stronghold. In the *Notitia* the euphonious appellation of *Cilurnum* is given to this fortress, and it was garrisoned by Spanish cavalry. At this beautiful estate the antiquary is almost overpowered by the number and variety of mural and other remains which the archæological zeal and fine taste of Mr. Clayton have preserved as instructive memorials of the times of Roman Occupation.

Cilurnum embraced about five and a-quarter acres. The walls are well revealed, some portions being five feet thick and eight courses of masonry in height. The eastern and northern gateways have lately been laid bare. Sections of the great *murus* are also seen stretching beyond both side-walls of the fortress. Within the latter the remains are very interesting. Several streets paved with flagged stones are visible, besides the remains of eight apartments. One of these is supposed from its size and position to have been the Hall of Justice, and the others to have belonged to a private house, probably that of the commanding officer. In one room connected with the baths was found the statue of a river-god in a reclining position, now in Mr. Clayton's unique collection. An arched vault, about ten feet square and upwards of six feet in height from the floor to the roof, is entered by descending several steps. When first discovered, the remains of a massive wooden door plated with iron were perceptible. It had opened inwards, and in the interstices of the stone floor a number of Roman coins were found. The vault is supposed to have been the treasury of the fort. The remains of baths, a furnace for supplying heated air to apartments, and the usual hypocausts, are also seen. Some of the flues, still containing soot, are preserved. Outside the walls were many ruined buildings, the whole indicating that ancient *Cilurnum* was a Roman military-

town of considerable extent. Indeed, the large bodies of soldiers permanently stationed in the Wall-forts, almost necessarily drew a large population around them to supply their wants to some extent, a feature which has led to the origin and growth of towns in other places, as well as in the north of England. The burial-place of the soldiers is a short way from the fortress, in a small grove of cypress. Here, have been found various sepulchral-slabs. One of these has, within a circle, sculptured, a bust; but the inscription is nearly worn away. Another bears the figure of a soldier on horseback, answering to the fact of cavalry having been quartered in *Cilurnum*. This curious slab is preserved in the extensive collection of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle. The large square stones, strongly clamped together, which formed the foundations of a Roman bridge across the river at *Cilurnum*, are still visible in the bed of the stream, unaffected by the winter floods of more than a thousand years.*

In the midst of a finely wooded park, through which the beautiful stream of the North Tyne winds in graceful sweeps, stands the spacious mansion of Chesters, in proximity to the *Cilurnum*-ruins, and built entirely from Roman remains. In an edifice adjoining, designated the "Antiquity House," is deposited Mr. Clayton's extensive and interesting collection of Roman memorials. These are from *Cilurnum*, *Procolitia*, *Borcovicus*, *Vindolana*, from several of the mile-castles, and other localities of ancient renown. They comprehend statues, inscribed altars, and slabs, the heads of Corinthian pillars, sepulchral tablets, fine specimens of Samian ware, in amphoræ, vases, and other fictile remains; soldiers' sandals, with the broad-headed nails still adhering to the soles, hair-combs, children's shoes, a very extensive series of Roman coinage in silver and brass, and many more objects of interest too numerous to be here particularised. Among these instructive memorials are a statue, six feet in height, supposed of Cybele, Mother of the Gods, and an inscribed slab to the Emperor Heliogabalus. From this last we ascertain the date of its dedication to have been the 30th of October, answering to the year 221 of the Christian era. We also learn that a temple which had then long existed at *Cilurnum* had, from age, become dilapidated, and was restored or rebuilt by the most distinguished soldiers of the

* Since I last visited *Cilurnum* an important discovery has been made in the vicinity. While thinning and clearing out the rank jungle from an old wood on the eastern margin of the North Tyne, nearly opposite Chesters, during the month of May, 1860, a piece of Hadrian's Wall, eight feet in height, and the massive land-pier of the Roman bridge which had spanned the stream, were revealed. These interesting remains had been concealed in the heart of the wood for centuries, and owe their fine state of preservation to this fortunate circumstance. I am indebted for this information to my valued friend, the Rev. Dr. Bruce of Newcastle.

second wing of Spanish horse, quartered here, by command of Marius Valerianus, the Imperial Legate, and under the superintendence of Septimius Nilus, the Præfect. When this lapidary-record is compared with the *Notitia*, we find that Spanish cavalry garrisoned *Cilurnum* two hundred years. The Romans were not in the custom of moving their troops, capriciously, from place to place, as is the practice with modern regiments. The legions destined for service in Britain remained there constantly. Hence the long sojourn of Spanish troops at *Cilurnum*. The sagacity of the Romans in posting their auxiliaries, or to *them* foreign soldiers, along Hadrian's Wall, is worthy of notice. Composed of men from many conquered nations, these were broken into parties, so that no large number of any particular nation was concentrated at any one point, but kept separate by soldiers of a totally different people—thus, Gauls were separated from Gauls by Dutchmen, Spaniards by Batavians, and so on, thereby creating a check against general conspiracy or treachery among these mural troops.

No one who has had the privilege of visiting *Cilurnum* can leave its precincts without retaining a feeling of profound interest in the archæological memorials there collected, and so appropriately under the care of such a learned and zealous antiquary as the courteous and hospitable proprietor of Chesters.

The ruins of five additional fortresses exist between *Cilurnum* and the eastern termination of the Wall. These are—Halton-Chesters *(Hunnum)*, Rutchester *(Vindoballa)*, Benwell *(Condercum)*, Newcastle *(Pons Aelii)*, and Walls-end *(Segedunum)*. But as that district is less interesting in an archæological point of view, the mural remains being much defaced by cultivation and buildings, I shall not pursue the subject further. I shall only remark that the now great town of *New*castle owes its name to the erection, by the eldest son of William the Conqueror, of the fine Norman Keep, which was then designated the *New* Castle, in contradistinction to the *Old* Castle of the Romans, and exists in fine condition. Prior to the Conquest the place was popularly called Monk-Chesters.

Having said this much regarding Hadrian's Wall, it must be a source of gratification to archæologists in particular to know that, much as this splended memorial of remote antiquity has been dilapidated by the merciless hands of man, the spoiler has now been to a great extent stayed. The Duke of Northumberland and others holding extensive possessions in the districts it traverses, have taken

large portions of it under their care. Its history has been explained to the farmers and others along the line, and these now take an interest in its preservation and are proud of it. How desirable it would be, were a similar course adopted for the protection of what still lingers of our own Roman barrier between the Clyde and the Forth, constructed during the reign of Antoninus Pius, the worthy successor of Hadrian, but which has long been so sadly neglected. *It*, too, has a history full of interest, and ought to excite in the mind of every Scotsman a wish for its preservation, as, among other claims, a venerable memorial of the time when the torch of civilization was first carried into our native land. To shew the interest which the Duke of Northumberland takes in the remains of the Roman Occupation, His Grace and the Duchess, last year, rode along an extensive range of Hadrian's Wall, accompanied by Mr. Clayton and the Rev. Dr. Bruce, visiting *Cilurnum*, *Procolitia*, *Borcovicus*, *Vindolana*, several of the mile-castles, and other points of interest. With his well-known munificence, also, the Duke some time ago directed a complete survey to be made of the Wall, from sea to sea, and of that section of the ancient Roman *Iter*, popularly called Watling Street, running through the counties of Durham and Northumberland, from the Tees to the Scotch Border. This extensive survey occupied several years, and has recently been completed by Mr. Henry Maclauchlan, Member of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, accompanied by a Descriptive Memoir. The survey has been engraved in a magnificent folio, and the Memoir printed in a separate handsome volume at the Duke's expense, for private distribution. I have had the honour to receive from His Grace, presentation copies of both, inscribed from Alnwick Castle in February last, and I now lay upon the table of the Archæological Society of Glasgow this splendid work for the inspection of the Members.

Before concluding, it seems not altogether out of place to say a few words regarding our wild ancestors, against whose inroads the Romans constructed such formidable fortifications. Our curiosity is excited to know what the Romans said about them. This can be gleaned from some of their historians; but their accounts must be taken with considerable reserve. Thus, *Herodianus*, who wrote in the reign of the Emperor Gordian, probably about the year 243, relates:—"Many parts of the country are fenny, by the frequent inundations of the sea. The natives swim through these fens, or run through them up to the waist in mud, for the greater part of

their bodies being naked they regard not the dirt! They wear iron about their bellies and necks, esteeming this as fine and rich an ornament as others do gold. They make on their bodies the figures of divers animals, and use no clothing, that these may be exposed to view. They are a very bloody and warlike people, using a little shield or target, and a spear. Their sword hangs on their naked bodies. They know not the use of a breastplate and helmet, and imagine these would be an impediment to them in passing the fens. The air is always thick with the vapours that ascend from these marshes."

Another writer, *Xiphilinus*, in his epitome of the now lost books of an author contemporary with the Emperors Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus—embracing the period when the slab to the former was inscribed at *Cilurnum* by the Spanish cavalry, already alluded to—states, "The two most considerable bodies of the people in the northern part of the island, and to which almost all the rest relate, are the Caledonians and the Mæatæ. The latter dwell near the Great Wall that separates the island into two parts; the others live beyond them. Both inhabit upon barren uncultivated mountains, or in desert marshy plains, where they have neither walls nor towns, nor manured lands, but feed on the milk of their flocks, what they get by hunting, and some wild fruits. They never eat fish though they have great plenty of them. They have no houses but tents, where they live naked. Their government is popular, and the exercise to which they are most addicted is robbing. They fight upon chariots; their horses are low but swift. They have great agility of body and tread very surely. The arms they make use of are a buckler, a poniard, a short lance, at the lower end of which is a piece of brass in the form of an apple; with this their custom is to make a noise to frighten their enemies. They are accustomed to fatigue, to bear hunger, cold, and all manner of hardships. They run into the morasses up to the neck, and live there several days without eating. When they are in the woods they live upon roots and leaves. They make a certain food that so admirably supports the spirits, that when they have taken the quantity of a bean they feel no more hunger or thirst. We are masters of little more than half the island."

Nay, what is not a little curious, the Romans have left behind them a representation of the natives of the district around what is now Glasgow, but then a wilderness through which roamed the wolf,

the black bear, and other wild beasts. In the "Roman-Room" of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow College, is preserved a slab discovered in the Roman fort of Castlehill, near East Kilpatrick, on the Antonine Wall, whereon are sculptured three naked captives sitting on the ground, their arms tied behind their backs, and guarded by a cavalry soldier. The Roman eagle and a capricorn occupy one side of the slab, and a priest in full dress, with a sacrificing vessel in his hand, appears on the other. The expression of the captives is grim and determined, corresponding with the description of the wild people by the historians before cited. The slab is dedicated to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, to commemorate the construction, by the Second Legion, *Augusta*, of four miles and six hundred and sixty-six paces of the Roman barrier between Clyde and the Forth. The date of this curious piece of sculpture is about the year 140 of the Christian era.

Such are the Roman descriptions and delineation of our rude ancestors, more than 1600 years ago. Animated by an unquenchable love of liberty, they courageously met the Imperial troops in many a bloody conflict, and Rome failed in the effort to wrest from Caledonia her cherished independence.

NO. VIII.

ON THE EARLY POPULATON OF SCOTLAND:

BY

JOHN SCOULER, Esq., M.D.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Glasgow Archæological Society, on 9th January*, 1860.]

The question of the race to which the early population of the North of Scotland belonged is the most difficult to answer of any which relates to the ethnology of the British Islands. In answering it, every possible solution has been given, and if opinion is still unsettled it depends perhaps as much on the temper of the writers as on the obscurity of the subject. The classical authors afford us but small assistance, and until very recently the state of Celtic philology was so unsatisfactory that the resources it was capable of affording could not be employed with safety. If the hypotheses advanced have been numerous, they do not claim an equal amount of probability, and two of them may be at once set aside, and the rival followers of Pinkerton and the M'Phersons may be safely neglected. That the early population of the North of Scotland was Gothic has as little probability as the antagonistic doctrine that Ireland was peopled by Celts from Scotland. The dream of Pinkerton that the Belgic colonies in England, the Scots or Gaedhil of Ireland, and the Picts of Scotland, were of Gothic descent is merely a specimen of ethnological monomania.* That a Gothic language was spoken in Scotland before the time of the Saxon invasion, as put forth by Pinkerton and supported by the truly respectable authority of Dr. Jamieson, is a doctrine which it is difficult to accept. All the topographical names of the country north of the Firths, except such as are of modern Norse or Saxon origin, were either Gaedhelic or British, and we find no Gothic name earlier than the sixth century. Malcolm Canmore, who married a Saxon princess, spoke the Gaedhelic in his intercourse with his subjects, and acted as interpreter to his Saxon queen, a circumstance which would be inexplicable if the eastern Lowlands, from the Forth

* Such fancies are not yet extinct, Dr. Latham tells us that the Picts came from Pomerania, and that the Celts of Asia, the Galatæ, were Poles from Gallicia.

to the Moray Firth had been occupied by a Gothic race. According to this hypothesis the language spoken in the Pictish kingdom was not Saxon but Norse, and introduced long before the first century. Adopting this view, Dr. Jamieson has endeavoured to prove that the language of the Lowland Scots is not of Saxon, but of Scandinavian origin. This opinion has however been satisfactorily refuted by Mr. Garnet, who shews that the Scottish language is merely a Saxon dialect, closely allied to that spoken in the North of England. In opposition to the ultra Gothicism of Pinkerton we have the ultra Celticism of Goodall and the M'Phersons, which they defended with far less learning and even greater want of candour. According to these writers history is completely distorted; instead of receiving colonies from Ireland, settlers from Scotland are asserted to have peopled that island. How Ireland and Scotland were originally colonised is unknown, but no traces of a migration from Scotland to Ireland is to be found before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. As the British and the Gaedhelic dialects are very distinct, and certainly were equally so in the fifth century, we have the following difficulty. If the language of the North of Scotland was allied to the British, it is obvious that Ireland was not settled from Scotland, or at least the colonists were so few as to be unable to preserve their dialect. On the other hand, the well established fact of an Irish immigration into Argyle, A.D. 503, affords a satisfactory explanation of the diffusion of the Gaedhelic dialect over the West of Scotland.

Quitting these extreme views, a third opinion remains, which is more worthy of a lengthened discussion. According to Cambden, Innes, and Chalmers, the entire population of the countries to the north of the firths was homogeneous, spoke the British language, and differed from the Southern Britons as the latter did from Celts of Gaul, only by a greater degree of barbarism. That this was the correct view of the northern population until the appearance of the Picts, may be fully conceded. Our information respecting this early period is very meagre, as the Roman authors afford us but little aid. The inference of Tacitus, that the Caledonians were of Teutonic origin on account of their great limbs and light complexion, is physiological and not historical, and founded on the assumption that such secondary characters of races are unchanged by time. This question, which perplexed Niebuhr, has been solved by Pritchard. The modern Germans do not retain the physical characters which Tacitus observed in their ancestors. Ammianus Marcellinus describes the

Gauls of his time as large limbed, red haired, and of light complexion; or, in other words, differing in no respect from the Caledonians of Tacitus. It thus appears that Pinkerton's inference from a statement of Tacitus is of no value as a criterion of national affinity. The only means of inquiry, in the absence of written testimony, is an examination of the ancient topographical names, the method which guided Humboldt in his researches respecting the ancient races of Spain, and which Dr. Pritchard has turned to so good an account in illustrating the history of the Celts. The force of this kind of evidence is so strong, as to find even in Pinkerton an unwilling witness, when he admits that the oldest inhabitants of the north of Scotland were a Celtic people. The evidence afforded from this source has been fully illustrated by Chalmers, who not only proves the antiquity of the British names, but gives evidence of the gradual substitution of Gaedhelic ones, under the influence of the Dalriadic conquest and of the Irish ecclesiastics. In accordance with this we find that the names given by Ptolemy are often clearly of British origin, and even repetitions of names which occur in the southern part of the island. Thus, Cantae Cornabii and Vacomagi are unquestionably British. Zeuss shews that the Varar or Moray Firth is equivalent to the Arar of Cæsar; Loxus, to Luxonium; the Volsas of Scotland corresponds to Belsa (La Bausse) in Gaul. Another Caledonian tribe were the Mertae or Smertae, and we find on the Continent a Romano-Celtic inscription—"Dio Mercurio and Rosmertae."

It does not follow, that if the Caledonian tribes were British and not Gaedhelic during the times of the Antonines, that they remained so during the period between Severus and Constantine; and this conducts us to what is really important in the Pictish question. Putting aside the dreams of Pinkerton and the M'Phersons, and admitting on the authority of the topographic and Ptolemaic names that the Caledonians were Celtic Britons, the only inquiry which remains, is, did this population remain unchanged between the times of Tacitus and Ptolemy and the arrival of the Dalriads in Argyle, A.D. 503? Were the Picts merely an old people with a new name, or were they foreign intruders among the Caledonians? The Roman authors yield a few but very important statements. Although there are fourteen clans mentioned by Ptolemy as inhabiting the north of Scotland, the whole nation is denominated Caledonia from the most numerous tribe among them, which occupied the country from Loch Fyne to the Moray Firth. Ptolemy, however, makes no mention

of Picts or Scots, and the Picts were first noticed A.D. 296, by Eumenius, who indicates them twice. On one occasion he joins them with the Irish as old enemies of the Britons, and on another they are represented as intimately related to the Caledonians *(Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum)*. From these statements it by no means appears that the Picts and Caledonians were the same as Pinkerton asserts. About A.D. 364-368, Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the Picts along with the Scots (the Irish Scots) as making incursions into the Roman province. What is more important, under A.D. 368 he gives us the information that the Picts were divided into two nations—the Dicaledones and the Vecturiones; but, unfortunately, he gives us no hint respecting their relative positions, or what parts of the country each of them possessed. The distinction thus made by Ammianus was, however, founded on accurate information, and corresponds to that subsequently made by Beda of the Northern and Southern Picts. The Dicaledones were obviously the great clan of Caledonians, with their adjacent tribes. If this be correct, the Caledonii extended across the country from Loch Fyne to the Moray Firth, and thus the Vecturiones must have been to the north of them. The expression Grampian Mountains, which the monastic writers have borrowed from Tacitus, is not very intelligible. There is no mountain range extending from east to west which would form a boundary between the north and south of Scotland. If mountains formed the limit of the two tribes, the division should rather have been into Eastern and Western Picts, like the Highlanders and Lowlanders of the present day. At all events, we must place the Vecturiones to the north of the Caledonians, who reached as far as the great Caledonian Valley. The Northern Picts, the Vecturiones of Ammianus, occupied the country beyond Loch Ness up to the Orkneys, and also the Western Isles. On this subject we may notice the strange statements of Pinkerton. In his enumeration of the different clans from Ptolemy he omits all mention of the Caledonians, and then asserts that the Dicaledones were the Northern Picts, and that the Vecturiones, whom he makes Southern Picts, extended from the Forth to Loch Ness. If so, the Vecturiones were not to the south but to the west of the Caledonians.

Stillingfleet and Ritson had the sagacity to infer that the two-fold division of the Picts was not merely a geographical one, and that the Dicaledones and Vecturiones were different races, of which the Northern had intruded on, and gradually subdued the Southern.

There are many difficulties explained on this system, which would be insoluable on the supposition of a homogeneous British people extending from the Firths to the Orkneys. If we admit that the Vecturiones were the Picts properly so called, these difficulties are removed. Thus, nothing can be more simple on this theory than the explanation of the long time which elapsed between the conversion of the Northern and Southern Picts. The Southern Picts were converted A.D. 412, by Ninian, a Briton, while the Northern Picts were not converted until 565, when Columba, an Irishman, preached to them. This fact indicates not only a want of harmony between the two tribes, but also some difference in their language. Ninian, who was a Briton, would have no difficulty in making himself understood by the Southern Picts; while in the case of St. Columba, whose language was the Irish, we find the case was different. From the evidence of Adamnan it would appear that two dialects were spoken in the neighbourhood of Inverness. While the Saint had no difficulty in making himself understood by King Brudi and his family, he required the aid of an interpreter to convey instruction to a man of the inferior class. The language of the Picts was Irish, while that of the lower orders was British.

In accordance with this we find that all the older authorities are agreed that the Picts were a foreign race which had settled in Scotland at some remote period. All the accounts of the Picts which have come down to us, except what rests on Roman authority, are derived either mediately or directly from Irish sources. That these Irish accounts are of great antiquity it would be an unreasonable scepticism to deny, for what we find in Beda in the seventh century, and in Nennius in the eighth, is obviously derived from Irish authorities. As the commencement of genuine Irish history dates from the time of St. Patrick, A.D. 432, we are carried back to a period less than two centuries later than the first notice of the Picts by Eumenius. We can attach the greater importance to these Irish traditions as we often find them in harmony with events of whose reality no doubt can be entertained. The recent publications of the Irish antiquaries have supplied us with so great a store of materials that we can now approach the question with far greater advantages than the older writers in Scottish history possessed.

The Picts were well known to the Irish, and they appear to have been of Irish origin. They were called Cruithens, and their establishment in Scotland was known as Fortren Mor. The term Cruithen

signified not only the Picts of Fortren or Scotland, but also comprehended numerous tribes in Ireland, and who were at one time the dominant race in that country. Different etymologies have been proposed for the names Cruithens and Picts, although to those not prepossessed by system it is sufficiently clear. Picti is obviously the Latin name derived from the practice of painting or tattooing the skin, which was universal among the Britons before the Roman conquest. With the progress of civilization the practice fell into disuse among the provincial Britons, while it was retained until a late period among the unsubdued tribes, and finally disappeared under the influence of Christianity. Pinkerton's derivation of the name from the Piks or Viks, an imaginary people in Norway, is only one of the many instances in which this really learned man was led into absurdity by the violence of his prejudices. The Irish word Cruithen appears to be synonymous with the Latin Pictus, applied to the tattooed races both of Fortren and Ireland. The import of the term Cruithneach is given by Mr. O'Donovan in a quotation from the Irish antiquary, Duald M'Firbis—"Cruithneach or Pictus, one who paints cruths or forms of birds and beasts on his face, aneach, and other parts of his body." This etymology, given by one of the most intelligent Irish antiquaries of the seventeenth century, is much preferable to the derivation which makes the Cruithneach wheat-eaters, as if wheaten bread had been a common article of food among the painted savages of Ireland and Scotland.

If the Pictish tribes were found at an early period in Scotland and Ireland, we may inquire which country was their original abode, and whether they emigrated from Ireland to Scotland or the reverse? From the time of Beda in the seventh century, tradition has been unanimous, and every writer who has handled the subject has declared that the Picts, or rather a portion of them, fled from Ireland to the north of Scotland, and there founded the kingdom of Fortren. The reverse opinion first appears in the writings of the M'Phersons, whose errors are as perverse as those of Pinkerton, without any portion of his vigour or scholarship. That the Irish formed a settlement in Argyle in the first years of the sixth century, shews that there was nothing improbable in their having formed an earlier one in the second. Irish emigration was not confined to the Dalriad colony in the West Highlands, for they also occupied Man, Anglesea, and even parts of the mainland of Wales. Hence we may infer that the Cruithneach emigration to the north of Scotland was not an isolated

event, but one of several, resulting from the disturbed condition of Ireland and contests between her clans.

We know but few facts respecting the history of Ireland before A.D. 430, but it would be extreme scepticism to say that we know nothing. The struggles of rival chiefs, and the results of wars and conquests would be felt and remembered for ages. Events of this kind are remembered by less civilised nations than the Irish were. The accounts which the Mexicans preserved concerning their early migrations have been verified by our increasing knowledge of the geography and ethnology of Central America. In questions of Irish Archæology we have no need to go farther back than two, or at most three centuries before the time of St. Patrick. The legends respecting the early history of Ireland are no better than the English ones of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and do not require discussion. The stories of the wanderings of the Scots, Cruithneach, and Fir Bolgs, contain only this truth—that tribes bearing these names existed in Ireland at the time when the legends were forged; and from the time the Romans conquered Britain, no great body of emigrants could have invaded Ireland without being noticed. Rejecting the legends, there is, however, no doubt that there were Scots, Cruithens, and Fir Bolgs in Ireland, and that all of them were powerful long after the introduction of Christianity. All these tribes appear to have belonged to the same stock and spoke the same language, and their legends are all versions of the same story with some variation of names and dates. The Bardic history of Ireland, when stripped of its legends, is merely the struggles for ascendancy of the different clans, and of these the Scots were the most successful, somewhat in the same way as the Campbells became the ruling clan in the West Highlands. In this respect the best history of ancient Ireland would be a topography, in which the old appellations were restored, accompanied by an account of the descents and settlements of the clans and tribes. Such a work, executed by Mr. O'Donovan, would of itself exhibit a clear view of the early history of Ireland.

All the traditions respecting the Cruithneach of Ireland, from the earliest times until the disappearance of the name in the ninth century, represent them as a Celtic race nearly allied to the Scots or Milesians, with whom they were sometimes in alliance, but oftener in hostility, and finally conquered by them. They are represented as being more civilised, or at all events less barbarous than the Gaedhil or Scots. In an ancient and spirited poem they are represented as

skilled in agriculture and architecture, adepts in necromancy, composers of "bright poems," and enterprising pirates. Even after the establishment of the kingdom of Fortren the Picts continued to possess extensive districts in Ireland. Nearly all Ulster was theirs, and they were also in Connaught, and, what is still more remarkable, they occupied the plain of Meath around the royal seat of Tara. In periods of authentic history they appear as identical with the Irian or Rudrician branch of the Scotic family, which gradually lost the supremacy and succumbed to the Eermonian branch. The lists of Pictish kings, published by Innes, when compared with the regal lists of Ireland, afford an unexpected evidence of the intimate relations of the Picts and Irish Scots. The ninth and eleventh names in the Pictish chronicle are Gede Ollgutach and Olfinecta, who were also kings of Ireland, or at least of Ulster. Dr. Petrie has shewn from Irish authorities that Gede Ollgutach and Heremon, the chief of the Milesian Scots, had the same wife, Tea, and as the children of each father had the same names, we may infer that Gede and Heremon were names of the same person. He also remarks that as Gede was the son of Cruithne, the progenitor of the Picts, so Heremon was the son of Milesuis, the ancestor of the Scots. The inference from these traditions is not merely that the Picts and Scots were of the same race, but that the Cruithens of Fortren were intimately connected with their brethren of Ireland. It is also to be observed that in historic times it was not with the descendants of Heremon, who became dominant in Ireland, but with the Irians of Ulster that the Picts of Fortren remained in friendship, and it is to those Irians that the Irish Cruithneach belong.

If the Cruithens of Ireland settled in the north of Scotland, we have to examine the causes of their emigration, and the time when it took place. The date of the emigration must be placed earlier than A.D. 296, when they are first mentioned by Eumenius, but not before the time of Agricola, for Tacitus gives no indication of any great schism of the Caledonian tribes. In the writings of St. Patrick we find indications that a long period of strife had preceded his arrival. He mentions two classes of people—the Scoti, or dominant race, among whom his ministry had but little success, and the Hiberni, or subjugated people. The passage in St. Patrick refers not to the distinction of nobles and commons, but to conquering and vanquished races. Between A.D. 80 and 432, the time of St. Patrick, we have evidence both from Roman and Irish

sources that Ireland was the scene of continual wars and proscriptions, with their accompaniments of banishments and flights. The first Irishman noticed in history was a chief who visited the camp of Agricola to solicit aid against his countrymen. Of these internal wars, which lasted for two centuries, we have many notices under the name of rebellions of the plebeians, called the Athachthuach, the Attacoti of Ammianus. The truth of the Irish writers concerning the nature of this long struggle is confirmed by Ammianus, who first mentions the Attacoti. Many of these Attacotic tribes took service in the Roman army, and we can trace their cohorts to Illyrium and Italy. In this cruel war the Cruithens, if not the principals, were on the side of the vanquished and gave them aid, and we find the Irian or Cruithen kings of Ulster always the opponents of the usurping Heremonian Scots. In the annals of Tighernach, the most valuable of all the Irish chronicles, we find the notices of endless battles between the Heremonian kings and the kings of Ulster. The reign of Cormac, from A.D. 218 till 254, is but one long war, during which he expelled a portion of the Ultonians or Cruithens to the Isle of Man. It was probably about this time that other Ultonian exiles fled to Scotland and founded the kingdom of Fortren. The settlement of the banished Picts in Scotland is narrated in every Irish chronicle, as well as by Saxon and British writers. Whatever may be the previous wanderings ascribed to them, it is from Ireland that they take their ultimate departure. Where they first landed is not stated with accuracy, but they are said to have taken possession of the Orkneys and the Western Islands. According to an old poem already quoted—

"The passed from us to dwell by valor in the beautifull land of Isla."

This was merely the direction followed by the Dalriads in 503. It appears, however, that at first they spread to the north, and, in the time of St. Columba, Brudi, the Pictish king, appears to have had considerable influence in the Orkneys. In the Orkneyinga Saga we are told that the Norwegians found in the islands two classes of people, Peti or Picts, and Pappae or priests. Unless we admit the spread of the Picts to the northern extremity of Scotland, it will be difficult to explain the existence of the Irish language to the extremity of Caithness, for the influence of the Dalriads does not appear to have extended beyond the Caledonian Valley.

The union of the Northern and Southern Picts was merely the

fusion of two Celtic races, among whom, in the course of time, the Gaedhelic gradually superseded the British dialect. Thus, we still find in the countries inhabited by the Picts a mixture of local names partly Irish partly British. This mixture of names of the two dialects is to be found in the lists of Pictish kings. It is amusing to study the efforts of Pinkerton and Jamieson to reduce the names of the Pictish kings to Teutonic etymons, and to distort the most obvious Celtic words. If we abstract those irreducible names, which in their present orthography can be referred to no language whatever, we find many which present no difficulty. In the authentic list published by Innes we find names unquestionably Celtic, but of a different orthography from those of Ireland or Wales. Thus, Keniod, for Kenneth; Hungus, for Angus; Drust, for Trosdan; Wraid, for Feredach; Wurgust, for Fergus; Uven, for Eaghan. Talorg and Talorgan are unquestionably Welsh and not Irish, derived from *tal*, the face, as in Taliessin. To this Mr. Garnet adds a very acute remark—the Irish list of Pictish kings given in the Book of Ballymote agrees closely with the *Chronicon Pictorum*, even preserving the initial *w* and *u* where the Irish would require *f*. From this we may infer that the *Chronicon Pictorum* is an original document of the people of Fortren, and not borrowed from Irish sources. In the annals of Ulster we also find this peculiarity—that the Pictish names are changed into their Irish equivalents; thus, under A.D. 833, we find Angus Mac Fergus instead of Unuist filius Wurgust of the *Chronicon Pictorum*. This, with other evidence which has been quoted, proves not only that the language of the Picts could not be the Teutonic, but also that it was a dialect of the Celtic quite distinct from the Irish. While the names of the list appear to follow a British rather than an Irish orthography, there are very few of them which are exclusively British, such as Talorgan; but even this name is found in Ireland, for O'Talargh occurs in the *Ann. Quat. Magist.*, under A.D. 674. On the other hand the forms of the names are far more Welsh than Irish. This is what might be anticipated if the Southern Picts were a British race, for their language would remain exempt from foreign influence until the time of Kenneth M'Alpin, when the Dalriad ascendancy commenced. Matters were different from this among the Northern tribes between Caithness and Loch Ness. The Irish Cruithens or Picts spread from the Western Isles to the east and north, and there the Irish language became so predominant that

scarcely a topographic name retains the British form.* The Dalriads of Argyle never possessed any political supremacy in the north of Scotland, and yet the Irish language became universal there. In this brief notice we have endeavoured to shew that the Cruithens or Picts were of Irish origin, and were originally rulers of that country. After a very long and obstinate resistance they yielded to the Heremonian Scots. They long remained the lords of Ulster, but even there they were crushed by the descendants of Heremon. They were then confined to the county of Down and part of Antrim, and their power was finally broken at the Battle of Moy Rath in the sixth century.

* Apur crossan, or Aber-chesin, *i.e.*, Applecross in Ross-shire, gives us the British form Aber. It had an Irish monastery, founded in the seventh century.

NO. IX.

MEMORIAL RELATIVE TO THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS:

BY

MICHAEL CONNAL, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Glasgow Archæological Society, on 7th November*, 1859.]

The title of Magister of this Hospital has been revived within the last few years—the Lord Provost of the city being recognised as the head of this ancient charitable institution.

The ruins of the Hospital were removed in 1805, in opening up a street running to the south and west of Kirk Street, and which street in its turn has been obliterated by the extension of the Gas Works; but the institution itself has survived the neglect of centuries, though the small sum which is annually distributed, in conformity with the will of the founder, leaves it but the shadow of a claim to be ranked as an asylum for the aged poor.

Sir Thomas Hope, advocate to King Charles I., gives a list, in his *Minor Practicks*, of twenty-eight hospitals which had once been in Scotland for the reception of strangers, or the maintenance of poor and infirm people. All these were governed by a superior, who was called Magister; a title, however, that since the Reformation, has been applied promiscuously, though anciently attributed to the superiors of canons; the words which he quotes being "qui onera regiminis pertabat et temporalium curam habebat, Magister appellabatur."

The old writs to which he had access, disclosed to him, what we have no means now of confirming, an interesting feature of St. Nicholas' Hospital in Glasgow, that there were in it some waiting maids to attend the sick.

The obscurity which hung over the history of the Hospital excited the attention of the Town Council, and the memorial respecting it, which is embodied in this paper, was prepared in 1811 by the late chief Town Clerk, the venerable and learned Mr. Reddie.

The name of St. Nicholas appears to have been regarded with peculiar veneration in Scotland. From a remote period, churches, altars, and hospitals, had been erected to his honour in various parts of the country. In the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, published by the Maitland Club, there is a "*Breve Chronicon*," which embraces a list of forty-five memorable events, from 1067 to 1413, some of them of national importance, such as the Battle of Bannockburn—the death of King Robert the Bruce—the captivity of James I. in England; and amongst these, the year 1372 is signalised by "Ventus Sancti Nicolai," and it appears from this chronicle that the public and authorised veneration of St. Nicholas preceded that of St. Kentigern by 37 years.

The city of Aberdeen, however, took the lead in the veneration of St. Nicholas. He was regarded as her "glorious patron saint." In the *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, notices of the Church of St. Nicholas occur as far back as the year 1220. The Aberdeen Burgh Records, published by the Spalding Club, from 1449 to 1508 more particularly, comprise details respecting the festival of the Saint, when the provost, bailies, council, and communities of the burgh rode through the town in solemn procession.

Brand, in his "Popular Antiquities," quotes Morysin to shew that Papal Rome, in imitation of heathenism, fabricated celestial guardians for cities and peoples, and assigned Nicholas to Aberdeen. This scarcely, however, accounts for the popularity in Scotland, 500 years ago, of that saint of the Roman calendar, who was first Bishop of Lycia, in Asia Minor, and who died A.D. 343.

The monastery that now stands in the plain of Myra—that seaport town where the apostle Paul and his fellow prisoners embarked for Italy in a ship of Alexandria—claims to be the burial-place of St. Nicholas, and when the late Professor Edward Forbes visited it a few years ago, he found that the Russian Government had coveted the precious relics, and had removed them in a frigate to St. Petersburg during the Greek revolution, the Emperor replacing them by a gaudy picture.

The name of St. Nicholas, however, has associations nearer home. The Church of the Holy Cross at Peebles, as related by Fordun, was founded in the thirteenth century, on the spot where the remains of a human body were discovered, in a shrine of stone, in the immediate neighbourhood of a venerable cross, with the inscription, "Locus Sancti Nicholai Episcopi."

Dempster, who is followed by some Roman Catholic writers, such as Cressy, says, that Nicholas Culdeus was one of the first bishops of the Scottish Church, and suffered during the Maximian persecution in the third century; but Archbishop Usser, in his "Ecclesiastical Antiquities," throws doubt on the existence of this early Scottish martyr. It was not uncommon in these superstitious times to perpetrate a pious fraud, if such it was, to gratify the yearning of the popular mind for an object of veneration, linked with the national traditions, other than that of the sailors of the Grecian Archipelago.

The *Breviarium Aberdonense*, however, recognises only the St. Nicholas of the Roman calendar, whose festival day is the sixth of December.

A chapel which stood on the north side of the Gallowgate, near the Molendinar Burn, was dedicated to him, probably at a very early period, as in 1539, by a deed embodied in the *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine*, it is referred to as having ceased to exist. In the *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, frequent reference is made to the chaplainrye of Sanct Nicholas in the Hie Kirk, and in the Laich Kirk (or the Crypt). The position of the Altar of St. Nicholas in the Cathedral is defined in the deed of Rolland Blacadyr, Subdean, a relation of Archbishop Blacadyr, and the founder of a chapel and hospital in 1524, as being on the south side of the nave, at the first pillar from the rood screen. The statutory place of meeting of the Faculty of Arts of the University, for the election of their Dean, took place on the 25th of June, and was either at this altar or at the Altar of St. Nicholas *in bassa or inferiori ecclesia* (in the Crypt), where the meetings of the congregation of the Faculty were held at various intervals from 1484 to 1555, for the admission of members and for the appointment of examiners for the degrees of Batchelor and Master of Arts. The annual banquet of the Faculty was celebrated on the feast next after the translation of St. Nicholas, which was the 19th of May. The earlier part of the day was occupied with a procession, in which masters, graduates, and students took part, and at the banquet every effort was made to reconcile parties, and to promote good feeling, that the brethren might dwell together in unity. The Cathedral, as Cosmos Innes remarks, was the cradle of the University.

The only other altar to St. Nicholas that we have traced within the city was in the chapel attached to the Hospital, and the deed of Archbishop Blacadyr in presenting Master Cuthbert Symson, priest,

to the perpetual chantry of St. Nicholas, the confessor, within the Hospital of St. Nicholas, dated 30th April, 1501, was under the condition that he should make his personal daily residence within the Pedagogy of Glasgow, for the instruction of youth in grammar—the Pedagogy of that period being on the site of the present College.

It may be added, that one of twelve prebends which was called after Saint Nicholas was endowed by Nicholas Witherspowne, Vicar of Strathaven, in the Collegiate Church of Saint Mary and Saint Anne, founded immediately prior to the Reformation, by James Houstoun, Sub-dean of Glasgow, and the site of which is now occupied by the Tron Church.

The founder of St. Nicholas' Hospital, was Bishop Andrew Muirhead. Nisbet, in his "Heraldry," remarks that he was of the family of the Muirheads of Lauchop, which has always been reputed one of the most ancient in all the Shire of Lanark. He was consecrated in 1455, and died 20th November, 1473, at his palace in Glasgow, and was interred in the Choir of the Cathedral Church. In the "Martyrology of the Church of Glasgow," he is remembered as "qui fuit fundator Collegii Vicariorum Chori Glasguensis."

His public services to the state are referred to by Gibson in his History, in his capacity of Royal Commissioner to England and to Denmark, in the time of James the Third; but he had also to contend with neighbours nearer home for justice to himself and others, and that in matters affecting the good things of this life. He takes the lead in an action, submitted to Parliament on 29th November, 1469, against the Burgh of Dumbartane, for preventing "as contrar thar fredome," the "Reverend fadir in Criste," and Provost, Ballies, and communite of Glasgow, from "bying of certane wyne fra Peris Cokate Fransch man, and out of his schip in the water of Clide." The case was given against the Burgh of Dumbartane.

Mr. Reddie's memorial as to the Hospital is as follows:—

"Agreeably to the wish expressed by the Council, on the motion of Bailie Hastie, I have endeavoured to trace the history of this Hospital.

"It does not appear that there is any deed of foundation now extant, and the original object and date of the foundation are not well ascertained; but there can be no doubt the Hospital was founded by one of the Bishops of Glasgow, and that the building was erected on ground situated to the west of Castle Street. The Hospital appears

to have been intended for the reception and maintenance of a few aged and indigent men. In his 'History of Glasgow,' published in 1777, Mr. Gibson, apparently on the authority of 'Keith's Catalogue of Scotch Bishops,' states as follows:—'In the year 1471, Bishop Muirhead founded, near his Episcopal Palace, an Hospital, which he dedicated to the honour of St. Nicholas, upon the front of which his arms are still to be seen; this Hospital had endowments for twelve old men, and a priest to perform divine service at the hours of canonical devotion.' And there can be no doubt the Hospital was founded prior to 1501, for there is still in existence a deed of that date, by which Martin, Chancellor of the Cathedral, conveyed various small feu-duties or ground rents, payable from tenements and steadings of ground situated chiefly in Drygate, and between what is now known by the name of Montrose Lodgings and what is now Duke Street, for the maintenance of a poor and indigent old man in the Hospital of St. Nicholas, founded by Bishop Muirhead.

"During the subsequent ecclesiastical contests and alternate prevalence of Presbyterian and Episcopal government, we cannot discover any traces of the Hospital, or ascertain whether the original endowment was large or the reverse; or if the former, how its revenues came to be dilapidated and reduced. The fabric or building of the Hospital appears to have been still in existence in 1788, though in rather a ruinous state; and during the seventeenth century the duties of the Preceptor, or, as he was called, Magister, appear to have been discharged by the Bishop, as the successor in office of the original founder,—for in 1677 Bishop Leighton, by a deed, still extant, bequeathed £150 for the maintenance of two old men in the Hospital.

"In this way the property of the fabric of the Hospital, and the charge and administration of its affairs, appear to have all along been vested in the Lord Bishops of Glasgow, or at least to have been so down to the time of Bishop Leighton. And as at the Revolution of 1688, and the final abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland, the Crown came in the place of the bishops, with regard to all civil or patrimonial rights, but in trust only with regard to lands granted to any hospital for charitable purpose, the conclusion to which we are led is, that the trust property and charge of the Hospital passed at the Revolution to the Crown.

"On the other hand, it appears that the principal part of the revenue of the Hospital now arises from the small ground rents bequeathed by Martin, the Chancellor of the Cathedral, in 1501, and from the

legacy of Bishop Leighton; and by the deeds of these endowers of the Hospital, the patronage of their bequests, or the nomination of the old men to be maintained from the annual produce thereof, is vested by Martin's deed in the Magistrates and Council—and by Leighton's deed, partly in the Bishop, and partly in the Magistrates and Council, and in the event of the former not exercising his right, on the latter—so as to afford reasonable ground for holding, that since the abolition of Episcopacy, the whole patronage under these two deeds is vested in the Magistrates and Council.

"The correctness of the preceding view of the matter is confirmed by the first proceedings we find in the Council minutes subsequent to the Revolution and Union. On the supposition, apparently, of the Crown having succeeded to the trust, right, and charge, formerly held by the Archbishop, the Magistrates and Council, in July, 1713, presented to the Barons of the Exchequer the following memorial, and received the following deliverances thereon:—'Memorial concerning St. Nicholas' Hospital, Glasgow. The Hospital of St. Nicholas in Glasgow, being of old founded by some of the Bishops of that See, and of late augmented by Bishop Leighton, the care and administration thereof, before the abolition of Episcopacy, was in the Archbishop of Glasgow, and since belonged to the Crown; and after the Revolution the Lords of the Treasury and Exchequer constituted a Preceptor (as the Bishop usually did), who had the charge of six or seven, such number of poor old men, the hospitallers, who have their subsistence paid them quarterly out of certain ground-annuals and other petty duties payable forth of some houses in Glasgow. The last Preceptor, John Peddie, died in April last, and since that time, there has not been any person appointed to take care of the Hospital, or to uplift the ground-annuals, out of which they are to be paid. It is therefore humbly proposed to the Honourable Barons of Exchequer, that they may grant a commission to * * * to be Preceptor of the said Hospital, to have the charge and inspection thereof, with the usual powers of former Preceptors.' Minutes of Court, Tuesday, 7th July, 1713.—'The Barons ordered Mr. Mathew Brown to inquire after and take into his possession all the rights and rentals belonging to the Hospital of St. Nicholas in Glasgow, the late director thereof, John Peddie, being dead, in order to lay them before this Court, the last day of the term; in the meantime he is to receive the rents, and pay the poor men, &c.' Order of Court, 29th July, 1716.—'Mr. Mathew Brown of Glasgow, having

applied this day to the Court to be reimbursed a sum of about eight pounds sterling, which he had expended in the maintenance of the poor belonging to the Hospital of St. Nicholas in Glasgow, over and above what he had received from the revenues belonging to the said Hospital. But the Barons reserved his right to him till it should be further considered, and were pleased to order that for the present the Major of Glasgow should take care of the revenues of the said Hospital of St. Nicholas, and pay the poor belonging thereto, doing what the Preceptors used to do in relation to the said Hospital until this Court shall give further directions about that matter. And Mr. Miller, their agent, having received from the King's Remembrancer an 'usig'nd' rental of the said Hospital's revenue, a registrat commission, granted to John Peddie, late Preceptor thereof, with an old account book of the said John Peddie's of what was in arrear to the said Hospital.'

"On the 27th August, 1716, the following procedure took place:—'The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Glasgow, being in Council assembled, the Provost produced in Council one order from ye Barons of Exchequer, dated from the Treasury Chamber at Edinburgh, ye twenty-seventh of July last bypast, wherein they are pleased to order, that for the present the Magistrates of this city should take care of the revenues of the Hospital of St. Nicholas in this city, and pay poor men belonging thereto, doing what the Preceptor of the said Hospital used to do in relation to the government thereof, until the Court of the Exchequer shall give further directions about that matter, in manner mentioned in the said order, and represented that towards the ingathering of said Hospital's revenues it is requisite the Council should appoint some person whereby the poor men in the Hospital may be paid off their benefice, which being heard by ye Magistrates and Council, and the foresaid order read in their presence, they hereby grant warrant and commission to Wm. Miller, writer in Edinburgh, the town's agent, to uplift, and receive, and ingather, the yearly revenues belonging to the said Hospital, from those liable in payment thereof, and to call and pursue therefor as accords, and to apply the same towards the payment of the poor men their benefice, and to do everything thereanent, as any other Preceptor of the said Hospital was formerly in use to do, and thir presents to continue during the Council's pleasure.'

"From 1716 we have not been able to find any notice in the

Council minutes respecting St. Nicholas' Hospital till 1778; but it is probable Mr. Miller retained his appointment under the authority of the Barons of Exchequer till his death; and that under the permission or delegation, granted in 1716 by the Barons of Exchequer, who do not appear to have interfered further in the matter, the Council continued to nominate preceptors or masters of the Hospital in succession, as these individuals died. For it appears from the Council minutes that in October, 1779, upon a vacancy occurring in the office of the Preceptor of the Hospital, by the death of Alex. Wotherspoon, writer in Glasgow, John Eassow, writer in Glasgow, was appointed Preceptor during pleasure, with requisite powers, and upon the death of John Eassow, John Brown, master of works, was in January, 1783, appointed Preceptor with the same powers; who of that date produced a rental of the feu-duties, &c., payable to the Hospital. In April, 1784, John Brown was continued Preceptor, with the former powers during pleasure. In April, 1785, John Brown, as Preceptor, was directed to recover from Colin Rae, of Little Govan, the arrears of feu-duty due to the Hospital. In June, 1786, John Brown resigned his office, and John Campbell of Clathic, then Lord Provost, was appointed Preceptor. In May, 1791, John Campbell, William Craig, and John Brown, master of works, were appointed a committee to consider the right claimed by the Council to be patrons of the Hospital. In April, 1788, another committee appointed to assist Mr. Campbell as Preceptor. In November, 1788, claim by Mr. Campbell as Preceptor, against the city, for arrears of ground rent for lands of Kenclaith, part of the Green. In December, 1781, ground belonging to St. Nicholas' Hospital, exclusive of the Chapel, to be feued to the Council for five pounds feu duty; and August, 1789, contract of ground annual. On the resignation of Mr. Campbell of Clathic, on 29th April, 1801, John Hamilton, of North Park, then Provost, was appointed Preceptor on 18th May, 1801. During his Preceptorship it appears the magistrates and council deemed it expedient to feu the piece of ground to the west of Castle Street, adjacent to the now ruinous fabric of the Hospital, in order to add the feu duty to be obtained to the annual revenue of the Hospital. The procedure is thus recorded—'The said day, (27th December, 1805), on the motion of Mr. Newbigging, appoint Bailies M'Caul, M'Kenzie, and Ronald, and Mr. Cleland, as a committee, to meet with the committee named by the Trades' House to consider the propriety of feuing the ground belonging to St. Nicholas' Hospital, along with the adjacent ground

which belongs to, and is proposed to be feued out by the Trades' House, and to report as to the most advantageous mode of feuing the said ground.' 8th August, 1806—The committee appointed to consider the propriety of selling the ground belonging to St. Nicholas' Hospital gave in the following report:—'That they met with the committee named by the Trades' House, and after having been upon the ground and examined the plans, both parties are unanimously of opinion, that the properties should be conjoined in a sale; that two respectable tradesmen be employed to value each property, and to put a relative value on each; that as Mr. Newbigging is desirous to purchase both properties, if he will agree to give the value ascertained as above-mentioned, as an upset price, then they should be set up at public sale, and if no bidders, he shall be preferred. Failing Mr. Newbigging giving the upset price then that the Trades' House do take it at that price.' (Signed)— 'John M'Caul, Daniel M'Kenzie, Basil Ronald, James Cleland.' On considering which report remit to the same committee, with instructions and authority to expose the said property to public sale, by advertisement in the usual manner, either in conjunction with the adjoining property belonging to the Trades' House, or separately, as they shall find most advisable, upon such terms and at such a price as shall be put upon the ground by proper judges of the value thereof, and authorize the said committee to subscribe articles and minutes of roup of the said ground.

"On the 13th February, 1807, the subject of the Hospital was resumed, and the following proceedure took place—'Remit to Mr. John Hamilton, the preceptor of St. Nicholas' Hospital, the Dean of Guild, and Messrs. John Laurie and Archibald Newbigging, as a committee, to make an investigation with regard to the old house in Castle Street, immediately to the north of that property, formerly belonging to the said Hospital, now to the town, and lately advertised to be sold; which old house is supposed to have been part of the Hospital, and to consult with the clerks as to the proper manner of reclaiming the property thereof; and turning out the present occupant, who is believed to possess upon usurpation and without any title—Mr. Hamilton to be convener.' In consequence of this resolution, the subjects before described were exposed to sale or feu, by public auction, and appear to have been purchased by the late Mr. Archd. Newbigging; for on the 10th February, 1810, there is the following entry in the council minutes—'The said day of new sub-

scribed a feu contract, with Archd. Newbigging, manufacturer in Glasgow, of the ground of St. Nicholas' Hospital, on the west side of Castle Street, for payment of the feu-duty and performance of the prestations therein mentioned, the former feu contract of the same property, which was engrossed by mistake on an improper stamp, being now cancelled.' In the circumstances before detailed, there does not appear to be any valid objection to the Lord Provosts of Glasgow, continuing under the authority given by the Barons of Exchequer in 1716, to exercise the powers, and to discharge the duties of 'Magister,' or preceptor of St. Nicholas' Hospital, as the bishops appear to have done *in official* succession, under the original foundation, and the right which appears to be vested in the Town Council is not so much the nomination of a preceptor, as the patronage of nominating the individuals who are to enjoy the benefit of Chancellor Martin's, and Bishop Leighton's donations. But this right, they may, as they have done for a century past, devolve upon the Lord Provost, not for his life, but during his continuance in office. (Signed)—James Reddie—8th May, 1844.

"At a meeting of the Town Council, held on the 30th May, 1844, the above memorial was read; and Bailie Hastie moved that the books of St. Nicholas' Hospital, should be handed over to the Chamberlain, and that, in future, the Lord Provost for the time being, should be 'Magister' of St. Nicholas' Hospital, and that upon the death of the present recipients of the charity, the terms of the original foundation should be reverted to, viz:—'That the funds should be exclusively applied to the maintenance of poor and indigent old men.' This motion was considered and approved of; and the Town Council nominated and appointed the Lord Provost, for the time being, 'Magister' of St. Nicholas' Hospital, in terms, and upon the footing of Bailie Hastie's motion."

The title Major of Glasgow, which occurs in the proceedings of a Scotch Court in 1716, as quoted by Mr. Reddie, may not be mistaken for the English office of Mayor. It is obviously an ecclesiastical title. In the rentals of the Bishop of Aberdeen, 1511, the Deaconry of Gareauch (Garioch) contributed xs. viiid. from the Major of Glasgow, and viiis. from the Minor of Glasgow. This early connection with that city may be traced with some measure of probability to the time of Bishop Blacadyr, who was translated from Aberdeen to Glasgow, in 1484, and of Bishop Elphinston, who was a native of Glasgow, and who was his immediate successor.

The deed of mortification of Chancellor Martin Wan, to which Mr. Reddie refers, is dated the first of June, 1501—a copy of the deed forms the appendix to this paper. The feu-duties and ground annuals set aside for the support of one poor old man in the Hospital amount to £6 12s. 8d. scots, or about ten merks. The beneficiary was to be connected with the Parish of Glasgow by birth or descent, and the preference was to be given to the applicant in whose case old age and infirmity were added to poverty; and the patrons were not to be influenced in selecting any one to the vacant bed, by any consideration, whether it be a fee, urgent solicitation, dislike, goodwill, favour, or misfortune.

When John Bigholme, who graduated as Master of Arts in 1479, extended, as Notary Public, by Imperial and Royal authority, the deed to which Martin Wan appended his seal, probably at the mature age of seventy, there had been no lecture in the University for the greater part of the year, and no examination for the degree of Bachelor, on account of the Plague. The Burgh Records extant do not commence till the year 1573, and the particulars of this visitation cannot be confirmed; but the scourge was no stranger to the country, and notices of it occur even at a comparatively recent period.

The Parliament of 1456 ordained that the houses infected were to be closed up in the time of the pestilence; but that no man was to burn (that is singe for cleansing) another's house, so as to injure his property.

At a later period, in the year 1646, when the Plague visited Glasgow, the members of the University removed to Irvine.

In the attestation to the deed, the name of Martin Rede takes precedence. He was the immediate successor of Martin Wan, his name occurring as Chancellor of the Diocese in 1504.

The names of Dominus Nicholas Wan, Presbiter and Vicar, ministering in the Choir of Glasgow, and of Dominus Thomas Wan, Canonicus, occur in various deeds of the years 1423 and 1433, respectively. The former had property on the south side of the Dreggatis, and it is probable that, from this circumstance, as well as from the peculiarity of the name, they were the immediate progenitors of the Chancellor.

Martin Wan, Presbyter, was incorporated with the University in the general chapter held in 1451, within the Chapter House of the Grey Friars, where the College Church now stands; and as one of four Bachelors of Arts, he was presented to the Lord Chancellor of

the University (the Bishop) as a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts—the Bishop enjoining the examiners faithfully to arrange and order them according to their merits, and empowering Mr. Duncan Bunch to licentiate them.

Martin Wan, then vicar of Dregarne, (Dreghorn,) was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts in 1455. Mr. Duncan Bunch was vicar of Wiston, and also Principal Regent in the Faculty of Arts, to whom the first Lord Hamilton, in 1460, granted, in name of the Faculty, the tenement on the east side of the High Street, and four acres of the Dovehill, beside the Molendinar Burn, which form the site of the present College—being the first land acquired by any member of the University.

Martin Wan was elected Dean of the University in 1463, and in that year he was associated with Mr. Duncan Bunch in the erection of the Pedagogue.

The characteristic dress of the Togati, or Gown Students at the present day, may probably owe its origin to this early period. The executors of Patrick Leich, Chancellor of the Diocese, placed in the hands of the Faculty in 1463, his bequest of a red hood, trimmed with fur, and Duncan Bunch and Martin Wan were instructed to procure faculty dresses and a cap *(unum cappam Magisterialem)*. In 1490, again, six hoods of good cloth and of red (blodei) colour were ordered to be purchased for the use of the Faculty and the students. This decision was arrived at in *domo inferiori capituli*, that is in the more ancient and lower Chapter House, before the Altar of St. Nicholas. Mr. Duncan Bunch, whose name is so intimately associated with the present College buildings, died between the years 1473 and 1475.

In 1468 Martin Wan, as the King's Almoner and Confessor, accompanied Bishop Muirhead to Copenhagen, who, along with several Scottish noblemen and clerical dignitaries, adjusted, on the 8th September, the terms of the marriage settlement of Margaret, daughter of King Christiern, with James the Third, then only in his seventeenth year. The Orkneys, the superiority of which had remained with Denmark for six centuries, were made over in security of the payment of the dower, but eventually they became the permanent possession of the Scottish Crown.

In 1470 Martin Wan was chosen as representing the nation Clidesdalia, to deliberate with selected members of the other three nations on articles of great importance to the University.

We can trace his tenure of office of Chancellor of the Metropolitan Church from 1470, to 1501. In 1494 we find him complaining to Archbishop Blacadyr that the grammar school of the city being under his charge, Mr. David Dwne, a priest of the Diocese, had set himself publicly to teach grammar and the rudiments of learning in the city, not only without his sanction, but in defiance of his authority. The case was decided against Mr. Dwne.

The Chancellor founded a chapel on the east side of the choir at the Altar of St. James. Several properties which he set aside for its support are detailed in a deed of 21st May, 1496, and some of these are in the Drigate.

It is affecting to trace the decay of this venerable institution, as detailed in the memorial by Mr. Reddie. When Brown wrote his "History of Glasgow," in 1795, the hall and chapel of St. Nicholas were so ruinous that they were occupied as a cowhouse. Eventually these ruins disappeared altogether, and the site of the Hospital is now occupied by the Gas Works, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Royal Infirmary. An interesting drawing of the ruins, with the Archbishop's Palace, as they stood in 1780, is preserved in "Stewart's Views of Glasgow." Nisbet, in his "Heraldry," describes the chapel as of fine aisler work of a Gothic form, and the windows as supported by a buttress betwixt each of them, and adds that upon the front over the door, were the Bishop's arms, which were three acorns on the bend, surmounted by the salmon, and a crosier behind the shield. He also takes notice of a manse opposite the Hospital, built by the bishop, as a residence for the priest, whose duty it was to celebrate divine service in connection with the foundation.

Immediately contiguous to the Hospital, stood the manse of the Prebendary of Morebattle, which passing into the hands of the Incorporated Trades of Glasgow, at the Reformation, became the Trades' House, and which was sometimes termed the Alms House. It was the bell of this fabric which, as Wade remarks in his interesting "Sketch of Ancient Glasgow," was tolled on the passing by of every funeral, towards the close of last century. This bell, Mr. Crawfurd says in his "History of the Trades' House," is now the bell of the Blind Asylum.

Another charitable institution, however, stood further to the north, beside the stables belonging to the Castle, or Bishop's Palace. This hospital appears in the course of time to have been united with that of Bishop Muirhead.

In various deeds of 1528 and 1550 respectively, the hospitals are referred to as "Pauperes Hospitalis Sancti Nicholai de utraque domo," and "Pauperes Hospitalis Sancti Nicholai de domibus anteriori et posteriori." M'Ure says that with all his search he could discover no vestige of any hospital, except Bishop Muirhead's, till after the Reformation of Religion; but in the Kirk Session records preserved by Wodrow in his "Life of the Rev. David Weemes," there is an entry of date 16th January, 1595, as to an alms house at the Stable Green Port, which can be no other than that founded by Roland Blacadyr, "prope le stabyll greyn," about 1524, probably when he resigned his office, of Sub-dean of the Diocese Glasgow. Though probably united, the hospitals had each a distinctive character;—that of Muirhead was designed to be the permanent residence of twelve poor men, who were provided with all necessaries for their support and sustenance, that they might be freed from worldly avocations in the decline of life, and in a better condition to prepare for another world;—while that of Blacadyr was for the poor and indigent casually coming to the city. The one might be considered an alms house, the other a night asylum. The magister of the latter, who was also chaplain of the altar of St. John and St. Nicholas, in the Cathedral, already referred to in this paper, was to have his own chamber within the hospital, with power to appoint a superintendent, who was to be a married man. Six beds were to be kept in readiness, with blankets, coverlets, and pillows. The superintendent and his wife were to cook the food of the poor flocking to the asylum, and it appears to have consisted of pease brose in winter, and green kail and kitchen garden vegetables in summer. There appears to have been no provision for a supply of animal food, as was customary amongst the very poorest about the Feast of St. Martin. The chaplain was to keep the key of the place where the lentils were deposited. The culinary apparatus was limited to a large iron goblet, with an iron grate. A vessel was provided for washing the feet of the paupers, and a supply of coal was carefully stowed away in the "coylehowse" to secure them a warm and cheerful welcome.

The memory of Rolland Blacadyr, the founder of the one hospital, was devoutly cherished by the chaplain of the other, Cuthbert Simon or Symson, already referred to, who, as vicar of Dalyell, died 24th June, 1553. His testament is dated 6th February, 1552-53, by which he assigned certain lands and tenements for the support of two chaplains to serve in the Church of Glasgow, one of these at the

Altar of St. Nicholas in the Crypt. He filled the office of Dean of the Chapter, and, as Notary Public, attested, on 15th August, 1557, the deed of foundation of a College in Glasgow, by Bishop Gavin Dunbar, a project, however, which never arrived at maturity.

Though St. Nicholas' Hospital survived the upheaval of the Reformation period, almost the first care of its new guardians was to arrest the process of dilapidation in its revenues that had commenced, even prior to the consummation of that event. On 7th February, 1556, the Session considering the mismanagement of the rents belonging to the Bishop's Hospital, appointed Mr. John Spreul to go east and seek a visitation from the judges. Afterwards the Magistrates, Kirk Session, and the Duke of Lennox, whose residence was close to the Hospital, and who was heritable bailie of the regality, took part in a supplication to the Council about its condition; and in December of the same year, the Kirk Session records bear that the visitation had been carried into effect.

On the 26th June, 1564, the General Assembly instructed the "Erle of Glencarne" and the Superintendent of the West, to visit the Hospital of Glasgow.

The Assembly of the following year (25th June, 1565), assumed a more general oversight of such institutions. It enjoined, "For sustentatioune of the poore, that all lands foundit to hospitalitie of old be restored againe to the same use, and that all lands, anuel rents, or any uther emoluments, pertaining anywayes sometyme to freirs of what sumevir ordour, or anuel rents, altarages, obits, pertaining to preists, be applyit to the sustentatioune of the poore and uphald of the schooles in the townes and uthers places wher they be."

On 6th March, 1573, the Assembly enacted—Mr. Andro Hay, moderator—"That all commissioners take a special notice how hospital rents are used or abused, that my Lord Chancellor may receive the reports and present them to my Lord Regent his Grace."

These church records are scattered through the "Miscellany of the Maitland Club," "Rowe's History," and the "Booke of the Universal Kirk."

An interval of nearly a century then elapses before any further notice of the secular affairs of the Hospital can be traced.

The minute of the 5th November, 1653, in the Burgh Records, enjoins certain parties to receive the rental and papers from the relict of James Sanders, which implies that the institution was at

least protected from further decay, though no subsequent minute confirms this impression; but in March, 1661, Halbert Nisbet, of Sheals, as preceptor of the Hospital, petitioned Parliament, and an Act was passed to "enforce settlement of the rents and monies due the Hospital, which since the cessation of justice had not been paid;" and his appeal sets forth that he had been "necessitated out of his own proper means, and by interposing his credit, to supply the poor, otherwise they would have starved."

The legacy of Archbishop Law to the Hospital, in 1632, and which is preserved in the appendix to Hamilton of Wishaw's "Lanark and Renfrew," is in terms which sagaciously forebode such a probable crisis in its affairs, from the payments passing into desuetude. This bequest, apparently, is the only one, with the exception of that of Archbishop Leighton, which marks the interest of modern times in this charity. Archbishop Law is mentioned in "Keith's Catalogue" as a man of good learning, and who had a grave and venerable aspect. He completed the leaden roof of the Cathedral. His monument stands in the Ladye Chapel, on the south side. The terms of the will are—"I leive to the puir of Sanct Nicholas' Hospitall in Glasgow, foundit by the Archibischopis thairof, the sowme of ffyve hundrithe mkis. money of Scotland; And to the merchandis and croftis hospitallis thair, equallie to be devydit amangis thame, ffyve hundrithe mkis. money:—And ordane the saidis sowmes to be mortefeit and imployit for the sustentatioun of the puir of the saidis hospitallis, present and to cum, be the advyse of my airis and exco^{ris} and successouris, Archibischopis of Glasgow, Proveist and Ministers of the said bur$^{t.}$ with this conditioune—That the preceptouris and m$^{ris.}$ of the said hospitallis sall yeirlie mak compt and reckning to the saidis persones abouewrittin of the imployment of the said sowmes, to the effect abouespecefeit; And how oft the samyne beis uplifted, that they sall imploy the same agane be advyse foirsaid, to the effect abouespecefeit; upone quhilk conditioune this Legacie is left to the saidis hospitallis, and nat utherwayes."

The only notices not already referred to of the Hospital of Bishop Muirhead, before it became incorporated with that of Rolland Blacadyr, are the gift, in 1509, of Sir Archibald Calderwood, perpetual vicar of Cadder, of "threttye penneis in the yeir, to the maister of the Almoushous to Sanct Nicolas' alter of the sammyne," and the bequest specified in two deeds, of date 1509, embodied in the *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet*, by "venerabili et egregio viro

Magistro," Michael Flemyn, of some lands or tenements, near the cross in Glasgow, for maintaining a bed in the Hospital. Scher Archiebald Caldderwood entered the University, as Vicar of Mayboll, on 25th November, 1489. He appears as Vicar of Cadder, in filling the office of Bursar to the University, in 1497. He bequeathed a mace to the Faculty of Arts on 12th November, 1506, *(unum le masare)*. The well-known silver mace, the oldest relic in the College, was a gift, in 1460, by Mr. David Cadyow, Precentor of the Cathedral, and first Rector of the University. Sir Archibald also settled an annuity of eight shillings on the Dean, Regents, Masters, and Students, to provide a collation to be enjoyed by them on the day of his obit, which was celebrated in the Convent of the Black Friars. He died on the last day of June, 1510.

Michael Fleming, on the other hand, was Canon of Glasgow, and Prebendary of Ancrum. He may not be confounded with Michaell Flemyng, whose name, as Notary Public, by Apostolic and Imperial authority, appears in various deeds from 1529 to 1541.

The Canon was the son of Robert Fleming, Lord of Bigare, who founded a chaplainrie at the High Altar in the Parish Church of St. Ninian, at Kyrkyntulach, in 1451, and who presented the living to his son Michael *(dilecto filio suo)* on 16th March, 1484-85, who, within ten days, constituted William Fleming de Ridre, his procurator, to receive investiture of the office, and to take possession of the stipend. The Barony of Kirkintilloch was granted by Robert I. to Malcolm Fleming, the ancestor of the Flemings of Biggar and Cumbernauld.—[*Douglas' Peerage.*] Michael was received into the Faculty of Arts in the University in 1475, under the complimentary designation, "circumspectus vir;" but a trait of his character had not then developed itself. On 26th June, 1482, he was fined, along with other delinquents, for absence from the congregation of the Faculty of Arts; and as he advanced in life his want of punctuality drew forth the censure of the church. He frequently absented himself from the chapter on Saturday. In a visitation of the diocese, in Feb. 1501-02, there is an entry "Ancrum, frequenter est a capitulo die Sabathi." There is also an amusing censure of the Prebendary of Stobo, because, during the time of service, he often went out and came into the choir. The name of "Mychell Flemyng", however, subsequent to this period, is often associated as a witness to various important documents, with that of Rolland Blacadyr, Sub-dean.

He founded, 7th June, 1488, the half of a chaplainrie at the altar

of St. Nicholas, in *inferiori ecclesia* (the Crypt); and on the 29th November, 1514, he completed an instrument by which he assigned viii. shillings of the yearly rental of a property near the Cross, for a service in the church of the Black Friars, for the eternal wellbeing of his parents, and of all his friends.

By a deed of 6th March, 1505-06, a provision of five shillings was made for the celebration of the anniversary of his death, in the Cathedral, and by which the *minor sacristan* was to get twelve pence for tolling the bell. These old churchmen clung to an immortality on earth. The last wish of the great John Howard was,—"Lay me quietly in the grave, put a dial stone upon it, and let me be forgotten."

The Prebendary of Ancrum had his parsonage house, according to M'Ure, behind the Cathedral, and north of the Castle; and it appears to have passed, at the Reformation, by purchase, into the possession of the first Earl of Wigton, who might have claimed Michael Fleming, the former tenant of it, as his ancestor.

It may be more curious than satisfactory to put a valuation on the bequest of Michael Fleming to the Hospital of St. Nicholas. In the suit of the Archbishop of Glasgow against John Mure of Caldwell, for the sacking of his castle and palace in 1515, there is a claim for "28 fedder beds furnist; price of ilk bedd viii. lib." This was apart from eighteen beds of a more costly description. The Lords of Council decerned for their value at the rate of five merks each, or less than a half of the amount. Five merks (13s. 4d. Scots each) represented in silver at that time about £1 11s. 5d. sterling, 20s. Scots being only equal to about 9s. 5d. of our present currency. From the impoverishment of the country, however, the value of the pound Scots, during successive reigns, fell to about 6s. 10½d. in 1529, to about 5s. 1d. in 1556, to about 1s. 10d. in 1601, and to about 1s. 9d. in 1738.—[*Cardonnel's Numismata Scotiæ.*] One merk might be said, in Michael Fleming's time, to be the average price of the boll of meal, of 140 lbs. weight, the market value of which to-day is twenty shillings.

If the calculation be limited to the first cost of a bed, apart from the expense of maintaining it, the value of the bequest may be very roughly estimated at about five pounds sterling, or a half of the sum considered by Chancellor Martin Wan necessary to the support of an inmate of the Hospital. Setting aside the advantages of free accommodation, ten pounds sterling, annually, would now be con-

sidered barely an average rate for the mere diet and clothing of a pauper.

The standard of living since that period has been so much elevated, that the enquiry as to the proportion between the present and ancient prices of both the necessaries and luxuries of life is involved in many intricacies. In the inventory of the property of Malcolm, Lord Fleming, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, in 1547, the boll of meal is valued at 20s.; sheep, at 6s. 8d. each; and a "three zeir ald ox" at 40s. Scots. Butcher meat since then, has advanced in value fifteen to twenty fold.

The poor of both hospitals, or both chambers of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, that founded by Bishop Muirhead, and that by Rolland Blacadyr, were associated together in the annual religious services instituted by James Houston, the immediate successor of the latter in the office of Sub-dean of the diocese of Glasgow, and who was also founder of Our Lady College. He made provision that, at his yearly obsequies, four shillings were to be divided equally among those present, or detained in the Almshouse by infirmity. He was Rector of the University from 1533 to 1540, and he was so popular that for six successive years he was elected to the office, "absentem tanquam presentem," which appears to have been unusual indulgence.

James Houston, was also Vicar-general, and by his will, dated 8th October, 1550, he left to each of the poor of St. Nicholas' Hospital, "de domibus anteriori et posteriori," a gift of two shillings.

It may be remarked that Rolland Blacadyr was admitted a member of the University in 1489, graduated as B.A. in 1491, and was Sub-dean of the Diocese in 1503.

He appears to have contemplated the erection of an hospital near the church now known as the Tron, having intrusted James Houston with one hundred pounds Scots for that purpose; but there is now no trace of such an institution. He died on the 9th of March, 1540-41.

A memorial of the early connection of the Blacadyrs with the University may still be seen in a stone tablet, surmounted by the arms of the family—three roses on a chevron—affixed to the eastern wall of the dwelling-house of the Principal. It commemorates the gift of lands and tenements pertaining to the chaplainrie of Sanct Mungo, by Sir John Blacader of Tulliallan, the representative of the family from which the Archbishop and Sub-dean sprang. By the deed of bequest, 1st June, 1630, he stipulated for the erection of this

tablet, and expressed the affection he bore towards the College as his *alma mater*, and as the place where "a great pairt of his predicessouris wer educat and brocht up in vertew and learning thir mony aiges bygane."

The Reformation of Religion was no sooner completed than the discipline of the Hospital underwent a characteristic change. The authority of the Kirk Session supplanted that of the ancient Hierarchy.

The following extracts from the Presbytery Records throw additional light on this critical period of the history of the Hospital. The three members of the court who, probably a little unceremoniously, took the master, Sir Bartilmo Sympson, to task, were well-known characters. The parson of Renfrew was Mr. Andrew Hay, who was also Lord Rector of the University—"an honest, zealous, frank-hearted gentleman," as James Melvill calls him in his *Diary*. In *Crawford's History of Renfrewshire*, there are some notices of the Hays of Linplum, of which the parson was a younger brother. The Sub-dean of the diocese was Mr. Andrew Polwart, who was also Dean of Faculty of the University. He was minister first at Paisley, and latterly at Cadder and Monkland. There is in James Melvill's *Diary* an amusing account of his escape from Orleans, on his way home, along with Mr. Andrew Melvill, subsequently Principal of the University of Glasgow, and along with the Bishop of Brechin—about eighteen months after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. It serves to illustrate the rapid dilapidation of Church property at this time, to refer to Alexander Campbell, first Bishop of Brechin after the Reformation, who was permitted by special license, 7th May, 1567, along with two persons with him—[*Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis*]—"to repair furth of the realm to the parts of France for the space of seven years, without incurring any danger thereby to their persons, lands, or benefices." The Earl of Argyll had procured his young kinsman the bishopric, who, while yet a boy, and even before he is found carrying on his education in Geneva, "at the schuilles" in 1573, was made to use the power he possessed, of giving and disposing all the benefices which previously were in the Bishop's gift.

Mr. Andrew Hay and Mr. Andrew Polwart were often prominently associated together in the public business of the Church—Mr. Hay having been moderator in 1573. The interval which occurs between the 6th and 27th May, 1586, in their investigation into the affairs of the Hospital, was occupied with the proceedings of the General

Assembly, which met at Edinburgh on 10th May, in the Upper Tolbooth and the Chapel Royal.

The Minister of Glasgow was Mr. David Wemyss, who was a member of the First General Assembly, 20th December, 1560, at which John Knox served as Commissioner for Edinburgh, and who, according to Wodrow, was apparently the only minister of Glasgow for a considerable period.

He was assaulted in the pulpit of the High Kirk in July, 1584, by the Provost and Bailies, at the command of the King, to make way for Mr. Robert Montgomerie, the Bishop pulling him by the sleeves, and saying, "Come down, sirra." The four Regents of the University, however, would not go to hear the excommunicated Bishop, and this led to their imprisonment and the breaking up of the College—the students being commanded to go home till new masters were provided.

The extracts from the Presbytery Records are for the most part drawn from the manuscript of the late Dr. Porteous, now in the possession of Adam Sim, Esq., of Coultermains, who kindly placed them at my disposal:—

"May 6th, 1586.—Bartelmo Symson, summoned to hear the kirk's declaration for weale of the puir.

May 27th.—Symson ordered to uplift nothing till his dispute with the poor was settled.

May 30th.—The Parson of Renfrew, Sub-dean, and Minister of Glasgow, ordered Symson to produce the foundation, compt books, decreets, and all writs.

June 1st.—Symson produced a book called "*Rentale capelli Sti. Nicolai*"—Item, That same book, *Rentale pauperum*.—Item, Produced a seizing upon a charter given to the puir men of the almshouse by Sir John Smyth, written and subscrivit be umqll. Walter Gray, Notar.—Item, Producit five parts of count-books, and certain Laws and Injunctions contenit therein, to be observed by the almshouse-men; given all in custody to Sir Mark Jameson to the weale of the almshouse."

Sir Mark, elsewhere Dominus Marcus Jameson, was Vicar of Kilspindy and Chaplain of the Chaplainrie of Sanct Mungo in the Hie Kirk. The title of Dominus or Sir, as applied to Churchmen, appears to have been limited in its application. Du Cange, in his *Dictionary*, explains, "Domini interdum dicti Canonici addito nomine ecclesiæ cujus sunt Canonici."

A few years further on, we find that Sir Mark delivers up to the Town Council, "in ane litill box," other papers pertaining to the Hospital, "to be keepit in the commoun kist."

"June 1st.—Symson promises to produce Extract of said seizing.—It is ordenit that the Laird of Ernock and his be summoned to produce the foundation of the almshouse of Glasgow, given to him by Sir John Moyne, gif he have it to this day.—It is ordenit that Symson produce the Letters of Horning he has against the Provost of Glencluden."

Dominus Johannes Mynn or Mwn, is witness to a deed in 1549; and by another in 1581 his yard, as one of the vicars of the choir, being one of the three lower yards on the east side of the Vicars' Alley adjoining the Cathedral (the middle one of which Sir Bartilmo Sympson occupied), passed at his death to the College.

The Provost of Glencluden was Mr. Robert Douglas, second son to the Baron of Drumlanrig, a political character of the time, who was confined in Edinburgh Castle in 1584 for conspiring against the life of the Earl of Arran.—[*Moysies Memoirs.*] From *Grose's Antiquities* it appears that the Priory of Lincluden (Glencluden) did not become a temporal barony till 1565.

James Robertoun, the Laird of Ernock, represented an old Lanarkshire family. He was indited, along with fifty gentlemen, in 1572, as being accessary to the murder of Darnley, and of the Regents Murray and Lennox.

In 1579 he became a cautioner to the extent of £1000 (Scots) for the appearance of Hamilton of Bothuelhauche, before the King and Lords of Council.—[*Pitcairn's Trials.*] It may be surmised that the sagacious churchman, Sir John Moyne, entrusted the original deed of Bishop Muirhead with one who was evidently not only a responsible party, but one who had thoroughly identified himself with the cause of the old regime.

John Henderson, Esq., Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, has most courteously assisted me, by instituting a very minute search after the original document amongst the records of the Exchequer Chambers, Edinburgh; but I regret that he has found nothing fitted to throw additional light on the history of the Hospital.

"June 1st.—Symson ordered to make a Rental conforme to the book, expressing 'the tennentis and present inhabitants thereof, quhilkis are addebtit to the said almshouse;' it is to be compared

with the auld Rental.—It is ordered that xx. shillings annual rent, to be uplifted of lands in Renfrew, be socht and required in times to come. Next meeting on 3d June.

June 3d.—Sym. produced to the Pres. the auld rental;—a new rental expressing the present inhabitants of the lands inddebtit to the almshouse;—the foundation of Sir John Smyth;—an instrument of twa riggs in the braid dale of Renfrew;—ane uther right thereupon, and Letters of Horning against the Provost of Glencluden."

Sir John Smyth was probably Vicar of Campsie. He appears as a witness in Glasgow to a deed in 1552. There is no trace of the twa riggs in the braid dale of Renfrew, and the braid dale cannot now be recognised, as there are no records of Council or register of deeds in the burgh of Renfrew prior to 1760.

"September 16th.—At a meeting of the Chapter and Presbytery of Glasgow, B. Symson is charged with not giving to the puir men in St. Nicolas' Hospital their wages, gowns, shoes, coals, and other necessarys according to the foundation, and neglecting the hospital beside the Castle of Glasgow.—The meeting considering that B. Symson was elected in the year 1586, by the Vicar-general of Glasgow, who had no right, his former promise to resign in the year 1583, registrat in the toun buikes of Glasgow, his malversations in office, deprive him of his office as master, &c.; and ordain ane new master to be appointed with all diligence.

January, 20th, 1590.—Mr. John Howeson is appointed *Master of the almshouse without the Stable Green port*, and that under the pain of disobedience.

'And all the brethren of the said Presbytery, with the Principal and Regents of the College of Glasgow to hald hand to set forward the said Mr. John in all turns concerning the maintenance of the right of the said hospital, now committed to him as maister thereof, to the uttermost of their power. And in case it sall happen, as God forbid, the said Mr. John to lose or tyne the richt by lawe of the said hospital, that then the said haille brethren and every ane of them for his awin pairt, binds them by the tenor hereof to contribute to him his expenses of plea, as also likewise to supplie his place at his kirk whensoever he sall be occupied for the affairs of the said hospital in Edinburgh at the sute of the law. As also the said Mr. John obliges him be the tenour hereof to do all things be the sight of the said Presbytery, and to submit his right to them gif they think the same may be better used be ony other of the brethren than be him

in ony time hereafter; and to use and dispone the living of the hospital as the brethren of the said Presbytery shall think expedient to be done.' (Signed)—'Mr. Jhone Howeson.'"

This minute reveals the conflicting jurisdiction at that time of the Presbytery and Town Council, as by the Burgh Records, only two months previously, Mr. Thomas Cloggy had been appointed by the latter body to the Mastership. The Burgh Record is as follows:—

"8th November, 1589.—The quhilk day the provest, Baillies, and counsall hes given and grantit, and be thir presents gives and grantis to Thomas Cloggy the Chaiplainrie or altarage of St. Johne Baptist, foundit be umqll Mr. Rolland Blacater, Sub-dean of Glasgow, situat within the Hie Kirk thereof, quhairunto is annexit the new hospitall besyd the Stabilgrene, last possesst by Sir William Crawford, last chaiplaine and master of the said hospitall, with the rents, dewties, and emoluments pertenyng therto, during all the dayis of his lyftyme, and ordenit the said hospitall to be viseit on Wedensday cum aucht dayis, by the thrie Bailies, David Hall, Archibald Wilsone, Maister of Work, Thomas Mure, and James Lyoun, of the Counsall to sie what estait the saymn is presentlie; and he to find caution for uphauld of the samyn, and keip the tenor of the fundatioun, quha fand William Hereot and James Lyoun, cautioners and soureties for him, and becum actit for that effect, and the said Thomas actit and obleist him to relieff his said soureties of all damage and skaith they may sustene. Thairthrow of the quhilk gift the tennur followis."—[Blank left in the record for the insertion of the gift.]

Mr. John Howeson, who was minister of Cambuslang, had a strong claim on the sympathy of the Presbytery, which may account for his appointment. He was moderator when the Court was deliberating on the excommunication of Mr. Robert Montgomerie, Bishop of Glasgow, when the Laird of Minto Provost, and the Bailies, "intruded themselves and cruelly handled him; smote him on the face; pulled him by the beard; beated out one of his teeth; and then put him in the Tolbuith." He "was rugged out of the judgment seat," as Row expresses it. The "schollers" of the University entered into combat with some of those who had done the injury, and some of them were hurt. The excommunication was carried out formally in the kirk of Libberton, two days afterwards, on the 10th June, 1582. The Laird of Minto confessed shortly afterwards to the Assembly of the Church the wrong he had done to the minister; and he and his accomplices, whose names are given in *Calderwood's*

History, were censured. After an interval of two years Mr. Howeson was apprehended and examined before the King and Privy Council, at Falkland; and, eventually, he underwent an imprisonment of two or three years in the Spey Tower at St. Johnston. He bequeathed, in 1613, 1000 merks for the support of a bursar in the College—the bursar to be of the "craftis mannis rank." Those of the merchant rank at the time were generally unfriendly to the Presbyterian Church government. Mr. Crawfurd mentions in his Sketch that the Trades' House pays at the present day the bursar, who is appointed for four years, the sum of £9 annually. A portrait of the good man, evidently a work of high art, taken in the year 1609, when he was 79 years of age, was in the possession of the Trades' House within the last few years.

"March 31st, 1590.—John Painter, master of the sang school, mortifies five pund yearly to pious uses, beside the annuals paid of auld. 3 Pund to the 12 poormen in the fore almshouse called St. Nicolais hospital: twenty shillings to the four poormen of the back almshouse pertaining to the town of Glasgow, and 20 shillings to the poor liper folks at the southside of the bridge of Glasgow." This annual is to arise from an Orchard and certain tenements "Lyand out with the north part of the Citie of Glasgow, in the stabill grene havand the yard and palace of the Archbishop of Glasgow on the south, part of the commoun Street on the west, and the yards of the vicars of the Queir of Glasgow on the eist and north parts;" and considering "that the Mr. of the said almshouse and the town Clerk of the town of Glasgow suld be men of honesty and gud conscience therefor maid and constitute them to be collectors and uptakers, of the said five punds money, and to distribute the samen in manner foresaid. Being present they accepted and bund them and their successors. Wherefore 14 shill. yearly is mortified to them. Whilk 14 sh. of annual rent the said Mr. coft fra Hector Stewart bailie of Glasgow and Elison Hall his spouse yearlie to be uptane of an barn pertaining to John Wodrop burgess of Glasgow, now presently occupied by him lyand in St. Tenew gate on the north side thereof, betwixt the barn of umqll. William Maxwell on the west, the barn of umqll. Patk. Anderson on the east, and the Langcroft lands on the north, and the common Street on the South part."

The Burgh Records of 18th July, 1590, confirmatory of the bequest of John Painter, who was the maternal uncle of Sir Mark Jameson, is as follows:—

"The quhilk day, comperit, within the Counsalhouse of Glasgow, in presence of the Baillies and Counsall thairin convenit, Sir Mark Jamesoun, and producit ane lettre of foundatioun of fyve pundis zeirlie annuall rent to be vptane furth of his mans and orchaird, besyd the Stabilgrene thereof, thair suld be payit to the foir almoushous thrie pundis—to the bak almoushous, pertenyng to the toun, twenty schillingis, and to the hospitall of the seik folkis, at the Brigend of Glasgow, twentie schillingis zeirlie, of the dait of the xxvj°. of Marche, the zeir of God J.M. v^c^. thrie scoir sevin zeiris, ratifeit and approvit be Mr. Robert Rollok, upoun the fourt day of Sept., the zeir of God J.M. v^c^. foure scoir ten zeiris, as also ratifeit and authoriseit be the Presbiterie of Glasgow, the last day of Marche, the zeir of God J.M. v^c^. foure scoir ten zeiris. Item, ane obligatioun of Mr. Dauid Rollokis of Knitlady, for payment of the samyn zeirlie annuall rentis, conforme to the fundatioun, of the dait the xxviij. day of Marche, the zeir of God J.M. v^c^. thrie scoir seven zeiris, as also ratifeit be Mr. Rollok, his sone. Item, ane instrument of seasing of ane zeirlie annuall rent of fourtene schillingis, to be vpliftet furth of ane barne in St. Tenois Gait, foundit to the toun clerk of Glasgow, and the annuall of St. Nicolace almshous, equallie betwix thame, for thair ingaddering and distributioun of the foirsaidis annuallis, of the dait the last day of Februar, the zeir of God J.M. v^c^. foure scoir ane zeiris. Item, ane instrument, quhair the said Sir Mark Jamesoun wes infeft in the manss and orchard, above wrettin, be Johnne Panter, his mother's brother, vpoun conditioun that he suld fund the foirsaid zeirlie annuall to the pure, of the dait the aucht day of Januar, the zeir of God J.M. v^c^. threttie aucht zeiris. Item, the auld fundatioun, quhair the said Sir Mark, conforme to the will of the said Johne Panter, and the speciall conditioun of his awin infeftment, foundit the foirsaid zeirlie dutie furth of the foirsaid manss, of the dait the fyft of Nouember, the zeir of God J.M. v^c^. threttie nyne zeiris. Item, sex instrumentis of seasingis, all in ane parcheament skyn, contenand in haill fourtie ane schillingis zeirlie annuall, foundit be the said Sir Mark, to the pure of the Hospitall of Glasgow, with particular seasingis of the same annuall, besyd the parcheament skyn, with ane transumpt of ane instrument of ellevin schillingis, to be vpliftit of Johne Brownis hous, in Tronegait. Item, the copy of the chartour of the setting of the few to Mr. David Rollok, be the said Sir Mark, of the tenement and orchaird besyd the Stabilgrene. Item, the copy of the fundatioun of the foir-

said fyve parkis. Item, ane transumpt of ane instrument of . . schillingis annuall rent, to be vpliftit of the tenement now pertenyng to Mathow Boyd, in Tronegait. Item, ane decreet obtenit befoir the Commissar of Glasgow, aganis Johnne Ottirburne, and Issobel Baillie, his spous, tennentis and occupyaris of the forsaid mans and zaird, of the forsaid annuall rent of fyve pundis, of the dait the aucht of Marche, the zeir of God J.M. v^{c}. foure scoir aucht zeiris, quhilkis evidentis the said Sir Mark delyverit in ane litill box, to be keipit in the commoun kist, for furth cumyng, to the weill of the pure, and to be patent at sik tymes as neid requyrit, quhilk they acceptit, upoun the conditioun foirsaid, quhairupoun the said Sir Mark askit instrumentis."

"July 21st, 1590.—A meeting appointed to take order with the almshouse, Archibald Eglinton, Sir Bartholomy Simpson, and the poor summoned.

August 4th.—Archibald Eglinton is to produce the Kirk's commission given to him by the Presbytery touching the almshouse, with his purchase of the gift of the said almshouse, and Rental of the said almshouse living. He and Sir Bart. Sympson summoned.

August 11.—Archibald Eglinton produced 'ane simple gift of the King in his favours to be master of the almshouse of Glasgow.' —Item, the foundation of Sir John Smyth to the said almshouse.—Item, twa Rentales of the living of the said almshouse,—and as to the Kirk's commission given to the said Archibald to be master of the said almshouse, the said Archibald affirms that as yet it is in process before the Commissar of Glasgow; as also affirms that he has in his hand ane certain number of auld Rentals given to him by Sir Mark Jameson, which with the said Commission the said Archibald is ordained to produce this day viii. days—summoned.

Sir Bart. Symson grants he has intromitted with the living of the almshouse in ane part sen Whitsunday last was, and that by Archibald Eglinton's guid will. The said Archibald is inhibit to intermell ony furder with the living of the almshouse, while ordour be tane there anent.—Summoned.

August 21st.—Archibald Eglinton is ordered to produce the Kirk's Commission.

August 25th.—Archibald producit the Kirk's Commission given to him to be Master of the almshouse.—Summoned to friday and certain brethren ordered to meet on that business in the high Kirk.

November 24th.—A meeting appointed to audit the accounts of

Archibald Eglinton for these years during which he was master of the almshouse.—He and Sir Bart. Symson summoned.

December 1st.—The Baillies of Glasgow are required to be present to hear Archibald Eglinton's accounts.

15th July, 1591.—The Session ordained 'that the Almshouse men be present in the Kirk, forenoon and every day, at prayers, morning and evening, to be said to them by their master, Sir Bartholomew Simpson, otherwise, that they want their week's wages, following their being convict.'

Febry. 2nd, 1592.—John Stodhyrd minister of Campsie appeared and desyred the following foundation to be recorded:—

Omnibus et singulis—He mortifies to four decrepit men, or if the Patrons think it proper, to those already in St. Nicolas Hospital, the yearly Sum of 20 merks Scots out of the back land. 'Tam superiori quam inferiori, tam edificato quam edificando cum clausura horto libero introitu et exitu et singulis suis pertinentis'—occupied by John Glen, weaver, and his subtenants, lying in the City of Glasgow 'ex orientale latere' of the public Street leading from the Metropolitan Church to the Cross.—Boundarys the lands of John Pinkerton and William Glen—'ad boream Commune venellum ad australem'—and the lands of umqll. John Glen 'ad occidentem.'" This seems to describe a corner between the Street and the Vennel.—Note, apparently by the transcriber.

"Patrons are the ministers of the Presbytery of Glasgow. The Pensioners to be Burgesses of honist Character."

"5th June, 1593.—The Presbiterie ordenis the puir folk of the Almshouse to be summoundit to this day viii. dayes to compeir before thame to give the confessioun of thair faithe.

27th January, 1595.—The Presbiterie understanding David Moresone, one of the puir men of the Almshous of Glasgow, to have been in Jonet Garneris house, aganis the ordinance of the Sessioun of Glasgow, thairfore the said Presbiterie dischargis Sir Bartilmo Simson, Master of the said Almoushous, to give the said David ten *s.*, quhilk is ane monethis wages, bot ordenis the same to be gevin to the rest of the puir in the said Almoushous; and, forder, the said Presbiterie certefeis the said David, gif he sal be fund in hous with the said Jonet Garner, he sal be deposit fra stall and place therefter in the said Almoushous."

Sir Bartholomew, with all his faults, had his personal trials in the management of the house, for on 7th January, 1597, the record

runs—"Quhilk daye, Johnne Cauldwell, witness, sworne, admittit examinat, deponis he hard Johnne Graye saye to Sir Bartilmo Symsoun that the devill was possest in him, and the said Sir Bartilmo in the devill."

"Feby. 20th, 1601.—To speak to the Duke of Lennox about the almshouse without the stable green port. And of provision of an Master thereto by the advice of the sd. Presbytery instead of Sir Bartilmo Simson present master thereof who no ways has done his duty to the said hospital and poor thereof.

May 26th.—To speak to my Lord Duke of Lennox how soon his (L) 'shall come here for provision of an master to the almshouse of Glasgow at the Bishop of Glasgow foundation for the weal of the 12 poor men of the said almshouse and of the living and house of the samen.'

July 22nd.—The poor in the almshouse discharged from ringing a bell at Burials.

July 18th, 1604.—P. apply to the Duke of Lennox 'for obtaining a power' fra him to the said Pres. for placing of poor men within the 'almshouse of Glasgow as oft as the place shall vaik.'"

The following Burgh Record shews that the Town Council exercised the right of presentation in 1574; but by the subsequent minutes the heritable bailie of the regality of Glasgow appears to have recognised, tacitly at least, the right of the Presbytery.

"12th November, 1574.—The quhilk daye, the prouest, bailies, and consale, gave and disponit to John Lowrie, the almous bed last possesst be umquhill Johne Gibsone, vacand in their handis be his deceis, to be brukit be said Johne Lowrie, with all annuellis dewiteis pertenying thairto, during all the dayis of his lyftyme."

"August 1st, 1604.—The hospital and . . . belonging thereto founded by the Sub-dean of Glasgow is in the hands of Thomas Cloggie presently and used by him. They are to consider how it may be restored to the awin integrity."

On 12th February, 1606, the admission of a pensioner is noted in these terms—"The quilk daye the moderator and brethren of the Presbytery of Glasgow wills and agrees that Matthew Boyd, burgess of Glasgow, be ane of the poor of the Bishop of Glasgow Almoushouses, situat besyde the Castell of Glasgow, and bruik for his lyfetyme as ony poor man thairof bruikit of befoir, according to the foundation, in fyer, bedding, yard, stipend, and casualteis, and to be enterit and admittit thairto presentlie as thae enter and admitt him at their

presentis, and to his part of the said yard, ordering Sir Bartolmo Symsoun, present Maister of the said Almoushouse, to paye to him his wages in tyme to cum fra the dait heirof, during his lyftyme, as becummis gif he be fund worthe to bruik the saming for his said lyftyme."

"Febry. 4th, 1607.—Bartw. Symson ordered to produce his accounts, he says that the following persons are at present on the almshouse of which he is master"—here follows the names of eleven men.—These are not given in the MSS.

"June 1st, 1608.—The Presbytery agrees that Mr. Stoddart's mortification go to . . . of the poor in Glasgow, 'the substance of the first foundation being always keepit.'"

These records reveal the embarassing circumstances under which the Presbyterian Church endeavoured faithfully to protect from abuse and utter ruin, the pious foundation of Bishop Muirhead.

James Melville, in a paper he wrote out for the meditation of the "godlie, devout, and wyse Archibald, Erle of Angus, quhilk he put in a little coffer, to be carried about with him continualie," gives a graphic sketch of this state of things, in 1584. "Ther is manie noble and gentil men that has Prebendaries, altarages, and uther rents and casualiteis, be the quhilk they please their servands and frinds in giffing them lyff rents thairof." "The rents, lands, and leivings of the Hospitalls, Almes-housses, and Masone Dieus ar lyk wayes taen in feu be gentilmen and burgesses for right nocht; in sic sort, that thair buildings is alwhere deceyit, and thair fundatiouns lost and abolished."

The name of Sir Bartilmo Sympson appears first in a deed of 1547-8, where his lands are mentioned as near the common street, probably the "Vicus publicus," or Saltmarket and Bridgegate. His connection with the almshouse at the Stablegreen Port and that beside the Castle, forming together St. Nicholas' Hospital, may be traced for about twenty-five years, down to 1607.

We find him censured for breach of trust, and then superseded in the mastership,—after an interval of four years restored, but ere long exposing himself to the charge of unfaithfulness,—then on the point of dismissal for the second time; and, again, as his long life draws to a close, apparently as influential as ever. The transition state of the Church, when Prelacy struggled with Presbyterianism for the mastery, favoured the pretensions of an unprincipled man, who could claim the substantial support of those who had the influence to ob-

struct the progress of the Reformation, or as it is quaintly expressed, who were guided by "Guisian Counsall."

Sir Bartilmo was one of the vicars of the choir, but he also held the office of chaplain of the chaplainrie of St. Martin, at Rutherglen. In connection with the latter, which was a sinecure of the annual value of £7 6s. 8d. (scots), we find, from letters under the king's signet (James VI.), 12th December, 1575, that he was one of sixteen, who appear to have interpreted, to the prejudice of the College, their life interest in the several benefices, which had been made over to it by the Crown. Of those who were forbidden to give long leases, or to dispose of the properties, there were "Freir Johnne Law, Possessour of the chaplainrie of Sanct Nicolas in the Laich Kirk; Mr. Alexander Crawfurd and Mr. Thomas Clogye, pretendit possessouris of the chaplainrie of St. Nicolas in the Hie Kirk, and Schir Mark Jamesoune," whose name is already familiar to us. The College, probably from painful experience, took legal steps to secure the peaceable possession of its rights, even from the reforming party. On 13th March, 1610, Mr. David Weymis, the Presbyterian minister, who had been admitted in 1601, on the king's presentation, to the parsonage and vicarage of Glasgow, with manse and glebe, renounced, under a decreit of removal, his right to the "vicaris yairdis and hous biggit thairupon, on the west syde of the allay on the bak of the Hie Kirk, sumtyme occupeit by umquhile Barthilmow Sympsoun;" and on 13th August following, William Weymis, styled a merchant burgess, came under a similar obligation, to remove within two months from the same house, under a penalty of one hundred merks, the only stipulation being, that he was to be at liberty to "transport the kaill planteis growand on the saidis yairdis." This William was no doubt the son of the minister, in whose person, though a layman, from 1595 to 1600, he claimed a right to the vicarage of Glasgow, *primo*.

Mr. Weymis' residence in 1575 was in the Rottenrow, in the manse of the Prebend of Luss, over which the College had certain rights as successors to the vicars of the choir. About the period 1580 to 1590 he apparently occupied the tenement of Sir Bartilmo, situated between the "Wyndheid and the Crose;" and then in 1610 the house at the "bak of the Hie Kirk." It was probably after this that he acquired an heritable interest in the parsonage of the Prebend of Carstairs, situated in the Rottenrow, to which M'Ure refers.

There were various properties in the rental of the College, speci-

fied in the *Munimenta Universitatis*, belonging to Sir Bartilmo, situated on the east, as well as the west side of the Vicars' Alleys, together with one or two tenements in "Vico Fullonum," in the direction of the "Barras Yet," which stood near the present Steel Street in the Saltmarket.

The fiall or the vassallage payable by the College to Sir Bartilmo as one of the vicars of the choir, amounted in 1608 to £6 13s. 4d. (scots).

The vicars of the choir were instituted by Bishop Muirhead, prior to 1467. They were twelve in number, as appears by the deed of the Dean and eleven Canons, on 5th June, 1480 (in the time of Bishop Laing, the immediate successor of Bishop Muirhead), augmenting, from £5 to £10 (scots), their stipends as the vicars of the choir ministering in the stalls of the respective canons. They formed an incorporation, Schir Johne Mene, "ane descret man," (already referred to in connection with the foundation deed of St. Nicholas' Hospital), being their chaplain and procurator in 1534.

Prior to the institution of the vicars of the choir, the direction of the music of the Metropolitan Church lay with the precentor, an ecclesiastic who ranked next to the dean, and who took precedence of the chancellor of the diocese. "In the Eastern Church, from the fourth century, the precentor was sometimes styled Κανονάρχης." The Precentor of Glasgow was the Rector of Kilbride, and in the charter of Charles I., 1630, confirming the rights of the College, the *Mansa Cantoris*, with the garden attached to it, is described as lying "ex oriente a deambulacro vicariorum, vulgo, the vicaris ally." There was another ecclesiastic, apparently peculiar to the Church of Glasgow, (at least in Scotland,) called the succentor, who led the bass, and who had the ordering of the church music in the precentor's absence. His manse stood to the north of the garden of the precentor, and to the east of the orchard of the Rector of Glasgow, which was to the east of the Castle.

This sheltered spot, which rises with a gentle slope towards Garngad (Gardengad) was then smiling with orchards, and dotted with ecclesiastical residences,—those of the vicars having been built by Bishop Muirhead; but, by the extension of the Cathedral Burying-ground, since the beginning of the present century, a large portion of it has been consigned to silence.

In Exeter, in 1280, there were two antiphonars, so called from the alternate repetition by the two parts of the choir of the psalm;

one part of it being sung by one part of the choir, the other by the other. No vicar or other inferior minister or clergyman, who, according to the custom of that church, was bound to officiate in the choir, could be admitted, whatever might be his knowledge or other endowments, unless he could play on a musical instrument, and had a competent knowledge of singing, otherwise his admission was invalid, and power was vested in the bishop to substitute another fit person.

The precentor or chantour in the time of Queen Mary was Maister Johne Steuestoun or Steinstoune. On the 11th July, 1556, we find him in Edinburgh, sitting on the bench as one of the lords of council or session; and, on 10th October of the same year, at Glasgow, he was a party to a rather questionable transaction, by which the vicarage of Daliell was robbed of a large portion of its revenues, leaving the parochial minister only a pittance, with a view to supply the table of the vicars of the choir with a greater abundance of good cheer. In Exeter, in 1328, some of the canons were admonished for the neglect of hospitality. Many instances of this system, with a view to enable the Bishop or metropolitan clergy to shew greater hospitality, appear in our most ancient records or chartularies.—[*Erskine's Institutes.*] Eventually an act of parliament was passed prohibiting the practice.

The Church of Glasgow was designated in old charters by the honourable title of "Mater Multarum Gentium," and before the erection of the College of Justice the greatest causes of the kingdom were referred to the decision of this chapter.—[*Innes' Letters, Misc. Spalding Club.*]

It does not therefore surprise us that in later times the Chantour, whose office must have become almost a sinecure, should sit as a judge in a civil trial. In 1556 fully one-half of the Lords of Council, of whom there were nine, appear to have been churchmen, the Dean of Glasgow and Lord Provand, as well as the Chantour, being of the number.

In Jones' account of "The Ancient Constitution, Discipline, and Usages of the Cathedral Church of Exeter,"—[*Archæologia*, vol. xviii.]—we find that the Cathedral clergy could hardly be less than five hours every day in the choir. The canons might have three nights' absence from the choir, but the vicars only two nights'.

The definition of the several offices of dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, sub-dean, canon, and vicar, are given in this interesting

paper. There is one curious notice respecting the canons and vicars, viz., that they might be blooded at such times as they should want venesection, by leave of the dean. "Phlebotomy was much in fashion in the middle ages. The monks desired often to be bled on account of eating meat."—[*Dudley Fosbrooke on British Monachism.*]

The canons, vicars, and other clergy were not permitted to wear amices of any other colour externally than black, which, however, might be lined with silk (sendato), red, green, or any other colour than black. The vicars were permitted to wear amices of grey fur, so as the exterior were black. This was in the fourteenth century. It was not till the eighth that the amice was introduced. The word is derived from *amicire*, to cover. It was formerly a hood, which was thrown back on the shoulders, so as to cover the neck.—[*Rock's Hierurgia.*]

Jebb, on the Choral Service of the Church, remarks—"The vicars' choral, as their name implies, were originally appointed as the deputies of the canons and prebendaries for choral purposes, and were originally commensurate in number with them, with a view to provide for the absence or incapacity of the great body of capitular members; the clerical members to chant in rotation the prayers at matins and even song, and the whole body forming a sufficient and permanent choir for the performance of the daily service; a duty which the canons were originally required to perform in person.

"This institution was most salutary; since, were every canon required to have this peculiar qualification, men of more essential and higher qualities would of necessity be often excluded from the canonical stalls.

"In all the ancient cathedrals there were at least two rows of stalls on each side of the choir; the upper row being appropriated to the capitular clergy, the lower, to the minor canons, vicars choral, and lay clerks; the choir boys being placed beneath them on the floor. The stall of the dean was the first on the right or south side of the choir, that of the precentor generally the first on the left side. Hence the two sides of the choir are technically styled 'Decani and Cantoris.' The dignitaries and prebendaries were ranged in the order of seniority on each side.

"The essential character of the choral performance of the psalms is antiphonal, that is, there is an alternate manner of recitation regularly recurring at certain intervals.

"The very institution of the offices of chancellor and precentor

would imply the full recognition of the principle of distribution in conducting the service."

The institution of the vicars of the choir by Bishop Muirhead was coeval with a period when the taste for music commanded the highest patronage. It is acknowledged that the extraordinary musical taste and acquirements of James I., on his return from his long captivity in England, had an important influence on the music of the kingdom. The House of Stuart, it has been remarked, have all, with the exception of James II., been either promoters or cultivators of music. James III. founded the chapel royal at Stirling, and richly endowed it for the cultivation of church music, and this ecclesiastical establishment was enlarged by James IV., in 1501. An interesting inquiry here presents itself as to the close resemblance between "the wild, plaintive, pathetic features for which the slow airs of our national music are so celebrated, and the church chants of that period."

Dauney, in his *Dissertation on our Scotish Melodies*, remarks that, "in Scotland, where the same ecclesiastical institutions and regulations prevailed as in other Catholic countries, the original vocal music of the people must have been overlaid by that of the church, in the same manner, though not to the same extent. In one shape or other, it must all, more or less, have passed through the hands of ecclesiastics themselves, or of their pupils; that is to say, of persons who had been trained up in the ecclesiastical tones; for, from the time that the Gregorian chant first found its way into Great Britain, in the seventh century, it was taught gratuitously to the poor in connection with our collegiate churches, monasteries, and other religious houses. The clergy were thus the masters of the 'sang schuile,' an office which fell latterly into the hands of the schoolmaster. The music of the common people, therefore, would naturally resemble that with which they had been familiar from their infancy, and which they had been instructed to consider as the only legitimate and regular style of melody." This author, however, while claiming a higher antiquity than that of the music of the Christian Church for our ancient melodies, as being based in the natural constitution and temperament of the nation, and of which the common people were the poets as well as musicians, leaves the problem unsolved "why the popular music of the Scots should have been more deeply tinctured with the essential qualities of the ritual of the Church of Rome than that of other countries."

While he attempts to account for it by the imperfection, at an early period, of our national instruments in certain keys, as compelling the omission of certain intervals, and thus leading to a partiality for such a style of music, the evidence is far from being conclusive; as, in an analysis by Mr. Miller of the eighty-five melodies which Dauney has transcribed from the Skene Manuscript, there are only five which want the fourth and seventh of the scale, seven which want the fourth but have the seventh, and five which want the seventh but contain the fourth; but these omissions, however, are in various keys.

The service of song in the House of God in Reformation times, while more or less modified by the genius of the composers and the incidents of the period, necessitated a bolder style; for the whole congregation were invited to take a part, and but a few tunes in our Scottish Psalmody survive to recall the plaintive church music of the fifteenth century.

Mr. Miller the teacher of our large popular Sol-Fa classes, whose knowledge of the literature of his profession is extensive and varied, has pointed out to me as specimens of this class, the tunes, Elgin, Coleshill, and Martyrs.

The Hospital of St. Nicholas was flanked on either side by two buildings that still exist, and which deserve a passing notice. The one to the south, on the west side of Kirk Street, has been already alluded to, and though the small steeple which projected into the street, was taken down about fifty years ago, it must still be recognised as the Old Trades' House. The other, to the north, where Kirk Street merges into Castle Street, is referred to by M'Ure, in 1736, as the large house near the Stable Green Port, and the property of Mr. Bryson of Nielsland, which is near Hamilton. It is described in an *Inventory of Writs*, which do not extend further back than 1613, as the tenement between St. Nicholas' Hospital and the Stable Green Port.

The ruins of this Port were standing in 1771. The remembrance of this ancient gateway is perpetuated by a friendly society, bearing the name of "The Stable Green," and which is now in the ninetieth year of its existence. The society possesses a flag with a representation of the Castle and Port. The date over the Port is 1541.

The Old Trades' House was the manse of the Prebend of Morebattle, and the other and more stately building of the two was that

of the Prebend of Balornock or Barlanerk and Lord of Provan. They were erected, in all probability, during the episcopate of John Cameron, about 1435, who compelled the canons to build commodious residences close to the metropolitan church; and they are the last of those "sumptuous buildingis of grite antiquitie," which lent to that part of the city so imposing an aspect, and the decay of which formed the burden of a petition to parliament as far back as 1578. They are, apparently, the only remnants in Glasgow of the domestic architecture of the fifteenth century.

The one may owe its preservation at an early period to the fostering care of a corporate body who at one time lodged and boarded their poor members under its roof—the other may be described as a quarry of stone and lime—conveying the idea of great strength; with external walls, four feet thick, and with huge fireplaces imbedded in the partitions.

In *Stuart's Views* a little building or shed of one story is represented as clinging to the southern gable of the manse of the Lord of Provan. It still remains, and was noted towards the close of the last century as the abode of the Glasgow executioner. The Castle Yard became, in 1784, the place for public executions, and as the criminal came from the old prison at the Cross, the cart stood still, opposite the Almshouse, and the verse of the psalm which was then sung, intermingled with the plaintive tones of the passing bell.—[*Glasgow Delineated*, 1826.]

These meaner and more recent associations, however, are overshadowed by the ancient honours of the building. It presents features of greater architectural interest on the west side, than on that facing the Barony Church; but there are no armorial bearings to decipher. Wm. Turnbull, who was Prebend of Balenrick, or Balernock, and Lord of Provan, in all probability, occupied it in 1440, if he did not erect it; but other associations than those which link it with the name of the founder of our University may just be glanced at.

In the College Museum, a bull of Pope Adrian VI., dated 3d February, 1522, is exhibited, presented by Mr. Lawrence Hill, appointing Mr. William Balze, one of the canons of Glasgow, to be Prebend of "Barlanerk *alias* Provand," and conferring on him an extensive jurisdiction in regard to ecclesiastical matters within his prebendary. This ecclesiastic sat on the bench, in 1556, along with the Chantour of Glasgow, in the case referred to above, as Mr. Wm.

Baillie, Lord Provand; and, in the same year, his name, as Prebend of Balenrick, is appended to the deed disposing of the vicarage of Daliell.

This bull, to which my attention was called by Professor Wm. Fleming, embodies an indulgence to Thomas Balze, the predecessor of William; but while the Pope may have embraced the opportunity to extend his jurisdiction in Scotland, the papal interference implies that peculiar importance was attached to this prebendary. This took place within two years of the translation of Beaton (who was uncle to the Cardinal) to the primacy, when there was nothing to disturb the friendly relations between the Archbishop and the inferior clergy.

This, however, was not the first case of papal interference with this prebendary, for on the 19th September, 1487, Archbishop Blacader renounced the bulls which he had obtained at Rome some years previously, for the purpose of rendering Barlanarik mensal to himself. This step, so unusual, may have had some political significance, and a probable reason may be gathered from what follows.

M'Ure refers to James II. as holding this canonry; and the royal arms, with his cipher, are pointed out on the roof of the choir—south area—on the left side of the pulpit.

The devout and chivalrous James IV., in imitation doubtless of the kings of France, who were honorary canons of St. Martin of Tours, also became a canon of the Cathedral of Glasgow, preferring it—as expressed in one of his letters, a copy of which was sent to the University of Glasgow from the Scots College, Paris—to all the other chapters of the kingdom; and Cosmo Innes has discovered somewhere that he was Prebendary of Barlannerc and Lord of Provan.—[*Spalding Club Misc.*] He ascended the throne on the 24th June, 1488, at the age of sixteen.

We remember his self mortification in having taken the field against his father, with the iron chain around his body, to which he added a link every year; and then his own unhappy fate at Flodden, on the 9th September, 1513; and then Shene in Surrey, whither his embalmed body had been carried by the English army, and left in its leaden coffin to be tossed about in the lumber of a garret, till about sixty years afterwards, when, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the excommunication of the Pope being no longer a bugbear, it found at last some humble resting place within the precints

of that monastery, the site only of which is now marked by some old trees within the lower park at Richmond.—[*Stowe's Annals, Dugdale's Monasticon, Tales of a Grandfather.*]

Within forty miles of Shene—in the Parish of Horsted Keynes—shut out as it were from the world by the Surrey Hills, while to the south the Sussex Downs withheld the prospect of the ocean, the last benefactor of St. Nicholas' Hospital spent the concluding ten years of his life.

The cloister-like life of the inmates, apart from other claims, may have attracted the interest of one who was weary of public life in the vain endeavour to harmonise contending views of church polity; and within three years of the time when he had resigned his archbishopric, with his accustomed generosity, Dr. Robert Leighton set about the disposal of a sum of £450, of which £300 was appropriated to the foundation of bursaries in Edinburgh and Glasgow respectively, and the remainder to the Hospital of St. Nicholas.

The University where his father had been Professor of Moral Philosophy, thus shared his regard as well as Glasgow; and Dunblane, his first diocese, inherited his library. He thus discharged, as God had given him the means, the obligations which weighed upon his conscience, to the country of his birth and of his ministry. He had no private fortune to fall back upon, and as his biographer, Pearson, says,—"his income appears to have arisen principally from the arrears due to him in connection with his diocese, which dropped in slowly from time to time; the last remittance that he had to expect, being made about six weeks before his death;" "so that," to adopt Bishop Burnet's happy phrase, "his provision and journey failed both at once."

The memory of the commentator on the First Epistle of Peter, invests the old Hospital with peculiar interest, which was fast falling into decay even 180 years ago; like the fragrance which steals over the crumbling ruin, with its crown of wild flowers.

When he penned the deed, of which the following is an abstract, it was a dark and cloudy day for Scotland; the struggle for liberty of conscience was waxing more desperate. From his retreat under the roof of his brother-in-law, Mr. Lightmaker—a gentleman of landed property—he could not but view with abhorrence, the persecution set afoot to produce uniformity of worship. The Bass was being filled with prisoners for Jesus Christ's sake; and one of the most prominent merchants of the city he had just left, Mr. John

Anderson of Dowhill, eventually the Provost and Member of Parliament for the city—the ancestor of our own Sir John Moore—had been subjected to a fine of £500 sterling, and had been in prison five or six weeks, from which he was only released some months afterwards on the payment of a further sum of £1000 Scots.—[*Wodrow's History and Memoirs of Charles M'Intosh, F.R.S.*]

The deed of mortification is dated at Bradhurst in Sussex, on 1st August, 1677. The original is preserved in the Burgh Archives, and has been printed in the *Maitland Club Papers*. It runs in these terms:—

"To the Hospital in the said Burgh of Glasgow, called the Hospital of St. Nicholas, or the Bishop's Hospital, one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, for the standing maintenance of two poor men, yearly, in the said Hospital; the sum to remain in the hands of the Magistrates and Town Council for the use of the Hospital, they paying the yearly rent to the two poor men, and giving security for that effect to the Faculty of the College of Glasgow, and to those entrusted with the affairs of said Hospital.

"As for the said two poor men, the Archbishop, if he please, shall chuse one of them out of the Barony, and the said Magistrates the other, either out of the Town or Barony as they please; provided that one of the two shall still be of the Barony, and I hope they both will be careful to chuse such as upon whom that little charity may be best bestowed, both in respect of their indigence and good conversation, which is to be testified by the Minister of the Barony respective; and in case of the Archbishop or Magistrates not chusing one as said is, within three months of the vacancy, the other shall have the right of it after that time; and in case of neglect of both for the said time, the Ministers of Glasgow and Barony conjointly and severally shall have power to chuse *pro illa vice*, and by all means let the allowance remain entire, and not be clippt to help out other smaller provisions in the said Hospital, nor divided betwixt more than two at once in the Hospital."

The money was paid over to the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow, and the mortification is now represented by a sum of £200, the yearly interest of which at 4½ per cent., say £9, is divided between two indigent men, in quarterly payments of £1 2s. 6d., one being from the Barony, and the other the City Parish. These sums are not mixed up with the revenue or expenditure of St. Nicholas' Hospital.

On 8th September, 1677, a letter of thanks to the Archbishop was subscribed by the Magistrates and Council, "hoping his cair and affectioune for the poor sall not want its awne rewaird by Him who repayes quhat is given to them."

The property of the Hospital at present consists of £280 in the hands of the Corporation, and £100 in the Clyde Trust—the interest of which yields a sum of £16 12s. The grain rents, according to the Fiars have produced £3 3s. 5d.; and rents from old buildings and feu-duties, a further sum of £11 19s. 2d.; or a total of £31 14s. 7d.; and during the year 1858-59, a sum of £33 has been distributed amongst five men and two women. These details have been courteously supplied by Dr. Strang, City Chamberlain. They enforce a lesson as to the sacred duty of vigilant management in connection with every charitable trust. The first symptoms of dilapidation, however insidious, should be at once arrested.

There are so many points of resemblance, at least so far as these can be traced in the absence of the deed of foundation, between the Hospital of St. Nicholas and the Hospital of the Holy and Undivided Trinity at Clune, in the county of Salop, as almost to lead to the inference that these charitable institutions of former times were fashioned after the same model. That at Clune is still in existence, and its charter and statutes are preserved in *Leland's Collectanea.* It was founded by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, in the fifteenth year of the reign of James VI., for the support of twelve poor men, of honest life and conversation, who were to be at least of the age of fifty-six years.

They were presided over by a warden, and a poor sober honest woman was attached to the Hospital, to wait upon the sick, as well to attend to the other household duties. Each of the inmates had an annual stipend of £8 13s. 4d., a chamber, a garden, and an ample supply of wood for fuel. The furniture of each chamber was limited to a bedstead, mat, rug, and table. They were permitted to follow any handicraft they pleased, each in his own chamber, with a view to the comfort and convenience of their little community. They dined and supped together in the common hall only on festival days, of which there were thirteen; but three times a-day they were summoned to prayer and other exercises of piety, and they went to church on Sunday by two and two. Their dress on ordinary occasions consisted of a gown of kersey of a sad colour, but their livery gown was of a good durable broad blue cloth, with the cognizance

of the founder—a white lion—embroidered on the sleeve. One functionary must not be omitted—"an honest man, a barbour, who that the poor men maye be the better keepte cleane from vermyn and goe more decently, shall trymme them in the hall."

The Poor Law has dispelled the romance of such institutions. Instead of cooping up old men in an almshouse, "to give themselves to the service of God, and to pray for the peace, tranquility, and concord of all Christendom," the practical benevolence of the present day has aimed at maintaining, wherever it is practicable, the integrity of the family circle; and, by the exercise of a judicious charity, it has more effectually relieved the infirmities of declining years by the fireside of a son or daughter.

Though St. Nicholas' Hospital has dwindled into insignificance, it may not be desirable, even were it practicable, to reconstruct and endow it. Other charities more suited to the times, and of widely extended usefulness, have in the course of generations gathered round it, and vindicated the fair fame of the city, so that there is scarcely a phasis of human sorrow or suffering for which there is not an institution appropriate to its relief. The Royal Infirmary with its spacious accommodation for 600 patients, occupies the site of that palace from the windows of which, 400 years ago, Bishop Muirhead could mark, with benevolent satisfaction, the completion of the fabric that has given his name to posterity; and the level sun throws the shadow of a tall building on the very spot once covered with the ruins of the Hospital—the shadow of that asylum where 100 indigent old men find repose and shelter in the decline of life.

The ancient features of the locality, to all appearance, will soon be obliterated, but a witness remains, that has looked down in silence on the dead and the living—on the ebb and flow of the human tide that has swept past it for seven centuries. Though standing apart from the great thoroughfare, it is not neglected. The rich and the noble have vied with each other in decorating the venerable pile, by the hands of the artists of Munich and Venice, that their children and their fellow-citizens for generations to come, may read by the light of Heaven, how profoundly it claimed their homage as a national monument, as well as a Christian temple.

ERRATUM.—Page 145 line 11—For "misfortune," read "the ties of kindred."

APPENDIX.

I am indebted to the courtesy of the Town Clerks for giving me the opportunity of discovering, with the assistance of Mr. John Green, of the City Chambers, the original deed of Chancellor Martin Wan; the following translation of which has been revised by Mr. William Henry Hill. The deed itself has been photographed by Mr. William Church, jun., and the photgraph has been traced in lithographic ink by Mr. Annan, Hope Street, and transferred by the usual process:—

Charter of Donation by Martin Wan, Chancellor of the Metropolitan Church of Glasgow, to St. Nicholas' Hospital, dated 1st June, 1501.

"Universis Sanctæ matris ecclesiæ . . . literis inspecturis Martinus Wan Cancellarius ecclie. Metropolitane Glasguen. salutem in eo qui est omnium vera salus noverit universitas vera qui ex . . caritatis intrfere zeloque . . . accensus in laudem gloriam et honorem Dei omnipotentis sanctissimeque Dei genitricis virginis Marie Sancti Nicolai confessoris ac omnium Sanctorum supernorum cuivum nec non pro salute alie mee aliarumque omnium fidelium . . . Fundo concedo constituo et in puram elimosinam dono uni pauperi degenti in elemosinario sive Hospitali Sancti Nicolai in civitate Glasguen. situat imperpetuum omnes et singulas terras domus et annus redditus subscript. Imprimo viginti solidos de tenemento Johannes Darroch jacen. in magno vico civitatis Glasguen. extenden. ab eclesia metropolitana ejusdem usque ad cruce. fori ex parte orientali ejusdem vici inter tenementum Patricii Greneleis ex parte boreali et tenementum Johannis Cunnynghame ex pte australi. Item duos solidos et duos denarios annui redditus de tenemento Roberti Browniswald jacen. inter tenementa Johannis Elhinhes ex parte australi et Mariote Browniswald ex parte boreali. Item quatuor solidos et sex denarios de tenemento dicti Johannis Elhinhes jacen. inter tenementa prefati Roberti Browniswald ex parte boreali et Magistris Andree Stewart Archidiaconis candida casa ex parte australi. Item quinque solidos annui redditus de tenemento Thome Wadd jacen. inter tenementa Willielmi Dwn ex parte boreali et Andre Ross ex parte australi. Item quinque solidos annui redditus de tenemento Magistri Willielmi Stewart jacen. inter tenementa Roberti

Hugonis ex parte australi et Johannis Brady ex parte boreali. Item quinque solidos annui redditus de tenemento dicti Roberti Hugonis jacen. inter tenementa Willielmi Dwn ex parte australi et prefati Magistri Willielmi Stewart ex parte boreali. Item tresdecem solidos et quatuor denarios annui redditus de tenemento dicti Willielmi Dwn jacen. inter tenementa prefati Roberti Hugonis ex parte boreali et Jacobi Clerk ex parte australi. Item octo solidos annui redditus de tenemento olim Domini Johannis Gluvar et nunc Johannis Hamiltoun jacen. inter tenementa prefati Jacobi Clerk ex parte boreali et Thome Hugonis ex parte australi. Item viginti septem solidos annui redditus de sex acris terrarum campestrem quod. Dni. de Muirhouse jacen. ppt. civitatem Glasguen. super lie Dowhill inter terras Johannis Blaichman ex parte orientali et Johannis Leich ex parte occidentali. Item quindecem solidos de tenemento sive terras Mauriciis Quhite et Andree Robinson jacen. in vico de lie Drygate ex parte australi ejusdem inter terras quond. Willielmi Cragane alius Watson ex parte orientali et terras sive tenementum Johannis Mason ex parte occidentale. Item viginti solidos annui redditus de tenemento Roberti Gluvar et de trebus rigis terræ sive cu. ptinen. jacen. in longa crofta eidem tenemento annexis inter terras Johannis Bothoth ex orientali et Johns. Stewart ex occidentali ptibus. Item septem solidos et octo denarios annui redditus de quatuor rigis terræ Roberti Gluvar jacen. in longa crofta inter terras Jacobi Masone ex occidentali et terras Johannis Monteith ex orientali ptibus cujusquidem pauperis seu indigentis post obitum meum duntaxat presentatio sive donatio hujus lecti cum vacare contigerit volo constituo et ordino Prepositum Ballivos et Consilium Civitatis Glasguen. patronos sic que presentatio hujus lecti eisdem pertenebit presentando hujus pauperum seu indigentem magistro hospitalis quo presentato admitta. per eundem et in possessione instituatur. Itaque admissio ejusdem pauperis seu indigentis supradicti lecti magistro antedicto pertenebit et nulli alteri post obitum meum duntaxat. Et in locus dicti pauperis per mortem vel aliis ipnis. demeritis causantibus de presentationem vacare contigerit volo quod pauper in quo pauperies senectus et debilitas respective et apparenter magis concurrere videntur ad locum sic ut premittitur vacantem pretio prece odio amore favore seu carnalitatis effectu seclusis dicto Magistro hospitalis per prefatos patronos presentetur et per Magistru. Hospitalis ante dictu admittatur et nullo alio. Ita tamen quod dictus pauper sit de parochia Glasguen. ori-

undus et ad hujus fundationem prefat Prepositus Ballivm et Consilium Civitatis Glasguen. antedict. obligant se suos heredes et successores per pntia. manus porrigere administrates in defensione protectione supplemento et importatione annuorum redditum terrarum possessionem domorum et œdificiorum dict. lecto seu pauperi pertinen. per suos clientes si necessario fuerit. In super volo quod dicti patroni diligent. attendant que hujus pauper seu indigens observet statuta ceremonias et crones. debitas et consuetas sicut ceteri pauperes fundati comorantes in dicto Hospitali secundum consuetudinem formam et tenorem fundationis pie et recollende memoriæ Andræ Epi. Glasguen. fundatoris ejusdem Hospitalis in quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium premissorum sigillum commune civium dicti civitatis cum instantia paratum una cum sigillo mei Magistri Martin Wan huic mei fundatione sunt appensa nec non subscriptione notarii subscripti apud civitatem Glasguen. primo die mensis Junii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo primo coram his testibus Magistris et Dominis Martino Rede vicario de Mernys Patricio Wishard vicario de Cupro Johanne Smyt vicario de Campsy David Gardner vicario de Moffat Thoma Hugonis Willielmo Smyt Ballivis dicti Civitatis Andrea Otterburn Johanne Schaw Archibaldo Harbartson Johanne Broun Georgio Robison Thoma Law David Knoxis David Lindesay Johanne Hamiltoun Andrea Olney et Roberto Craig quondis testibus ad premissa vocatis cum diversis aliis praesentibus et rogatis.

"Et ego Johannes Bigholm pbr. Sancti Andree dioceseos publicus auctoritatibus Imperiali et Regali notarius Quia predicti lecti erectione et fundatione sigilli que eod. dicti civitatis et civitatem ejusdem que gressiom ceterisque omnibus aliis et singulis dum sic ut premittitur dicerentur agerentur et fierent una cum prenominatis testibus presens. interfui. Eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi scivi et audivi ac in notam cepi Ideoque hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu mae fidr. scriptum exinde confeci et in hanc publilicam formam instrumentale redegi signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium veritatis omnium et singulorum premissorum.

Monogram,

"Johes. Bigholm."

NO. X.

SCOTLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

NOTES BY MR. ALEXANDER GALLOWAY ON THE WORK OF COSMO INNES.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Glasgow Archæological Society, on 5th March*, 1860.]

As antiquaries and Scotchmen, we regard with much interest every new contribution of materials to the elucidation of our country's history, and, if the quality be good, we welcome the arrival with much satisfaction. The object of the present paper is to lay before the society a brief description of the principal contents of Mr. Innes' new book, entitled "Scotland in the Middle Ages," with a few relative observations. Although only four weeks have passed since it appeared, probably every member of this society has already given it more or less attention; and, fresh as the subject is, it may be presumed that while some of our members present may be willing to exchange opinions on its merits, all will have pleasure in recognising whatever of value has been acquired, and in marking what remains to be sought for.

Scotland's sons have not been less anxious than the men of other lands to produce a veritable and perfect delineation of their country's history, and it might be admitting too much to let it be said they have been less diligent. That they have been less successful, is perhaps owing to the non-existence of sufficient materials, or to the difficulty of procuring enough of such as do exist and are substantial. In their endeavours to rear a temple which might compete creditably with those of foreign countries, early builders have hastily mixed up much rubbish with substances of enduring nature, available at the time; and successors have been content to patch the structure as they best could, each in his turn proclaiming that now all was sound. Mr. Tytler, apprehensive that the foundations and basement were faulty, and would not safely bear being disturbed, commenced his operations at the accession of Alexander III.

(1249). Mr. Innes is of opinion that there is nothing sound before the period of the Norman conquest of England (1066), when, he thinks, it may be said Scottish history begins. But he considers that for apprehending "the structure of our political society, and the domestic history of our ancestors, their modes of thought, feeling, and action," the history of Continental Europe from 768, when Charlemagne succeeded to the great Frankish empire, should be carefully studied; and he asserts that the history of our own country at this time is a blank.

In sketching the state of Europe at the commencement of Charlemagne's reign, he says there may be noticed the following facts:—1st, The Celtic race had almost disappeared—part remaining, indeed, in their former locality, but only as bondsmen to foreign masters, and part retired to the defiles of Armorica and the gorges of the Alps—so that "they may, without much injustice to history, be discounted as an independent people from the politics of Europe;" 2d, The Teutonic people filled the land from the Mediterranean to the North Sea; 3d, The Franks, a German confederation, had become very powerful, and were occupying the fairest provinces of Europe; 4th, The Sclaves, Wends, and Bavarians were also powerful; 5th, The Scandinavians and Saxons were numerous in the north-west—the former, known under the name of Northmen or Danes, being "the terror of every coast in Europe," and the latter having established colonies in England some centuries before Charlemagne's time; 6th, The Moors were in Spain; 7th, The Lombards on the south side of the Alps; 8th, The Italians on the banks of the Tiber; 9th, The Byzantines on the Bosphorus.

In noticing the Saxons, he gives an extract from a manuscript, of date A.D. 743, found in the Vatican, which is remarkable as showing that the speech of the common people then in use is recognised and understood at the present day by Germans, Dutch, Scandinavians, Scotch, and English, and by all other now existing peoples who speak a genuine Teutonic language. As to the old Roman influence, he remarks that the power of the formerly vast empire, although finally destroyed, had left permanent effects throughout Europe, especially in the constitution of burghal communities.

It the first of the two introductory chapters the author indulges in some small details regarding the person of Charlemagne—his foot, his eyes, his nose, his hair, his dress, and his individual peculiarities and manner of life, which may seem to have no proper place

in reference to sketches of Scotland; but those are followed by an admirable selection from his biography, showing features of the then state of society in Europe, and principles of the internal government of some of its nations. His wars with the Saxons, the Lombards, and the Moors, and the great eventual extent of his power, are referred to. What is said about schools, Sabbath observance, and preaching in 788, is specially interesting, as are also some allusions to Church missions, and the increasing influence of Roman episcopacy.

The second chapter refers to the state of European society under the successors of Charlemagne, and to the progress of feudal institutions. It also glances at Northman colonisation, and then takes up "the affairs of Britain," beginning with the old Roman period, advancing with the Saxons and Danes, not forgetting Arthur of the Round Table, Edwin who founded Edinburgh, Alfred the Great, and Knut whom English writers have called Canute, and closing with the advent of William the Conqueror.

The remaining eight chapters are devoted chiefly to Scotland. We are reminded that there is no extant Scottish writing so early as 1093, and no evidence of the existence of any charter, record, or chronicle before 1094 or 1095; that the earliest is a charter to the Monks of Durham by King Duncan, of the latter date, and the next are charters of Edgar his brother and successor; and that after 1107 the series of charters is unbroken. A single leaf of a chronicle, supposed to have been written about 1165, is assumed to be the earliest of that class of documents, and the Melrose chronicle of the thirteenth century is stated to be the most ancient writing of the nature of continuous history (meaning of course Scottish history) now extant. The oldest collection of Scottish laws was lately recovered from the Swiss Government, and dates about 1270: the next is a manuscript picked up from a book-stall at Ayr in 1824, and which is believed to have been written in the early half of the fourteenth century. State papers begin about 1260 or 1270. A century later our earliest chronicle writers, Barbour, Wintoun, and Fordun, appear.

These notices are followed by the author's views as to the state of Scotland at the beginning of the twelfth century, and by the usual speculations about "the hereditary natives" and their language. Then comes the battle of the Standard (1138), and the unfortunate conduct of these natives in that luckless engagement, which resulted

in the permanent loss to Scotland of Northumberland and Cumberland. Extracts from the speeches of the leaders prior to the battle are given in the style of the old Greek and Roman historians, and although written by Abbot Ailred, we may fancy those addresses to have been, like theirs, rather imaginary than real. Next, we have the saintly qualities of David I.; but, before considering their *sairness to the croon*, we are called on to look back to the writings of the venerable Bede, four centuries earlier, and to believe in all that is narrated from hearsay about Palladius, and Ninian, and Columba, who lived two or three centuries before Bede. We are assured that the poor little island of Iona is about the most interesting object referred to in the history of Christian Europe. It had but five families on it, and Columba got a present of it and them from Conal, who is called a king. Mr. Innes grows warm upon the subject of Iona, and speaks magnificently about tempestuous seas, Pagan savages, pious monks, "their humble thatched church," and the virtues of celibacy. In this eloquent fit, he doubts not that hundreds of our Scottish parish divisions "can still be connected with their dedication to the preachers who had first taught there the faith and doctrines they had received from St. Columba." Next come the weary Culdees, who, he says, "have had the undeserved fortune of being claimed as Protestants by zealous opponents of Rome." They are finished off by David dismissing them to the island of Lochleven, where they are ordered to remain in peace, and told that if they will not obey this injunction they will be turned out of the island. The monks on Iona, or Y, or Hii, are disposed of less agreeably; for Norse "hordes," "pirates," "heathens," "ravagers," "Gentiles," come at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, lay waste the Hebrides, burn Icolmkill, slay the family of Y, and put out the light which had shed religion and civilisation over Britain.

We are reminded of ancient Glasgow also, and the "old tradition of a church founded by St. Kentigern in the middle of the sixth century," that is, one hundred years before St. Columba, and two hundred before Charlemagne, endowed with ample possessions, but the property wrongfully held, or neglected, as appearing to be without owners, until David I. made inquest by a jury, whose return or report is still extant. James I., if in David's place, would of course have pounced upon these possessions as undoubtedly Crown property; but David's mission was to nurse the monks. In various other instances where James thought his priest-ridden Royal an-

cestor had been sore on the Crown, it is believed that David only restored lands to religious houses who had long been the lawful possessors, or rather that he assigned to such institutions of one denomination what had belonged to similar establishments of another name. That crown lands, to a large extent, were handed over by David to monasteries is unquestioned, but our author thinks "it may be doubted whether they would be turned at that time more to the benefit of the country."

It is not alone as a great church planter that David is prominent. Mr. Innes thinks "we owe to him all the civil institutions and structure of our present society." He maintains that "the builders of the great fabric of civilisation were Charlemagne, Alfred, and David," and he quotes Abbot Ailred, a contemporary biographer of David, who writes of him thus:—"Scotland, formerly uncultivated and barren, he made productive and fertile—Scotland, formerly the beggar from other countries, bearing nothing but famine to its inhabitants, he made to relieve the wants of neighbouring countries from her abundance. He adorned her with castles and cities, and filled her ports with foreign merchandise. He covered the former nakedness of her people with robes of purple and fine linen, instead of shaggy cloaks. He reformed their barbarous manners with Christian religion, and taught her priests a more becoming life."

David's grandson, William the Lion, is represented as engaged in extending the bounds of civilisation, and issuing charters, which still exist, and which mark his frequent residence at no fewer than twenty royal castles named. The families of Fitzalan and De Morevil had secured hereditarily the offices of Great Steward or Chamberlain, and High Constable or Marischal. In one year, 1264, the Chamberlain accounted for £5213, money drawn from crown land rents, mails of royal burghs, casualties of ward, relief, marriage, and non-entries, fines of the royal courts, and in a small measure from customs and duties of merchandise. The expenses of the household came to £2224, besides wine, £439, silks, furs, and other articles of dress, sweatmeats, and small expenses, £410; of the Queen to £795; and of the army to the not extravagant sum of £180. The cost of repairing and maintaining royal castles and their garrisons had to be added to this; also of ships and seamen, hawks and hounds, and their attendants, &c. Many details relative to those accounts and to the domestic doings and habits of "our ancient forefathers," and of the clergy are given in illustration. As to the church, he says—"Every lord's manor became a parish, and in some districts two-

thirds of the parish churches were in the hands of the monks." "All the monasteries (monks) were zealous agriculturists and gardeners." "They cultivated and promoted education in the towns, and they furnished instruction within the monastery to a higher class than those who benefitted by their burghal schools." Each abbey had its grange or large farm steading, with its cattle, implements, stores, corn, and other produce, its serfs, with their women and families, its mill and pertinents, and cottar village; and beyond these lay scattered the steadings of the farmers, who were bound to pay rent and perform services. The farm labourer, called kerl, bond, serf, or villein, was astricted to and transferable with the land. If he attempted to escape he might be caught and brought back like a stray ox or sheep. Mr. Innes thinks the legal designation of these slaves, *native*, points to their origin in the native race, who, he assumes, were the Celts. He says—"Numerous stud-books for enabling the owner to trace and reclaim his stock of serfs by descent still exist, and it is observable that most of them are Celtic names." It was lawful and customary to sell or gift them with "all their children and all their descendants, *sequaces eorum*, as we speak now of a mare and her follower." In 1247 a burgess of Berwick is seen to have purchased the freedom of a slave with his whole following for twenty merks, equal to £13 6s. 8d. sterling, but this slave was a bailie of the town; and other instances are given of very much smaller prices. There were all over the Lowlands, in the thirteenth century, as now, wheat, barley, and oat fields, hay meadows, highways, common roads, causeways for wheel carriages, waggons, carts, cars, four-wheeled, two-wheeled, and no-wheeled. Kelso monastery used to send waggons across the moorland to its abbey of Lesmahagow in Clydesdale. There were water mills and wind mills for corn grinding, folds for sheep, byres for cattle, fences for fields. The earliest mention of a coal work in Scotland is in a Dunfermline charter of 1291.

In 1175 "All the cities of Germany had councillors of their own choice." Between 1250 and 1273 eighty of the Baltic towns had united in the confederacy called the Hanse League. "Like many burghal usages, such combinations must have been floating over Europe for centuries before." In Scotland a similar fellowship existed, and was known by the same name one hundred years earlier, viz., in 1150. Among the burgh laws of that century, one is referred to, declaring that if any man's thryll (thrall, slave), whether baron's or knight's, buys property in a royal burgh, and

dwells in it a year and a day without challenge of his master, he shall then be for ever free as a burgess within that burgh; and another, declaring that at the first meeting after the Feast of St. Michael, the Provost or Alderman and Bailies shall be elected by the Council, and shall swear not to hold law on any man or woman for wrath, hatred, dread, or love, without Church ordinance, counsel and decision of good men of the town, and that neither for fear nor favour, hatred nor kindred, nor loss of money, shall they spare to do right to all men.

Edinburgh Castle, in 617 the burg or fortress of Edwin, King of Northumberland, was occasionally used as a royal residence about the end of the eleventh century. David I. granted to the town an exclusive right of trade and manufacture from Colbrandspath (east of Dunbar), to the water of Avon (west of Linlithgow). Rutherglen, a royal burgh, tyrannised over Glasgow, which in 1175-8, had obtained a charter as the Bishop's burgh of barony. Perth, Aberdeen, Inverness, and Ayr, had charters from William as Royal Burghs, with extensive local rights of exclusive trade. In the thirteenth century, Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, and Roxburgh had superior privileges, as forming what was called the Court or Parliament of the four burghs, for assisting the Chamberlain in appeals of burgh causes, and for making laws and regulations as to trade and burgh concerns. In 1368, Lanark and Linlithgow took the place of Berwick and Roxburgh, then held by the English. In the following century, commissioners from other burghs were admitted, and in the next century the Court had merged in the still existing Convention of Royal Burghs. In 1450, Glasgow was made a Burgh of Regality, and in 1636 a Royal Burgh.

Mr. Innes believes that Scotland at some early era was under a Celtic sway, and had laws like those of Ireland at the same time. He declines to offer proof of the proposition, and, in good Irish style, he holds it to be "in itself so likely that it seems to throw the burden of proof upon the controverter of it." He seeks to illustrate it by reference to the Irish law of Tanistry and customs of marriage, but ends by saying that "nothing is more likely to mislead us in a subject necessarily of much obscurity, than to found on the loose practice of a half savage people a theory of a definite system of laws." Farther, in conclusion, he says:—"At the earliest period of which we have information of an authentic kind, the laws and institutions of Scotland, did not differ materially from those of any other northern nations of Europe."

A curious law document is quoted, which existed in Scotland before 1305. It fixed the relative values of the various members of society, viz.:—The king, 1000 cows; a prince or earl, 140 cows; an earl's son, or thane, 66⅔ cows; a thane's nephew, or little lord, 44 cows; and all lower—as a farmer, 16 cows; his wife, 11 cows only; but an unmarried woman, 16 cows. If any one slew a man within a place where the king's peace was proclaimed, the forfeit was 180 cows; or if within the peace of a king's son or an earl, 90 cows; and so progressively downward. To violate the protection of the Church was beyond compensation.

There are next introduced some interesting old charters—as one by David I. to Robert de Brus of Annandale; one by Walder, Earl of Dunbar, to Helias, of the whole estate of Dundas, near Edinburgh; one of King Malcolm IV. to Walter Fitzalan, his steward, of Birchenside and Legardswode; another by Malcolm to the same party, of Renfrew, Passeleth, Polloc, Talabec, Kerkert, the Drem, the Mutrene, Eaglesham, Lochmavehe, and Innerwick, with a confirmation to them in the lands of Prethe as much as King David held in his own hand, Inchenane, Steinton, Hadestonden, Leggardswode, and Birchenside, and in a toft in each of the royal burghs, for a residence, having 20 acres of land attached—to be held of the king with sac and soc, with tol (tow) and therm and infangtheefe (empfang-fief, *i.e.*, entry of vassals) in vils and shealings, in plains, in meadows, &c.

The name Parliament, first given to the National Assembly of the Estates of Scotland, appears in Wyntoun, 1286. John Baliol held a Parliament in 1292; Robert I. in 1314, 1315, and 1318; Robert de Bruce at Cambuskenneth, in 1326; David II. at Scone, in 1367, also at Perth in 1368 and 1369; and Robert II. at Scone in 1371.

There remain two chapters of the book to be noticed, which perhaps are less generally interesting, and shall therefore be passed over still more rapidly than the others have been. In the first of those two we have the author's ideas about "the origin of the language which we call Scotch." He thinks that down to the fourteenth century a uniform language was used from Trent to the Moray Frith; that Edward I.'s interference with Scotland caused such an alienation as to produce a great difference between the English and Scotch in dialect; that the accession of James VI. to the English throne produced a tendency to throw off Scottish peculiarities; and that now "we have nearly arrived at the position from which we started," in Edward's time. He quotes from a poetical

MS. thought to be more ancient than Barbour, who died in 1395, and whose MS. is dated a century later; he gives a copy of a charter by Robert, Earl of Menteith, in 1389, a Parliamentary record of 1397, a letter from the Earl of Dunbar to Henry IV. of England, dated 1400, part of Wyntoun's ballad on the death of Alexander III., of 1420; also, a small portion of Mr. Thorpe's translation from the Anglo-Saxon of Aelfrie's homilies, composed about 1050. Next he gives a copy of the catalogue of the library which belonged to the Culdees, who, it will be recollected, were settled by David I. in the island of Lochleven, but who, a few years afterwards, viz., in 1152, had been probably turned out for not keeping quiet, or perhaps had become extinct, as the Bishop of St. Andrew's at that date granted the island and its property, including the books, sixteen in number, to his own monks. Then follows a copy of the catalogue of books preserved and used in the Glasgow Cathedral Church in 1432. Some interesting details about grammar schools in 1418, 1496, 1520, and 1560 come next, and we are assured that towards the end of the fourteenth century "crowds of young Scotchmen hurried to Oxford to complete their education."

From language and learning Mr. Innes passes to architecture, and under this head he says, "the proper study of antiquities is hardly begun among us;" we are deficient in previous or preparatory learning, in knowledge of the history and antiquities of cognate nations, in acquaintance with their historical collections, and in the examination of similar remains in our own country. He refers to ancient Scottish dwellings above and below ground, and speculates upon their construction and uses; also upon vitrified forts, Picts' houses, Druids' circles, and sculptured monuments. He is satisfied that the round towers of Brechin and Abernethy were built after Christianity had been introduced, perhaps in the ninth or tenth century, and that they served as belfrys. He then enumerates churches built in some of the classified styles, as Norman, early English, and decorated, or Romanesque, first pointed and second pointed, and notices peculiarities of Scotch modifications. Heraldry and stained glass, paving tiles, seals, and coins, are briefly alluded to; and the last chapter closes with notices of old Scotch castles, and the humbler dwellings of the people in town and country.

A postscript tells us that quite recently there has been discovered in the Cambridge Library a MS. of the Gospels, and forms of church service, which bears to have belonged to the Abbey of Deir, in Buchan, more ancient than any Scotch Chartularies extant, and re-

cording facts wonderfully old. On the margins and blank vellum are memoranda, the first of which is in a Celtic dialect. A copy of its translation is given. But it is expected that the whole contents will be soon published by Mr. Bradshaw.

Another postscript, which stands at the beginning of the book, instead of at the end, as is most customary, consists of notes on Scotland in the tenth century and in the thirteenth century, illustrative of two maps of its civil divisions, and one of its ecclesiastical divisions in the latter period. Here the author makes out that his favourite authority, Bede, although residing in Northumberland, "was quite ignorant of the contemporary transactions in Lincolnshire;" that his "account of the arrival of the Saxons and Angles, and their settlement in England is purely fabulous;" that his first fact of our history—namely, the obtaining by Columba of his little refuge in Iona from Brude—a powerful Pictish king—is incorrect, for "it would overthrow our most settled notions of geography and history to allow that Iona was of the Pictish territory," and therefore we must "fall back on the Irish annalists, and have no scruple to believe that Iona was given by Conal, King of the Scots;" that Bede, however, was right in saying Northumberland in his day extended to the Firth of Forth, and the Picts were a powerful and growing people, possessing all the Lowlands of Scotland beyond the Forth, the inhabitants of Cumberland, which extended to the Clyde, including the Galwegians, being also Picts, and the district of the Scots being bounded by the sea and isles to the south and west, the Breadalbane mountain range to the east, and the ridge which skirts the upper valley of the Spey to the north.

Mr. Innes is of opinion that from Bede's time to the tenth century the population remained nearly unchanged, and that the names of Cumbria, Strathcluyd, and others, as kingdoms, "are rather the shadows of former petty kingdoms than actual existing separate governments."

Regarding the thirteenth century maps and notes, it will not be judicious to occupy the meeting with their details, since so much time has already been devoted to facts relating to that period. To give a complete epitome of the book within an hour is, of course, impossible. There remains, therefore, much that is valuable unnoticed. During the few minutes left, let us consider the merits of the work.

It would be most unfair to find fault, or even express regret or disappointment in respect of the paucity of original facts and views,

seeing that this book professes to contain only sketches for students at a university. As such, they are surely not only excellent, but by far the most reliable which have yet appeared relating to the middle-age period of Scottish history. They teach, as they were intended to do, "that true history is best to be learned from the study of its genuine materials," and not from what as yet commonly occupies our book-shelves. It is perhaps not too much to admit that in this and his previous publications, Mr. Innes has rendered more real service to his country than any historian whose works we possess; and if we can admit so much, it will follow that he deserves the heartiest thanks of his countrymen.

While, however, we accord to him all praise for the production as it is, and as a whole, we need not overlook defects in arrangement and in style, which might and should have been avoided. Want of leisure may be pleaded, and reasonably enough allowed for. Still, the intelligent public likes not to see in its literature confusion where there might be order; nor noble thoughts, any more than a noble person, in careless dress.

It must be allowed that the sketch of Charlemagne's period and that of his successors does not approach in merit many which have been produced in France, Germany, and Italy, nor even some published at home, and that the application, or connection with Scottish history, is imperfect. We may question also the conclusions regarding the origin and progress of Feudalism; the influence of the old Roman institutions and government on our own; the commencement, extent, duration, and influence of Scandinavian and Saxon colonisation and rule in Scotland; the importance of the earlier efforts of Irish and other foreign Christian missionaries in early times, as compared with the mighty wave of conversion which rolled in from the continent at the time of the first crusade. Doubtless Constantine and Charlemagne, and other powerful princes, from motives of policy or piety, compelled people in considerable numbers suddenly to become Christians; and Augustine, Columba, and other missionaries, gradually induced many by peaceful argument and pious example; but in the amazingly wide-spread and fervent movement which began in the tenth, and reached its height in the eleventh century, we can recognise far higher than any human agency. David I. did not act alone, but simultaneously with most of the European princes, and with their peoples, in extraordinary exertions to raise temples to the glory of God, and to organise and secure *arrangements* for his proper worship.

To maintain that to David we owe "all the civil institutions and structure of our present society" may be thought an extravagant hypothesis. Probably no country ever owed to any one of its rulers all its institutions and habits. These come gradually, and more from example than precept. Prior to David's time there were here, as everywhere, laws, customs, and institutions; and it cannot truly be affirmed that they differed very materially from those of the century after him, nor even from those of the present day. Changes in minor matters will for ever occur, and adaptation to changing circumstances is a necessity of continued existence; but the important fundamental principles and structure of society remain steadily on the same eternal basis. We have the history of nations in very ancient times. Do we find that, keeping in view external conditions of place, climate, and other incidents, men now think and act very differently from the manner in which men thought and acted three or four thousand years ago? Was the Roman code of laws, two thousand or fifteen hundred years ago, greatly different from our own at this moment? Was the Saxon code on the Continent, and in England and Scotland, one thousand years ago, essentially different? Did not the great principles of equity, justice, and good morals pervade them all, and so bring all into harmony and concord? The influence of Christianity was to raise the standard of action, and to modify, more than to alter, laws and civil institutions. In judging of the modifications, men are apt to err through a natural tendency to attach too much importance to details while they overlook principles.

In regard to languages, Mr. Innes tells us at two places in this book that he has not at all examined the Celtic, and it would not be a difficult task to shew from it that he has not much studied the Teutonic. He is content to suppose that the latter superseded the former at some time or other in Britain, because such is the commonly received tradition; and, founding on this idea, he has to adapt his superstructure to the foundation. The subversion of the language of a well-peopled country by the language of a foreign invader is a very rare fact, and if it has occurred at all in the world's history, the process has been a slow one. Fusion has been common, but it also has been slow. The Norman colonists in France became provincial Frenchmen in the third generation. They seized the land, but the natives continued to farm it, because they were ten to one, and the Norsemen needed to fight for maintaining their acquisitions. For communication with the occupiers it was primarily necessary to learn

their language, and the trouble of maintaining two languages gradually made the minority yield to the majority. At the time when, as has been popularly alleged, the Saxons and Norsemen invaded Britain, the island had been long well peopled. Julius Cæsar (Book v., chap. 12) says he found it swarming with men, their buildings very numerous and their cattle very plentiful. "Hominum est infinita multitudo, creberrimaque ædificia; pecorum magnus numerus." He speaks of the whole island, and marks, as did the Saxons, its triangular form: "insula natura triquetra." It is not to be rationally supposed that the immense multitudes would be nearly exterminated and their language superseded in the whole of the level country by invaders. It is at least more natural to conceive that the British coasts had been peopled almost as soon as the shores of the opposite continent, and by men speaking the same language. Roman occupation of the island during three or four centuries hardly at all affected the speech of the people, although they eagerly imitated their conquerors in the fashion of dress and houses and style of living. The Norman-French did affect it to a small extent, but the cause of difference is intelligible. The Roman army of occupation was chiefly composed of Belgians and other German speaking peoples, and partly of Spaniards and Italians, and the Roman policy was to leave the landowners and occupants in possession. The Normans of William sought to acquire all the land, and to occupy it as far as they could by French labourers. They tried to force their language on the people through the church and the law courts, through fashion and favour; but they only produced a fusion, of which French was an inconsiderable element. Eight hundred years have passed since then; twenty generations have lived since William's day, and only within the present century has the language of the Scottish lowlands begun to yield much from what it was in his time. Eight centuries before the conquest of England by William, that language, with slight variety of dialect, was the speech of all the peoples on the opposite coast, except a third part of Gaul in its centre. The exceptional language of Gaul was probably at the same time the exceptional language of Britain, just as it is now, and the users of it, probably, were located in the same districts as now. Any proffered evidence to the contrary has, when examined closely, turned out little more than special pleading. Divested of this, the facts tendered consist mostly of names of men and places, assumed to be exclusively Celtic; but a knowledge of the old Teutonic dialect shews that those words were common to Saxons or Scandinavians also. In the ab-

sence of proof very much more reliable, the strong probability remains that, after all and on the whole, the Saxons did not drive out or drive back the Celts, but that the island was, from its first discovery, occupied almost simultaneously by Saxons and Celts.

Another feature of the book may be noticed before closing these remarks—namely, the frequent application of abusive terms. The word *barbarous*, for example, is used about fifty times, and in nearly all these times unwarrantably, if it be meant in a discrediting sense. No doubt it has been the fashion of every nation to call every other with whom they have a quarrel, or who speak a different language, barbarous; but in a sober relation of long past events, we do not expect such want of discrimination. There is no satisfactory evidence that any of the neighbouring nations were at any time much more or much less civilised than Britain, or that one part of Britain was greatly less enlightened than another. Accounts to the contrary are abundant, but they will not stand comparison with more trustworthy documents, nor with each other. Many of them are by monks, who did not always personally witness what they relate, and what they did see they chose to state rather with a view to the glorification of themselves or their party, their monastery, their order, or Church, than to strict impartiality. They had, indeed, seldom access to know the springs of action among the feudal barons around them, or among foreign potentates and overlords. But they were always ready to abuse whomsoever they were in any degree opposed to. They wished to hold themselves exempt from payment of tributes, and when a poinding was used, so that their farms or their fisheries were interfered with, they were loud in calling the exactors barbarians, pirates, robbers, rievers, and every other bad name imaginable. While we read and reflect upon what remains to us of their writings, we may gratefully acknowledge their many important services to society and to individuals. It were best to forget their failings and errors, and, in using their writings for the illustration of facts, to leave out what is bad in their style.

Only one more observation. No part of Mr. Innes's teaching is more worthy of our attention than this—that we should study our own history and archæology not only from the writers of our own country and from the examples to be found immediately around our own locality, for we will never be able correctly to understand and fully to appreciate these without carefully comparing them with what is to be seen and what has been intelligently observed and described in other countries. Without a fair knowledge of the

history and general literature of the neighbouring nations, and some acquaintance with their geography, topography, statistics, and arts; their social condition, and laws, and customs, internal and international; their habits of trade, manufactures, and commerce, and their relative state of wealth and power at the time when the particular works under our examination were executed, or to which they refer, we cannot form correct opinions on their objects of antiquity. In the department of ethnology and comparative philology more than all this is necessary. Really to understand well the structure of our own common language, we must have studied various cognate ones; we must have laboured long at the old Roman, and followed it down in the Italian, the Spanish, and the French; and still more at the Teutonic, tracing it through old and modern, high and low German, Flemish, Dutch, and Frisian, Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian, Anglo-Saxon, English, and Scotch. If we are to extend our inquiries into the Celtic class, we may have as much trouble in mastering its five living dialects as in acquiring twelve of the Italic and Teutonic. The Hellenic or Greek is almost indispensable; but it involves the study of only one dialect, or at all events the old language having been long a dead one, the dialects of Northern Europe are not affected by its varieties. The field of study and observation for archæologists is wide and varied. No one man need aspire to familiar acquaintance with the details of all its departments, but each, according to his genius, his opportunities, and his assiduity, may contribute somewhat to the general stock of knowledge. In relation to the mediæval history of our fatherland, Mr. Innes is an encouraging example. The darkness of the previous periods has been found too dense for the feeble power of the lights yet introduced; but this is the age of wonders, and who can say what may come? As we advance in researches, more and better illuminating materials may be discovered, and more skill in applying them may be attained. During the last fifty years many false lights have been extinguished; a few yet remain, and serve to hinder instead of to assist. Before another half century shall have closed, Scotland's early history may stand revealed at least as clearly as does that of Italy or of France; and the relative subjects regarding which so much remains to be learned may have been elucidated and illustrated in a manner and to an extent of which at present we have no conception.

NO. XI.

NOTES REGARDING A DRINKING CUP WHICH BELONGED TO THE OLD KILSYTH LIVINGSTONES, AND OTHERWISE RELATIVE TO THAT FAMILY:

BY

DR. STEWART, KIRKINTILLOCH.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 10th December*, 1860.]

KILSYTH, a parish now in the middle of Stirlingshire, was until 1649 part of Campsie Parish, bearing the district name of Moniabroch, or Monæbrugh, and until about 1310 it was topographically designed as occupying the south-eastern extremity of Dumbartonshire, or of the Lennox. Malcolm Fleming of Biggar, who assisted at the murder of Cumyn in Dumfries on 10th February 1305, was afterwards rewarded for his attachment to Bruce by a grant of Cumyn's forfeited lands of Cumbernauld and Kirkintilloch, and, having been appointed governor of Dumbarton Castle, he procured the disjunction from Stirlingshire of these two parishes, and in lieu of them Campsie and some other parishes were given off from Dumbartonshire. In 1503 an act of parliament was passed restoring these parishes to their original counties. Six years afterwards an act was passed repealing the arrangement of 1503. In 1539 another change was attempted by the Montrose family and others, which was opposed by the Earl of Mar, then Sheriff of Stirlingshire, and was accomplished afterwards by the 73rd act of James VI.; but by an act passed in 1641 these parishes finally took their place as they now stand. The ancient designation of the Kilsyth district was retained until about the middle of last century. The communion cups, dated 1731, are marked "Kirk Monæburgh," and the kirk tokens of 1755 bear the impress M.K. The name may have come from a stream called the Abroch, which rises in the Barr Wood, a mile or two east of the present village, whence Abroch Moor, or Moniabroch. It is probable that in very early times, perhaps even in the days of the Druids, a sacred place had been near the village, for tradition points

to such a conclusion. Tumuli containing urns and ashes have been found near Chapel Green there, and the name Kilsyth is by some believed to indicate a holy grove, or side, or site, or seat; while the name of the river, the Kelvin, which takes its rise from springs in the locality, is supposed to denote that it flows from a place held in reverence.

Crawford, in his remarks on the Ragman Roll, says he had seen a charter by Malduin, Earl of the Levenax, to his nephew and son-in-law Malcolm, son of Duncan of the lands of Glasswell, and part of the land of Kilsyth, with the patronage of the Church Monæbroch, dated 1217; also, a charter of confirmation to Malcolm, son of Duncan, dated 1239, of lands in Glentarvin, Monæbroch, Kilsyth, and Glasswell, which he had by the grant of the Earl of Lennox, and of the lands of Calynter, which he had from the king in free forestry. Malcolm was succeeded by his son Aluin. A successor about 1330, viz., Patrick de Calynter, having attached himself to the Baliol party, brought on his estate a forfeiture by David II., who granted the lands of Kilsyth to William Livingston, son-in-law of Patrick.

The Livingston family have assumed that they came originally from Hungary about 1075, and that a Living—perhaps Liebling or Liebchen, from Liebe, *love*, a name meaning darling or pet,—held some lands under David I.

The first of them who greatly distinguished himself was Sir Alexander Livingston or Livingstoun, who, Pitscottie tells us, was, at the time of James I.'s murder, 1437, Knicht of the Callendar, "But becaus the King (James II.) was not sufficient to governe the realme for inlake of aige," this Knight was, by the "Lordis at ane conventioun, maid governour over all the realme. In this meane tyme, Alexander, Earle of Douglas, being uerie potent in kine and friendis, contemned all the Kingis officeris in respect of his great puissance, and caused proclamie publicklie that no man within Annerdaill and otheris boundis quhatsoever pertaining to his dominiones, not to obey any of the Kingis officeris under the paine of dead. The wholl youthis of Scotland begane to raige in mischiefe, and meikle hirschip and stouth was in land and borrowis, great crueltie of nobles amongest themselffis, for slauchter, theft, and murther was than patent, sau that he was estemed the greatest man of renoun that was the greatest brigant, theife, and murther."

The chancellor, Sir William Crichtoun, "keiped both the Castle of Edinburgh, and als our young king thair-intill. Vpon the other

syd Sir Alexander Levingstoun conteaned ane other factione to whois opinion Queine mother, with monie of the nobilitie, verie trewlie assisted. Shoe passed to Edinburgh, and having libertie to enter and ische to the Castle, shoe gave the chancellour to vnderstand that she had made ane vow to pas to the quhyte Kirk of Brechine, desiring thairby to have license to carrie away tua cofferis with hir cloathis and ornamentis forth of the castle, quhilk being granted to hir, shoe inclosed the zoung king in one of the cofferis and her cloathis in ane other coffer, and so shoe passed forwardis into Stirling. The chancellour persaved himselff so done, sent ane message to the Earle of Douglas, desiring to have support of him againes the governour and queine. The message scantlie endit, the Earle Douglas with an irfull countenance, lykeas if he had been wood and furious, ansred him againe, "It is bot little skaith I think for me, albeit sick mischeivous traytouris as Sir William Chrichtoun and Alexander Livingstoun, moue warres contrair otheris, and als it becometh not the honorable estait of noblemen to help any of them, albeit ilk ane of thame wraick vtheris so that thair war not sick ane thing as any memorie of thame heirafter to our posteritie."

Tytler says,—"Having liberated her son, the Queen mother appears for some time to have reposed unlimited confidence in the fidelity of Sir Alexander Livingstone, who, having raised his vassals, laid siege to the Castle of Edinburgh. Crichton did not consider himself strong enough to contend. The proud answer of the Earl of Douglas produced a disposition towards a settlement of differences, and the result was a truce between the rival lords and a reconciliation. The new friends divided between them the power. Cameron, bishop of Glasgow, a partisan of Douglas, was deprived of the situation of chancellor, which was bestowed on Crichton; whilst to Livingstone was committed the guardianship of the King's person, and the chief management in the government." Pitscottie's character of Bishop Cameron is a remarkable one. He says, this bishop "caused the prince and his ruellaris to exerce oppressioun vpoun the realme, as he had done himselff vpoun the poore tennentis of Glasgow, sua that quhen the power divyne of God had permitted him to scourge and overune the people on this wayes for ane certain space, he thought to put ane end to his tyrannie. At last, vpoun yuill evin quhen he was lying sleiping in his bed, thair cam on thunderring voyce out of heavin, summonding him to the extreame judgment of God, quhair he sould give an account of all his cruell offences bot ony fardder

delay. And frae hand the same voyce and wordis war more vgsumlie hard cry nor befoir. The bischop renderit the spirit hastilie at the pleasour of God, and schew out his tongue most vyldlie as he had beine hanged vpon ane gallous, ane terrible sight to all murtheraris and oppressouris of the poore."

To return to Governor Livingston, we find in Pitscottie that, "in this meane tyme quhill the countrie was walterrand to and fro in this maner, thair was nothing but murther, thift, and slauchter in the South and Wast of Scotland;" and then he tells how Sir Thomas Boyd slew Sir Allane Stewart of Gartullie, Knycht of Pawmatt House, thrie myllies from the Falkirk; and how Alexander Stewart, "to revenge his brotheris slauchter, sett upoun Sir Thomas Boyd in plaine batle, quhair the said Sir Thomas was cruellie slaine with manie valient men on everie syd;" how Archibald, Earl of Douglas, died of "hot fever in 1439, to quhom Williame, his sone succeeided, ane young man of 14 yeirs of age, gottin vpoun Mauld Lindsay, dochter to the Earle of Crawforde; how the young earl got into the "mischeivous companie of harlottis and flatteraris, quhilkis ar the most vnhappie and vicked pest that evir man, of quhatsoevir estate or conditione he be of, may be infested with;" how he became proud, "to the great contemptione of the kingis auctoritie, at all tymes accompanied aboue his estate quhairevir he raid convoyed with 1000 horsmen and moe, amongest whom he maintained ane great number of theifis and murthereris, and to advance his mightie power he held parliamentis within his awn boundis, without advyce of the king;" how Sir James Stewart, brother to the Lord of Lorne, "quha married King James the First his wayff, assisted be the Earle of Douglas," became troublesome to the governor and the chancellor, and "the governour, to repres Sir James Stewartis insolencie, took him with his brother, and kest them both in prisone;" how "the Queine, highlie commoved at hir husband and brotheris imprisonment, was wairded also with the governour within the Castle of Stirling;" how "efter this Sir Alexander Seatoune, *alias* Gordoun, the 1st Earle of Huntlie, obleist him and became cautioner, under the pain of 4000 markis, that sick enormities should not be committed, and Sir James and his brother war relaxed;" how "the governour regairded no man, ruling all thingis at his pleasour, bot ony adwyse or consultatione of vtheris nobles in the realme;" how "Lauchlen Macklend and Murdo Gibsone were the principall men of the Illes, and tuo great thiefis and murdereris," and came into Dumbartonshire with their followers, and after fighting the Laird

of Luss, "became so proud and so insolent that they burnt and hirried kirkis quhairevir they cam, and spaired nather old nor young, bairn nor wayff, bot cruellie wold burne thair hous and thame togidder, or wold cruellie murder and stick thame in their bedis;" how in this year, 1439, "thair raise ane great dearthe of victuallis within the realme," accompanied by "ane terrible pest in the countrie, for all men that war infected thairwith died that same day he tuik it, bot ony remedie or help;" how "it was than whispered out throw the realme that the governour was the haill mischiefe;" how the governor conceived hatred to the chancellor and "drew to his assistance and familiaritie the Earle Douglas and maintained him onlie for the chancellouris destructione and ruine;" how the chancellor came to Stirling by night with horsemen, waylaid and kidnapped the king at the break of day when he came out to hunt, and carried his majesty off to Edinburgh; how the governor was "greatlie grieved in his mynd, and burnt with anger," but consulted with his friends as to what was best to be done, and they advised reconciliation with the chancellor; how the two chiefs met at Edinburgh and were reconciled accordingly, and called a parliament, at which "innumerable complaintes was givin in quhairof the lyk was nevir seine a befoir;" how parliament "perceaved the Earle Douglas to be the principall caus of these enormities, and sent pleasant writingis to him, purposing to cutt him off be slight, subtilitie, and craft;" how the earl fell into the snare and came to Edinburgh with his brother David, and the chancellor "swore be his great oath and his holy sacrament that thair was not ane nor other in Scotland, except the kingis majestie, that he favoured so weill as the Earl Douglas;" how the earl and his brother dined with the chancellor, and "efter the coursis war takin away from the dinner the chancellour presented ane bullis head befoir the earle, quhilk was ane signe and tokin of condemnatorie to the dead;" how the earle and his brother started up from the "boord, and maid them to loup at any place they might gett out, but armed men led thame out to the Castle hill, with Sir Malcolme Fleming of Cumbernald and vtheris gentlemen thair familiaris and strak the headis from thame;" how "many nighbouris feidis arraise on everie pairt;" how William, the next Earl of Douglas, "thaireafter ane lang tyme being familiar with the king, creipand peace and peace into the kingis conceitt, tarried vpoun opportunitie of tyme to be avenged vpoun Sir Williame Chrichtoun, chancellour, quha so mischantlie had put doun his eame Williame,

Earle of Douglas and his brother;" how the chancellor, apprehending mischief, resigned office, fled to Edinburgh and fortified its Castle, and the governor, dreading Douglas in the same manner, "denuidit himselff of all offices that he baire a befoir, except the keiping of the Castle of Stirling, and depairtit haistilie aff of court;" how the earl "caused summond Sir Williame Crichtoun and Sir Alexander Levingstoun, with his tuo sons, Alexander and Sir James, knightis, to vnderlie the law," but they did not attend to answer; how the earl "perceaving thair high contemptione of his auctoritie, caused to proclame ane parliament att Stirling, quhair the saides persones war forfalt and denunced tratouris and rebellis to the horne;" how "efter this thair followed nothing but slauchter in this realme. In everie pairt ilk ane laid wait for otheris, as they had been settand themselffis for slauchter of wyld beastis;" how "manie gentlemen conteined themselffis in strong holdis and fortressis, and thair freindis, and left thair guidis that might not be keiped within ane strenth to theifis and riveris to tak them as they pleased;" how "the same yeir Sir James Stewart, knyght, that maried the kingis mother, was banisched becaus he spak sumtymes raschlie to the defamatione of the Earle Douglas, and died within schort whyll thairefter, and als his wayff being James the II.'s mother hearand of hir husbandis death, died and was buried in the Charterhous of St. Johnstoun, besyd hir first husband;" how the king married Margaret, the Duke of Guildares dochter," and thereupon a parliament was held at Edinburgh, in which Sir Alexander Livingston, the late governor, together with Alexander, his eldest son, Robert Livingston, sometime treasurer, and David Livingston, both of the house of Callender, James Dundas and Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, knights, were arrested and imprisoned, notwithstanding their having been reconciled to the king, and all the lords petitioned for their release, but they were kept in prison till the 2nd December, when, upon payment of large sums, Sir Alexander Livingston, James Dundas, and Robert Bruce "war wairded in Dumbartone, and the rest was headed." The circumstances are recorded with a slight difference in the Auchinleck Chronicle, according to which authority the Livingstons, in 1449, were holding a large meeting at Inchbelly Bridge, near Kirkintilloch, when the king, who had secret information of it, came, and with his troop surrounded them, and arrested the leading men of the family; and within forty days thereafter not only their whole property was put under arrest, but every officer who acted under their authority was expelled from

his situation, and every castle held by themselves or their vassals was seized and occupied by the sovereign. Sir Alexander Livingston, now an aged man, Douglas and Bruce, were forfeited and imprisoned; Alexander and Robert Livingston were hanged and afterwards beheaded. Earl Douglas obtained a great part of Dundas's lands, and Culter and Ogg's Castle lands which had belonged to the Livingstons.

More than enough, however, has been here said about Sir Alexander Livingston and his time. It need only be added, for connection sake, that, sometime after his misfortunes, he was restored to the royal favour, recovered most of his estates, was made a member of the Privy Council, Ambassador to England, and Justice-General. His son and successor, James, was created Lord Livingston, Master of the Household, and afterwards Lord Great Chamberlain.

The next member of the family who distinguished himself was Alexander Lord Livingston, son of William fourth lord, and of Agnes Hepburn of Hailes. He was named an Extraordinary Lord of Session, 5th November 1544; chosen by the estates, 15th March 1542, one of eight noblemen, two of whom were in turn to take charge of the infant Queen Mary "quarterlie;" entrusted with her safe keeping at the monastery of Inchmahome in the Lake Monteith, and sent along with her to France, where he died in 1553. His daughter was one of the Queen's Maries. His eldest son was slain at the Battle of Pinkie.

Sir William Livingston of Kilsyth, only son of his father of the same name and designation, by Christiana, daughter of John, fourth Earl of Monteith, accompanied the Duke of Lennox on an embassage to France in 1601. He was knighted and made a Lord of Session, 6th June 1609, and was appointed in that year one of the Parliamentary Commissioners named to adopt measures for preventing and punishing the crime of rape, then fearfully common. On 15th May, 1613, he was sworn a Privy Councillor and made Vice-Chamberlain of Scotland. In 1621 he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the plantation of kirks. He died 1627, and was succeeded by his son and grandson.

Alexander, Master of Livingston, second, but eldest surviving son of the first Earl of Linlithgow, by Eleanor, daughter of Andrew, seventh Earl of Errol, was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session, 30th January, 1610. He succeeded his father in 1622, and removed from the Bench in 1626.

James, another son of this family, was bred a soldier in France and Germany; having returned to Scotland he became a favourite of Charles I., and was created Lord Almond in 1633; seven years afterwards he was created Earl of Callender. He was Lieutenant-General under the Duke of Hamilton in the expedition to England for the relief of Charles.

Nearly as remarkable a man as the great Sir Alexander Livingston in the fifteenth century, was Sir James Livingston of Kilsyth, in the seventeenth. He was brother of the Sir William mentioned above, who died 1627, and as guardian of Sir William's son and grandson, he had charge of the estate until the death of the latter in 1647, when he himself succeeded; until then his title was Sir James of Bencloich. He acquired that and various other properties by means of doubtful honesty, but not very different from what were usual at that time. While many of the principal families were still quarreling over the spoil of the Church, Sir James sought quietly to turn the popular tide of covenanting enthusiasm to profitable account. Prior to, and more particularly after the triumphant success of the popular party at Philiphaugh, he ingratiated himself with the clergy and the ruling men of the day, so as to obtain their confidence. At the same time he professed secretly to sympathise with, and favour the unfortunate partizans of Montrose, who were branded with the name of malignants. On the one side he incited the Covenanters to treat the malignants with extreme oppression, burnings, harryings, fines, again and again; on the other side he lent money to the Royalists, first, for enabling them to assist Montrose, and afterwards, for enabling them to pay the fines. Montrose's partizans alleged that much of the money so lent was but the proceeds of the exactions which came under his control. The loans were secured by bonds over lands, under which he took immediate possession, with right to assume the property at the end of twelve years, failing redemption; and he took care to so manage that the poor borrowers never were in a condition to redeem. He applied the savings at Kilsyth estate during the minority of his grand nephew, in the purchase of superiorities held by unfortunate Royalists and others in his neighbourhood, and in buying up the lands of smaller owners. Having thus become owner and superior of extensive properties in Campsie as well as Kilsyth, he had them erected into the Baronies of Kilsyth and Campsie. Soon after the restoration of Charles II. to the throne, Sir James ingratiated himself at Court, and was created Viscount

Kilsyth, Lord Campsie, &c. In 1655 he built, at the Village of Kilsyth, a mansion-house or castle. The original castle of the family had been near the village, on higher ground, and there had been another near Colzium, which probably had been occupied by cadets of the family. The first viscount did not long enjoy his honours, as he died in London the same year they had been confirmed.

James, the second viscount, succeeded in 1661, a minor, and died without issue, 1700.

William, the third viscount, was second son of the first viscount. He succeeded in 1700, and, having engaged in the rebellion of 1715, his estates were forfeited. He was greatly addicted to jollification. While plotting with his friends for the rebellion, he and they had sederunts in an inn at Kilsyth, which occasionally lasted more than a week, during which time they consumed incredible quantities of claret, and hardly ever went to bed. He died at Rome, 1733. In connection with the jovial reunions of the last Earl of Kilsyth and his friends, it was my intention to exhibit to this meeting a drinking cup or quaich which belonged to that nobleman's family, and which it is said was cherished by them as having been their family quaich since the days of the first Living, or at least for many generations. I regret that an accident has prevented me from producing it at this meeting.

The cup or quaich is not in itself more remarkable than many of a like kind which the very ancient inhabitants of this and other northern countries were in the habit of using. It is of stone, apparently green stone, or perhaps grey granite, circular, about three and a-half inches wide at rim, and two and a-half inches deep internally, and has two projecting handles, or *luggs* as they were called; this is the true form and character of the ancient drinking cup in which the men of the olden time loved to quaff hearty libations, the drinker rising at table, raising it in his two hands breast high, expressing his ardent wishes for the welfare of all round, and eke of absent friends, then, after emptying it within his lips, turning it upside down in token of his devotion, and finally refilling and passing it to his neighbour that he might do likewise.

To suppose that the stone cup was the only kind in use at any particular period would be an idle fancy; gold, silver, and chrystal were also used, probably from the days of Tubal Cain downwards. But there was a northern superstition in favour of the stone cup, as the sacred, the divine, the genuine cup of the gods.

To drink from a golden cup might be becoming at great court, ceremonial feast, or in the halls of high nobility, where all was stately and cold; but when the heart warmed in the intense sympathy of friendship, then was expression given to earnest feelings from the cup long hallowed by the friends of the roof tree—the cup which belonged to our forefathers before us.

The Kilsyth Cup was given by the last Lord Kilsyth to a confidential servant, said to have been his forester, named Marshall, whose great grandson still lives near Kilsyth, and from whom I received it. While preparations for the rising in 1715 were in progress, and after it, Marshall had made himself peculiarly useful to his master by conveying secret messages, keeping guard, obtaining information, assisting to conceal, and sometimes affording valuable aid under danger and privation. Before leaving the country for the continent, to be out of the way of the government authorities, who, if he had been captured, would have had him tried for high treason, the Lord Kilsyth presented to his faithful forester this old cup as a token of his gratitude. The simple act may seem to us unimportant, yet there was in it what no language could express. It was the last act of parting from family greatness—an ancient house had fallen. Its members had long faithfully served their sovereign. They had dared one more faithful effort in the hope of replacing on the throne its rightful master, under whose ancestors they had often proved their fidelity. Now were they deserted by craven compatriots, and the proud viscount felt that only one faithful servant man stood by him. It was Marshall, and to Marshall he handed over the family Cup.

I wish to exhibit to this meeting another article which belonged to the old Kilsyth Livingstons. It is a halbert of very superior workmanship. The shaft is of fine oak, octagonal in section, alternate sides strengthened by slips of iron and nails, with round projecting heads at two inches apart, and the other sides fluted in the wood, an elegantly formed spear twelve inches long, having at its base a crown-shaped ornament, under which are the cut and hold projections elaborately worked in perforated decoration. This article came into the possession of the Gartshore family, and the present much honoured head of that house, Colonel Gartshore, holds the ancient weapon in great respect as a relic of the Kilsyth Livingstons.

The head of another halbert which has been in the family of a person of the name of John Kerr, Townhead, Kirkintilloch, for more

than two centuries, is here shown along with the other. It is good of its kind, but of inferior workmanship as compared with the Kilsyth one.

The Kilsyth Estates and Teinds were sold by the Crown to the York Buildings' Company. Campbell of Shawfield became Tacksman of both, and held them until their sale in 1784 to Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Dunbreath, grandfather of the present Sir Archibald.

It is thus seen that the Kilsyth Livingstons were detached from the Callander stock about 1450, and that they were proprietors of Kilsyth Estates during two centuries and a-half, and of the Campsie Barony rather more than half a century.

At the time of the rebellion, 1715, the titles of Linlithgow and Callander were enjoyed by James, fifth Earl of Linlithgow, and fourth Earl of Callander. He also joined in that rebellion, and his estates and titles were forfeited. These lands were likewise sold to the York Buildings' Company, and upon the bankruptcy of that Company they were purchased at judicial sale by William Forbes, grandfather of the present Mr. Forbes of Callander. The earl died on the continent.

NO. XII.

ON THE ORIGIN, CORONATION, AND JURISDICTION OF THE LORD LYON KING OF ARMS:

BY

SHERIFF STRATHERN.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 14th January*, 1861.]

It is not within the limits of the subject on which I propose to enter, to consider the origin or purposes of armouries at any considerable length, the more especially as a very excellent paper has already been read in this Society, wherein several of the peculiarities of heraldry have been treated. But I find it impossible to omit some reference to this interesting theme as introductory to my prelection, although I disavow all pretension to skill in the art of armoury, and simply submit, as a gleaner, the fruits of my reading.

The early enthusiastic writers on heraldry ascribe to it a very ancient origin indeed, and have expended both learning and ill-temper in the vindication of their opinions. Thus we are gravely assured by a writer of the fifteenth century that heraldic ensigns were primarily borne by the "hierarchy of the skies." "At hevyn," says the author of the *Boke of St. Albans*, "I will begin where were V. orderis of aungelis, and now stand but IV., in cote armoris of knawlege, encrowned ful hye with precious stones, where Lucifer, with mylionys of aungelis, owt of hevyn fell into hell and oyder places, and ben holdyn ther in bondage; and all (the remaining angels) were erected in hevyn of gentill nature."

The gentility of the great ancestor of our race is stoutly contended for, and, that his claim to that distinction might not want support, Sylvanus Morgan, an imaginative armorist of the seventeenth century, in his scarce work, *The Sphere of Gentry deduced from the Principles of Nature*, has assigned to Adam two coats of arms—one as borne in Eden—(where he neither used, nor needed *coat* for covering nor *arms* for defence) and another suited to his condition after the fall. The first was a plain red shield, decorated, in the language of

modern heraldry, "gules;" while the arms of Eve, a shield of white, or "argent," were borne upon it, as an "eschoceon of pretence." The arms of Abel were, as usual, those of his father and mother, borne "quarterly," and ensigned with a crozier, like that of a bishop, to show that he was a "shepheard."—*Morgan*—"Adam's Shield," p. 99; *Curiosities of Heraldry*, pp. 2-3. But some little diversity of opinion occurs among heralds, on a subject of so much importance as the coat armour of Eve and Abel; and, considering the remoteness of date, the difference may be reasonably overlooked; for I find, in a small work published by Bettesworth, of London in 1723, called *The British Compendium, or Rudiments of Honour*, that "Abel, the second son of Adam, bore his father's coat, quartered with that of his mother Eve, *she being an heiress*, viz., gules and argent." The same learned author assigns to Joseph, a coat party per pale argent and gules.

Sir John Ferne, a noted investigator in the science of gentility published his *Blazon of Gentrie* in 1586; he was a man of real erudition, but utterly carried away by extravagant notions of the antiquity of heraldic insignia; among others, he deduces the use of furs in heraldry from the "coats of skins," which the Creator made for Adam and Eve after their transgression, forgetting that coats of arms were as surely marks of honour, as that skins were the badges of the disgrace of our primeval parents. Cain, also, after his transgression, according to Ferne, changed his armorials "by ingrailing and *indented* lines, to show, as the preacher saith, that 'There is a generation whose *teeth* are as swords, and their jaw *teeth* as knives to devour the poor from the earth.'" The author makes this important observation that Cain was the first who desired to have his arms changed—"So God set a mark upon him." Among much prolixity the same author ascribes as arms to Jabal, the inventor of tents, vert, a tent argent; Jubal, the first musician, azure, a harp, or, on a chief-argent three organ rests, gules; Tubal Cain has assigned to him, sable, a hammer argent crowned, or; and Naamah, his sister, the inventress of weaving, in a lozenge, gules, a carding comb.

Noah, according to the *Boke of St. Albans*, "came a gentilman by kynde, and had iij sonnys begotyn by kynde, yet in theys iij sonnys gentilness and ungentilness was fownde." The sin of Ham degraded him to the condition of a churl; and upon the partition of the world among the three brethren Noah pronounced a malediction

against him. "Wycked kaytiff," says he, "I give to thee the north parte of the world to draw thyne habitacion, for ther schall it be, where sorrow and care, cold and mischef, as a churle thou shalt live in the thirde part of the worlde, wich shall be calde Europe—that is to say, *the contre of churlys.*"

"Japeth," the patriarch, continues, "cum heder, my sonne, thou shalt have my blessing dere. I make the a gentilman of the west parte of the world and of Asia—that is to say, *the contre of gentilmen.*" Sem is in like manner created a "gentilman, and Africa is assigned to him, *the contre of tempurnes.*"

"Of the offspryng of the gentleman, Japheth," according to this ante-diluvian heraldry, "come Habraham, Moyses, Aron, and the profittys, and also the kynge of the righte lyne of Mary, of whom that gentilman, Jhesus, kynge of the londe of Jude and of Jues, gentilman by his modr, Mary, pryncess of cote-armure."

The language of the blessing bestowed by Jacob on his twelve sons, as recorded in the 49th chapter of the book of Genesis, is likewise a favourite authority among the old armorists in support of their theory of the antiquity of arms. Morgan, from whom I have already quoted, furnishes the following choice verses, descriptive of the arms of the twelve tribes of Israel:—

"Judah bare gules, a lion couchant or;
Zebulon's black ships, like to a man-of-war;
Issachar's asse, between two burthens girt;
As Dan's sly snake lies in a field of vert;
Asher, with *azure*, a cup of gold sustains;
And Naphtali's hind trips o'er the flowery plains;
Ephraim's strong ox lyes with the couchant hart;
Manasseh's tree its branches doth impart;
Benjamin's wolfe in the field gules resides;
Reuben's field argent, and blew bars wav'd glides;
Simeon doth beare his sword; and in that manner
Gad, having pitched his tent, sets up his banner."

The same authority gives as arms to Moses, a cross, because he preferred "taking up the cross," and suffering the lot of his brethren to a life "of pleasure and dignity in the Court of Pharaoh;" the "parfight armory of Duke Joshua" given by Gerard Leigh (who published his *Accedence of Armourie* in 1562), is "partie bend sinister, or, and gules, a backe displayed, sable." The arms of Gideon were—sable, a fleece argent, a chief azure, gutté d'eau

(sprinkled with water drops)—manifestly a "composition" from the miracle recorded in the Book of Judges. Samson had assigned to him "gules, a lion couchant, or, within an orle argent, semée of bees, sable," an equally evident allusion to a passage in his life. David, of course, bore a golden harp on a field azure. Of David, Morgan gives the preamble of letters patent, which he is made to have issued as the warrant for a pedigree—beginning, like a charter of modern times, "Omnibus, &c., David, Dei gratia, Rex Juda et Israel, universis et singulis," &c.

Leaving sacred story, our writers are as imaginative and as fond of conferring "atchievements" and honourable badges on the heroes of classic story. Thus Hector of Troy bore sable ij. lyons combat-and, or; Alexander the Great, who must, with all his other qualities, have been a humourist to boot, is said by Leigh to have assumed as arms—"gules, or; a Golden Lyon, sitting in a chayer and holding a battayle axe of silver;" so Julius Cæsar, if we believe the same author, bore, "Or, an eagle displayed with two heads, sable."

It may, perhaps, be an act of justice to these credulous, but perfectly sincere old armorists, to notice the fact that warriors in very ancient times did bear various figures on their shields; Agamemnon's shield, for example, was ornamented with the Gorgon, as his peculiar badge; and, adopting Dryden's translation, we have Virgil saying of Aventinus, the son of Hercules (Romulus):—

> Next Aventinus drives his chariot round
> The Latin plains, with palms and laurels crowned;
> Proud of his steeds, he smokes along the field,
> His father's *hydra* fills his ample shield.

The Greek dramatists describe the symbols and war cries placed upon their shields by the seven chiefs, in their expedition against the city of Thebes. As an illustration, Capaneus is represented as bearing the figure of a giant with a blazing torch, and the motto, "I will fire the city." These indiciæ belonged, apparently, to the brave and well born, and in this respect resemble modern heraldry. Referring to Helenus, whose mother had been a slave, Virgil says:—

> Slight were his arms—a sword and silver shield—
> No *marks of honour* charged its empty field.

From what has been said, it will have been seen how great a desire existed to give heraldry a very ancient origin, and the grounds on which the quaint old writers proceeded; undoubtedly much learning

has been by them misapplied on the subject, but the very anxiety which they felt, was little else than the impress of the sentiment held by the proud families of the period in which they wrote—a sentiment, I may add, which exists still. But at whatever period emblems, signs, and mottoes were first used, either together or separately, to distinguish kingdoms, communities, or families, it seems pretty certain that regular heraldry was unknown in England much, if any, earlier than the Conquest in 1066. This appears evident from the circumstance that the Bayeux Tapestry, which contains a pictorial representation of that event, shows proper arms neither in the banners nor shields of the Conqueror's followers. Some of the shields do bear rude effigies of a dragon, griffin, serpent, or lion—and some bear fantastic devices; but, in the opinion of the most skilled antiquaries, these are regarded rather as ornaments, akin to the symbols of classical antiquity, than to coat armour; and not until after the first crusade in 1094 was it, that regular shape began, in England, to be given to heraldry proper. Sir George Mackenzie, of Rosehaugh, assigns an earlier era to heraldry, both in France and Scotland, and apparently with some reason. Referring to the numerous opinions on this point, and reviewing the authorities on which they rested, he concludes that the process of digesting the custom of wearing heraldic tokens "into an art, and then subjecting them to rules, must be ascribed to Charlemagne and Frederick Barbarossa, for they did begin and grow with the feudal law." It is matter of history that, during the reign of Achaius, King of Scotland, in the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century, that just and wise prince entered into a league with France; and, in honour of that occasion, Charlemagne conferred on the then acknowledged arms of Scotland a "double tressour flori and contreflori"—(the French lilies), together with four crosses; and these, according to Mackenzie, composed the circlet on the crown which to this day surmounts the helmet in the arms of Scotland, as they are properly blazoned and shown in the print in his own *Treatise on the Science of Heraldry*.

In all probability, the first and more immediate cause of coat armour being systemized in Scotland, was the necessity which existed for bearing on seals such distinguishing tokens as indicated one family from another, and even other members or cadets of the same family. By the *Books of the Majesty*, as the laws of Malcolm II. are called (Reg. Maj. Book III., c. 8), it is statute that, as between debtor and creditor, the debt being denied, but which was apparently constituted

by a writing bearing the alleged debtor's seal—" Gif he (the debtor) confessis in the Court the seale to be his seale, he sall warand that writ, and sall be compelled to keep and fulfill the tenour thereof, and sall imput to his awin evil keiping of the seale, gif he incurres anie damnage or skaith throw the negligent keiping thereof." But "faith may be proven to be givin to writ be ane other maner of way. As be comparison of moe seales or be other writtes sealed with the samine seale, quhereof there is no suspition of falset, nor of diversitie of seales. And quhen it is manifest that the writs perteins to him quha denyes the seales, and that he in judgment warands the samine to be his awin. Then, gif the seales agries in all points, swa that there is na suspition of diversitie betwix them, the debtour sall be convict and condemned in the debt." There is some controversy concerning the authenticity of these "auld laws of the Majesty," into which at present it is impossible to enter; but as they are recognised in several Scotch statutes as genuine, and then in observance (Jacob. I., Parl. 3, c. 54; Jac. III., Parl. 14, c. 115; Parl. 6, c. 47; Parl. 8, c. 63), it may be enough to assume them so, especially as many learned lawyers and commentators acknowledge them to be authentic. It appears from these laws, then, that sealing, and not subscribing or signing, was the form in which obligations and writs of importance were executed in the days of King Malcolm, who reigned in Scotland in the year 1004. Except among the clergy and professional scribes—the nobility and commoners of the period, both of Scotland and England, were, in general, unable to write. It is not earlier than the fourteenth century that we find examples of private holograph letters,—that is, letters entirely written by the hand of the person whose signature they bear; for most, indeed nearly all of the letters of eminent persons of prior periods, preserved in the archives of our own country, and in those of neighbouring nations, were written by private secretaries or public scribes, the signature alone (often merely a cross), being the work of the supposed writer. As noticed by Laing in his late contribution to the Maitland Club (*Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*), it was during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that the art of seal engraving or cutting maintained its excellence, which was particularly apparent in the seals of the Douglasses, the Lindsays, and other magnates of the country; but towards the latter part of the fifteenth century the art began to decline, and during the following century few appear on charters or deeds, or have been preserved, that can be compared as works of art with those of an earlier time.

The superiority of seals during the period alluded to, is attributable to the fact that they were in almost indiscriminate use—and hence the expediency of studying, for the sake of the owners, a distinct and clear theory of armoury by which they were enabled to distinguish themselves and their relations. Much importance was attached to the preservation and identification of seals, and an Act of Robert III., cap. 7, No. 5, enjoined barons and other holders of the king, to possess seals under a penalty;—and by the 130th Act of the 9th Parliament of James I. (1429), every freeholder was appointed to compear at the head court of his shire with his seal, and if he was unable to be present, he was ordained to send his attorney with the seal of his arms, and he who wanted was liable to the amerciament under King Robert's statute; so it was, therefore, that every gentleman sent an impression of his seal to the clerk in lead, which the clerk kept by him—some of which were extant in the time of Mackenzie, and some of which are said to be preserved yet. The custom of sealing papers without subscriptions continued till March, 1540, at which time King James V., by the 117th Act, 7th Parliament, ordained, that because men might lose their seals, or their seals might be counterfeited, that all evidents should for the future be subscribed as well as sealed; the modes of securing evidence of the subscribing were afterwards more fully prescribed by the Act of Charles II., 1681, c. 5. Education had now made such progress, that subscribing and not sealing became the approved mode of undertaking obligations or executing deeds. Still the effect of seals had been such as to perfect the system of heraldry, which thus went on improving from the days of Robert III. In England, the most ancient seal with arms on it is that of Richard I., in the end of the twelfth century; but Laing, in his *Catalogue*, states that the earliest seal of Scotland which has been met with, is that of Duncan II., who reigned in 1094, after which an unbroken succession of the national seals exist.

These observations have extended to a greater length than I at the outset intended; but the material became so interesting, and being withal so intimately connected with my subject, I could not forbear presenting to the meeting the information I had collected. I have abstained noticing the growth of the feudal law in Scotland, although it is evident that it was the great source from whence the science of heraldry in its improved form sprung; and it remains with us still as an appendage of that rude combination. Mr. Cosmo Innes, in his

recent work, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, speaks of the science as a study, which of old engaged the attention of all that were gentle-born, and is now left to the tender mercies of the lapidary and the coach painter. But I cannot regard the study with so little veneration; for, in reference to the necessary distinctions in rank, its evident utility in society is still acknowledged, and the gentilitial assumption of hereditary armorial bearings, has consequently been retained as a convenient and powerful bar to the encroachments of one branch of the community, upon the privileges of the other.

As its acquisition was originally in the field by military prowess, this hereditary distinction was first borne on the *shield* of the victorious warrior; next upon the *banners*, *pennons*, and *housings*—and was afterwards embroidered on the *surcoats* or *tabards* of the knights; the *mantles* of the ladies were even subsequently decorated with the family bearings.

Heraldry, was very early connected with the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting; and was adopted as a tasteful and splendid method of decoration in churches and mansions—in the walls, pavements, monuments, windows, and hangings; and it still retains its use upon seals and upon the coins of the realm.

Its history is a theme so fraught with pleasure to the imagination, ever ready to indulge in romantic ideas, that a generous mind is unable to resist the rational desire of information respecting it; and its ultimate design being to give due influence to all classes of society, it becomes, at the same time, so connected with the institutions and usages of our established constitution, that its investigation cannot fail to be considered as a most instructive, entertaining, and useful pursuit to every one whose studies are directed to the history and antiquities of the kingdom. Believing this, and assenting to the wise remark of the elder D'Israeli, that "every species of study contributes to the perfection of human knowledge, by that universal bond which connects them all in a philosophical mind," I have written thus far.

No regular institution for the study or cultivation of armouries existed in England till the erection of the College of Arms in the reign of Richard III., in 1483; but in Scotland an earlier date must be ascribed to her heraldic establishment. In the year 1165 William, the brother of Malcolm, was crowned King; he died in 1214. Sir Walter Scott, and Lord Hailes in their respective histories of Scotland show, that William was the first of our monarchs who assumed

the lion rampant, as the national coat armorial; and hence, he has been distinguished as William the Lion; and from a similar cause it is, that the Chief of the Heralds in Scotland, is termed Lion King of Arms.

The period when this office was originated is uncertain; and Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, (vol. i., p. 762), has these pertinent observations:—"The silence of Sir George Mackenzie, and of Nisbet in their respective works on the Heraldic Science, shows the dark cloud which covers the origin of the Lord Lion and his Heralds from our view." At the memorable coronation of Alexander III., in 1249, there is not any trace of these heraldic officers being present, when their assistance would have been peculiarly useful. There is a very minute account of this coronation in Fordun, lx. c. 1, 2; and see Nisbet's Heraldry, part iv., c. 11, who quotes a record which Sir James Balfour is said to have found, with his usual luck, in the ruins of the Monastery at Scone. When Alexander III. met Edward I. at Westminster, in 1278, he was not attended by a Lyon Herald, though he had his harpers and minstrels. The first authentic notice which I have discovered on this curious subject is at the coronation of Robert II., on the 27th of March 1371:—

"Then the Lion King of Arms was called on by the Lord Marischal, who, (the Lion) attended on by the heralds, came in their coats. The Lion sat down at the King's feet, and the heralds went to their stage prepared for them; and then the Mareschal, by the mouth of the Bishop of St. Andrews, did swear the Lion, who, being sworn, then did put on his crown ordained him to wear for the solemnity," &c. The ceremonial of the coronation of Charles I. at Edinburgh is preserved in the British Museum.—*Harley MSS.* The Lion King appeared here conspicuous, "having a crown upon his head, he carried in his hand the vessel containing the sacred oil; two heralds walked on either side of him; the trumpets sounded; and so they marched."

A writer, quoted in *Noble's History of the College of Arms*, p. 330, remarks on the origin of the Lyon King, that "it is an office of great antiquity and respect in Scotland, and although the precise time of its institution is unknown, yet it must have been as early as the introduction of armorial figures as hereditary marks of gentility and distinction into this country, which was in the twelfth century. His regalia are a crown of gold, with a crimson velvet cap, a gold tassel, and an ermine lining; a velvet robe reaching to his feet, with the

arms of the kingdom embroidered thereon, before and behind in the proper tinctures; a triple row of gold chains round his neck, with an oval gold medal pendant thereto, on one side of which is the royal bearing, and on the other St. Andrew with his cross, enamelled green, powdered with the badges of the kingdom. The Lord Lyon's rank is superior to that of any other king of arms, as he holds his office immediately from the Sovereign, by commission, under the great seal; whereas, the king of arms in England are deputies to the Earl Marischal, and act under his authority. Formerly, Scotland was divided into two provinces—the one on the north, and the other on the south side of the Forth; and these provinces were under the management of two deputies appointed by the Lord Lion, to superintend the execution of all the business of his office. Before the Union, the Lord Lion at his admission into office, was most solemnly crowned by the Sovereign or his commissioners in presence of the nobility, the officers of State, and other great men, after a suitable sermon preached in the Royal Chapel, and his crown was of the same form with the Imperial crown of the kingdom. On solemn occasions he wears this regalia; at all other times he wears the oval gold medal or badge on his breast, suspended by a broad green ribbon. He has the absolute disposal of all the offices in his own court, and of the heralds' and pursuivants' places. The messengers-at-arms throughout Scotland are also created by him, and are amenable to his jurisdiction; and the powers vested in him by his commission are the same with those of the Sovereign in all matters relative to the marks of gentility." Noble, however, in his work, explains that, at the union of England and Scotland, it was agreed that Lyon King of Arms for the latter is to be accounted the second King of Arms in all public ceremonies, and to take place next after Garter, the principal King of Arms in England. In the reign of Queen Anne, after the year 1707, and in the following years, whenever Lyon generally has attended it has been in the place assigned him.

The names of the Lords Lyon of an early date have not, as far as I have been able to discover, descended to us; and an intelligent correspondent has suggested the inquiry in vol. vii. of *Notes and Queries*, whether any roll exists of those who have held the office, but without receiving any answer. It is manifest, however, from the consideration these officers received, and the functions which they performed, that they have ever been men of distinction and note. The last of the Lyon Kings on whom the honour of coronation was

bestowed, was Sir Alexander Areskine, of Cambo, Baronet; this happened at the Royal Palace of Holyrood, on 27th July 1681, in the reign of Charles II., and his Royal Highness, James, Duke of Albany and York, (afterwards James II., who abdicated) officiated as High Commissioner. I have received the details of the ceremonial, which, from their minuteness, have become interesting.

1. The Chair of State being placed upon a throne of two steps in height, under the Royal canopy, in the Chamber of Presence, and the Imperial crown, sceptre, and sword of State being placed on a table before the throne, the table covered with purple velvet fringed with gold, his Majesty's High Commissioner was conveyed by the officers of State and the nobility to the throne, when he sat down in the Chair of State, the nobility standing on each side.

2. Then Sir Alexander Areskine was introduced in this manner:—1. The King's six trumpets, in their coats, two and two, sounding; 2. The six pursuivants-at-arms, in their coats, two and two; 3. The six heralds, in their robes, two and two, the last five bearing the Lord Lyon's regalia, thus:—The eldest his crown, the second his robe, the third his surcoat, the fourth his collar of gold and medal pendant, the collar being composed of three rows, and the fifth his batoon.

3. Mr. Robert Innes, Lyon-Depute, bearing his patent under the Great Seal.

4. The Master of Ceremonies.

5. The Lord Lyon, supported by two baronets, to wit, Sir William Sharp, of Scotscraig, and Sir John Maitland; and attended with the six macers on either side with their silver maces.

6. Then having three several times done their homage to his Majesty's High Commissioner, viz.:—at the door, in the middle of the chamber, and before the throne; those who carried the patent and regalia drew near to the Chair of State; the rest of the heralds and pursuivants retired to the windows, and the trumpets to a place allotted for them.

7. The Master of the Ceremonies brought the Lord Lyon to his Majesty's High Commissioner, and he kneeled down before him on a velvet cushion, and was dubbed Knight with the Sword of State.

8. The Master of the Ceremonies called for the patent under the great seal, and gave it to one of the clerks of the Privy Council, who read it aloud. He then delivered it to his Royal Highness, and from him to the Lord Lyon, showing him the King's pleasure, his duty, and the importance of the honour conferred upon him by so gracious a master.

9. His Royal Highness caused the Lord Lyon to swear the oath of allegiance, and take the declaration, the same being read by one of the clerks of the Privy Council.

10. The Master of the Ceremonies took the surcoat of arms, and gave it to his Royal Highness, who, with his assistance, put it on the Lord Lyon, his Highness saying,—"I do vest you with this coat and robe of your office during all the days of your lifetime, which you shall wear on all honourable occasions, keeping the same free from all spot of treason, villany, and disgrace."

11. The Master of the Ceremonies took the crown, and delivered the same to his Royal Highness, who put it on the Lord Lyon's head, saying,—"In the name of his most sacred Majesty the King, I crown you, Sir Alexander Areskine, of Cambo, Bart., Lyon King of Arms throughout all the kingdom of Scotland, and the isles, colonies, and dependencies thereunto belonging, with all the powers, privileges, liberties, honours, and dignities belonging to that office."

12. The Master of the Ceremonies gave the batoon to his Royal Highness, who, delivering it to the Lord Lyon, said,—"I deliver to you this batoon of your office, in token of that command and regal authority, which his Majesty gives you over all who bear his Majesty's arms under you in this kingdom of Scotland."

13. The Master of the Ceremonies gave the collar to his Royal Highness, who put it about the Lord Lyon's neck, saying,—"This Royal token and badge of your master's favour I give you, to be worn by you all the days of your life, in token of your precedency before all others of under degree and quality, in consequence of your good and faithful services done, and to be done."

14. Then his Royal Highness blessed the Lord Lyon, and took his oath in the terms following:—

THE OATH.

"I shall defend the Catholic faith to the uttermost of my power. I shall be leal and true, secret and serviceable to our Sovereign Lord the King, and to all Estates—that is to say, to Emperors, Kings, Princes, Archdukes, Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, Lords or Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, Ladies, Widows, and Maidens of good fame, and shall forward their lawful business upon their expense; and what ambassage or message I take in hand to do, I shall do the same truly, without adding or taking from. I shall forbear all open vices, common bordells, common hazard, and common drinking in taverns.

"I shall fortify and defend the privileges of the noble office of arms with all my power, and shall never reveal any man's secrets, treason excepted. I shall observe and keep all the forenamed points. So help me God; and by my part of Paradise."

15. Then one of the heralds, with sound of trumpet, proclaimed, out of one of the windows, Sir Alexander Areskine, of Cambo, Bart., Lyon King of Arms, throughout all the kingdom of Scotland, and the isles and dependencies thereunto belonging, with all the honours and privileges that to this office appertain.

16. His Royal Highness, taking the Lord Lyon by both his hands, raised him, who, taking off his crown, gave his Highness his humble thanks, and then cried aloud,—"A largess of the Most High and Mighty Monarch Charles, by the grace of God King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith," &c.

17. Then, by sound of trumpets, all the heralds and pursuivants proclaimed the same words out of the windows.

18. The Lord Lyon, in his robes, collar, and crown, with the batoon of command in his hand, was attended back to the chamber from whence he came, in the same order as before, the heralds and pursuivants proclaiming round the court in their return—"A largess," *ut supra.*

As head of the College of Arms in the kingdom, the Lord Lyon was a very important dignitary; as principal herald, his person was sacred, and the least indignity offered to him was seriously resented and punished; thus, in the year 1515, the Duke of Albany, as Regent, with advice of the Estates, tried Lord Drummond as for a capital offence and convicted him, for striking the Lord Lyon, albeit the act was done hastily and in passion. Drummond was only saved on the intercession of the Lyon King personally, and some of the powerful nobility, and after the culprit had knelt, acknowledging his offence to the Estates, and submitted himself to the Lyon. It was rare that, even in actual warfare, a herald was treated with any violence; but it is related of Ponde, the English Somerset herald, that being sent by Henry VIII. to deliver a message to James V. in Scotland, he fell under the stroke of an assassin on the Borders, although peace then prevailed, and the herald wore his tabard. The English King "vowed to God, singularly, that he would have his revenge for the same;" and seeing the danger, and to propitiate Henry, the Scottish King was compelled to surrender Leech, a bailiff of Leith, Edward Leech, his brother, and a priest, all of whom King Henry caused to be hanged

at Tyburn as traitors. Another instance of violence may be cited, where the Lion King was slain, contrary to the almost invariable immunity which the office received. This occurred at the battle of Glenlivat, fought between the Gordons and Argyll, in October, 1594. Frazer, the King's herald, rode beside Argyll during the conflict, in his tabard, with the red lion and double tressure embroidered on it, his usual protecting emblems; but they seemed rather to point him out to the fierce Highlanders as their victim, for their horsemen bore down upon him, shouting out,—"Have at the Lion!" and ran him through with their spears. Argyll was worsted in the fight; and on the news reaching King James, he swore that the death of a royal herald, who had been murdered with the King's coat on, should be avenged on these audacious rebels—nor did he fail to keep his word. In general, however, the persons of the heralds were safe, even among the most lawless, while they wore their official dress; and, indeed, it was accounted treason to injure them. They were messengers of peace and war; and it was theirs to summon besieged places to surrender, and in capitulations preceded the vanquished governors to secure them against every violence. They published victories, numbered the slain, and notified the success of foreign courts. They were essential at coronations, royal marriages, baptisms, and funerals —at the interviews of sovereigns and princes, in displaying banners in the field—at public banquets and processions during the royal progresses, and at the annual festivals of the church. They assisted at jousts, tilts, tournaments, and combats, and in everything else in which the Monarch was personally concerned. They proclaimed the titles of royal visitants, princes, and nobility, illustrious ladies, great officers of state, who dined in the courts of the Sovereign, which, at stated times, all such were accustomed to do; and each of whom, according to his rank and office, gave a fee or reward. The amount was optional, being regulated by the wealth or liberality of the giver, but whatever the sum, it was registered as a guide and incitement to others. To heralds belonged the ordering of everything relative to genealogies and armorial bearings of the nobility and gentry, being empowered to oblige all to produce whatever was necessary for their making the most proper decision in all doubtful cases. The Lyon King was often engaged on embassies to foreign courts, and had sometimes diplomatic matters of great nicety and delicacy to fulfil, in which he usually acquitted himself well. Sir David Lindsay, of the Mount, was as skilful a negotiator as he was a celebrated poet; and,

wearing his heraldic garb, and attended by his train, he must have made an imposing appearance. Himself and his magnificent suite, when representing his Royal Master, you may remember to be vividly pictured in Scott's Marmion :—

"First came the trumpets at whose clang
So late the forest echoes rang;
On prancing steeds they forward press'd,
With scarlet mantle, azure vest;
Each at his trump a banner wore,
Which Scotland's Royal scutcheon bore;
Heralds and pursuivants, by name
Bute, Islay, Marchmount, Rothsay came,
In painted tabards, proudly showing
Gules, argent, or, and azure glowing,
  Attendant on a king at arms,
Whose hand the armorial truncheon held
That feudal strife had often quell'd
  When wildest its alarms.

He was a man of middle age;
In aspect manly, grave, and sage,
  As on king's errand come;
But in the glances of his eye,
A penetrating, keen, and sly
  Expression found its home;
The flash of that satiric rage
Which, bursting on the early stage,
Branded the vices of the age,
  And broke the keys of Rome.
On milk-white palfrey forth he paced;
His cap of maintenance was graced
  With the proud heron-plume.
From his steed's shoulder, loin, and breast,
  Silk housings swept the ground,
With Scotland's arms, device, and crest,
  Embroider'd round and round.
The double tressure might you see,
  First by Achaius borne,
The thistle and the fleur de lis,
  And gallant Unicorn.
So bright the king's armorial coat
That scarce the dazzled eye could note,
In living colours—blazoned brave—
The Lion, which his title gave;

A train which well beseem'd his state,
But all unarmed, around him wait.
Still is thy name in high account,
And still thy verse has charms,
Sir David Lindsay of the Mount,
Lord Lyon King at Arms!

Down from his horse did Marmion spring,
Soon as he saw the Lion King,
For well the stately Baron knew
To him such courtesy was due,
Whom Royal James himself had crown'd,
And on his temples placed the round
Of Scotland's ancient diadem."

Besides the poet, another Sir David Lindsay, his namesake and kinsman, succeeded him in the same office of Lyon King. This gentleman was inaugurated in 1592, and was crowned by King James with the ancient crown of Scotland, which was used before the Scottish Kings assumed a close crown; and on occasion of the same solemnity, dined at the king's table wearing the crown. It is probable that the coronation of his predecessor was not less solemn.

In 1630 Sir James Balfour, the annalist, was crowned, and filled, with credit, till his death in 1657, the office of Lyon King.

Since the union of the kingdoms there have presided in this office:—

1. Alexander Erskine, Esq.
2. —— Cochrane, Esq., who was appointed in May, 1726.
3. Alexander Drummond, who died in June, 1729.
4. Hon. Alexander Brodie, of Brodie, who died in March, 1754.
5. John Campbell Hook, Esq., who died in September, 1795.
6. The Right Hon. Robert Auriel Hay Drummond, Earl Kinnoul.

To the latter of whom King George III., in September, 1796, gave the appointment, and to his son in remainder. This son, the present Lord Kinnoul, now worthily fills the office of Lyon King.

But it would appear that the office has not been always honourably occupied. In August, 1568, as appears from *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 510, "Sir William Stewarte, Lyone King of Armis, was transported from Edinburgh Castle to Dunbrittaine, and there committed to closse prissone, for conspyring to take the Regent's lyffe by sorcery and necromancy, for which he was put to death."

It has been seen that, when seals ceased to be used, other methods

of executing deeds had been substituted; but while this change greatly benefitted the kingdom in one respect, it led—as Nisbet, in his Heraldry, complains—to armorial bearings becoming less regular. Moved by this fact, an act was passed in 1592, caput 125 (James VI.), giving power and commission to the Lyon King of Arms, and his brethren heralds, to visit the whole arms of noblemen, barons, and gentlemen within Scotland, and to distinguish them with congruous differences, and to matriculate them in their books; as also to inhibit all such to bear arms as by the law of arms ought not to bear them, under the penalty of confiscating to the king all the goods whereon the improper arms should be found; with the imposition of one hundred pounds of penalty to the Lyon and his brethren, and in case of not payment, to be imprisoned during his pleasure. And in the year 1672, another act was passed, caput 21 (Charles II.), which, reciting the act of King James, sets forth, that, "amongst the many irregularities of these late times, very many have assumed to themselves arms who should bear none, and many of those who may in law bear, have assumed to themselves the arms of their chief without distinctions, or armes which were not carried by their predecessors;" and, thereupon, the provisions of the former act are renewed and ratified, and the Lord Lyon is empowered anew to distinguish arms, and matriculate them in his books or register—which register, it is ordained, shall be respected as the true and unrepealable rule of all arms and bearings in Scotland. This last statute further declares, that it shall only be allowed to noblemen and bishops to subscribe by their titles; and that all others shall subscribe their christened names, or the initial letter thereof, with their surnames, and may, if they please, adject the designation of their lands, prefixing the word "of" to the said designations.

Notwithstanding these repeated provisions, Nisbet observes, that the Lyon Register, although "ordained to be respected as the true and unrepealable rule of all arms and bearings in Scotland, and instituted to prevent irregularities in heraldry; yet, at this day, it is not so complete as to be wished,—many of our most ancient and considerable families having neglected to register their arms, partly through indolence, and partly through an extravagant opinion of their own greatness, as if the same could never be obscured;" and Riddell, in his *Treatise on Peerage and Consistorial Law*, vol. ii. p. 630, says—"Had the Lyon Registers—now in ancient matters a mere blank—deformed, as they besides are, by every incongruity and

misrepresentation at a modern period—been kept even with secondary care and precision, they might, notwithstanding unavoidable casualties, have thrown no small additional light upon the constitution and descent of our Peerages."

Still, the Lyon's jurisdiction has been fully defined by the statutes before referred to, and embraces, besides the duties inherent in the Herald's Office, of which an enumeration has been already given, the matriculation of arms, and visitations in the view of correcting false assumptions and inaccuracies.

But there is comprehended within his functions civil power and authority, of a nature though not immediately relating to, yet grows out of his duties as Conservator of the Armouries of Scotland. These, however, are in our days entirely performed by a Lyon-Depute, and a staff of subordinate officers, who, while they preserve the ancient names, yet enjoy few of the privileges, and almost none of the requirements of the office exist. As Heralds, there are yet on this staff the fine old titles of Rothesay, Marchmount, Islay, Albany, Snowdon, and Ross; and as Pursuivants, Dingwall, Bute, Carrick, Ormond, Kintyre, and Unicorn. The very State trumpeters who attend the Criminal Justice Ayre when on circuit, belong to the establishment. There are also record keepers, a fiscal, macer, and herald painter; but except in the civil department, which I shall just notice in a word or two, and on the occasion of any State pageant, these officers have no duties.

Heraldic displays in the High Street of Edinburgh sometimes still happen, as on the occasion of the prorogation or convention of parliament, the coronation or death of the Sovereign, and at some few other periods, as on the proclamation of war or the announcement of a treaty of peace; but the chief business of the Lyon, besides the concession and matriculation of arms, consists in the appointment and regulation of messengers-at-arms, officers inferior in rank to heralds or pursuivants, and to whom has long been committed the execution of the writs of the Supreme Courts of Session and Justiciary. At an early period messengers-at-arms seem to have had specially delegated powers to perform acts which Sheriffs in their several jurisdictions had been accustomed to perform; but the office of Sheriff being then hereditary, and held by powerful barons or scions of their houses, the duties were either perfunctorily performed or omitted altogether, so that messengers came to be employed and the writs for execution were addressed—as, indeed, the form still runs—to them as Sheriffs

in that part. But the first statutory notice of messengers occurs in the act 1586, cap. 46, where James VI., with the three estates of the realm, taking into consideration that of "late zeires there is entred in the office of armes sindrie extraordinar maissers and pursevants, and ane verie great number of messengers, through importune sute of diverse parties, in sik a confused and uncertain maner that it is become doubtfull quha ar admitted, and how and quha deprived or nocht, or quhidder their cautioners be livand or departed this life. And seeing there was always, in times of best government, a certain number of officears of armes: It is now therefore thocht expedient, statute and ordained, that in time cumming there sall be only twa hundredth persones wearand and bearand our Soveraine Lordis armes in the haill boundes of the realme of Scotland. In quhilk number Lyon King of Armes, and his brether the ordinar heraulds, maisseres, and pursevants, sall be comprehended, being in number xvij. persones, and the remanent to be divided amangst the remanent scheriff-domes of the realme."

The statute contains a distribution of the messengers throughout the various counties, but which is not now respected; and they are enjoined to behave according to the injunctions said to have been inserted at the end of the statute; these injunctions have, apparently by inadvertency, been left out, still their duty has been made well known by posterior acts and inveterate usage. At admission messengers received silver blazons, on which are impressed the Royal arms, as badges of their office, and a wand or rod usually called "the wand of peace." In times long gone by, when education had made little progress, the exhibition of official symbols was not only useful but necessary to disclose the character of the wearer, and so that his person and office might be respected. A horn had been added to the insignia of the messengers, and the virtue of the symbols was often tested. Lord Stair, in his Institutes of the Law, iv. 47-14, observes—"All messengers should have a blazon and a rod or wand. The blazon having the impression of the King's arms upon it, which is fixed upon the messenger's breast, so as the impression of the King's arms may be seen, and thereby, while he charges, his authority and warrant may appear; for if any affront be done to him when he charges without his blazon, it will not import a deforcement, unless the actor knew him to be a messenger then. From the impression of the King's arms on the blazon, messengers are called messengers-at-arms; for they are not military officers, but civil. The

rod or wand of peace hath a particular shape and impression, by which it may be distinguished from any other. The use thereof is to evidence his authority and warrant to execute captions or other exercitorials; for in the execution of captions, the messenger ought to touch the party to be taken with that rod, and then read to him the letters of caption."

In the injunctions issued to messengers by Brodie of Brodie, when Lord Lyon, early last century, it was enjoined that a messenger "execute no letters against any person without his blazon on his breast, blowing horn, and wand tipped at the two ends with two letters, one of his name, the other of his sirname, to serve for a stamp to his executions, under the pain of deprivation, and he and his cautioner incur the unlaw of 500 merks." Instead of the wand which the King's officers of the fifteenth century were enjoined to carry with them, messengers have now a small baton of ebony, six or seven inches long, tipped with silver at each end, and a loose ring of silver, which can be easily removed from end to end,—one of which, with a blazon, I exhibit. When a messenger is deforced, he moves the ring from one end to another; and, besides the use of the rod, wand, or baton for that purpose, and in apprehending debtors, it was also employed when letters of relaxation were accustomed to be issued, to relax persons from the horn, and receive them again into the king's peace. Hence it is called in our old books, the rod of peace. Debtors who were charged, and failed to pay within a limited period, were, in former times, denounced by sound of horn at the Market Cross of Edinburgh as rebels, and so were said to be put to the horn; and the letters or warrant on which the charge was given, were called, from the penal consequences which followed non-payment, letters of horning. The horn was also originally used by messengers to rouse the country to assist the sheriff in the pursuit of fugitives (which assistance every one was, by the act 1426, c. 98, bound to give, under a severe penalty), and to call the attention of the lieges to the act which the messenger was about to perform. In denunciations of hornings, the execution always bore that, besides open proclamation, three blasts of a horn had been given, though, as the ceremony was not enjoined by any statute, it is probable the omission would not have been held a nullity. The blasts, however, were a mere fiction, for not only were they never given, but no messenger in modern times ever had a horn.

The Lyon King holds a court of a *quasi* criminal character, in

which he acts as judge (and, indeed, it is the only characteristic of the magisterial kind he exercises), wherein complaints against his officers are tried and determined; but, fortunately, in this branch of duty he is not oppressed with the labour.

Thus, then, have I endeavoured to trace and show the rise and development of an office which, in our earlier history, exercised important influence both in the State and among the people. The office lingers, rather than continues among us, as one of the very few institutions of a dark period; it is an office into the origin and meaning of which the curious may pry with satisfaction, and the learned with profit. I shall add, in conclusion, that if my auditory have been amused by my gleanings in a measure at all commensurate with the pleasure which the labour of collecting the material of which this paper is composed gave me, they will not have thought the hour consumed in reading it misspent.

NO. XIII.

MEMORANDUM AS TO OBJECTS FOUND IN A SMALL TUMULUS ON THE LANDS OF BLOCHAIRN, BALDERNOCK PARISH, OPENED AUGUST 4, 1859:

BY

ALEXANDER GALLOWAY, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 11th February*, 1861.]

At the time when these remains, now on our table, and a few others of a similar kind, were disinterred, my attention was directed, for a short while, to considerations of relative objects, circumstances, and history, local and general. A small treatise issued last month by the Rev. John B. Pratt, has reminded me of the Baldernock Tumuli. Its title-page bears a vignette of *The Auld Wives' Lift*, copied from Wilson's Archæology, over which are those awe-inspiring words, "The Druids."

The spot where the objects before us were found may be thus described:—Due north from our city, say from its suburb of Springbank, Baldernock Church stands 4¾ miles distant, in a straight line; eastward thence a main road leads past the farm steading of Dykehead, and in, or by the south side of this road, at a point 1100 yards from the church, was the mound or little tumulus.

The general features of the locality may be apprehended by those not already acquainted with them when we say that it lies on the north side of the Kelvin, where a broad level valley containing some 700 acres of rich land next the river is succeeded by a number of small hills rising gently from the south and east, broadening westwards towards the Kilpatrick range, and, after uniting in an east and west line, and attaining a height of about 300 feet above sea level, descending rapidly northward into the valley of the Glazert and the Blane. From their summit can be seen Arthur's Seat and the Pentlands, the Ochils, and the fine valley of the Forth, Tinto, and much of the lower lands of Renfrewshire. The tall chimney stalks of Glasgow and Paisley on the one side, and the loftier long

wall-like range of the Campsie Fells on the other, are the most prominent of the nearer objects. Between these all the land is devoted to agriculture, with the exception of a portion of the heights between Baldernock Church and the Blane, where the moorcock's note may be heard in August, and where a few roe-deer may sometimes be seen. These heights bear evidence of having been, at some long distant time, well clothed with wood; heath and coarse natural grasses are now their only covering, unless at a few spots where modern plantations of forest trees have again superseded the humbler occupants of the soil.

Until towards the end of last century, when the spirit of land improvement and road making revived, the principal line of thoroughfare between Dumbarton and Stirling—towns long among the chief in Scotland—passed in a straighter course than now; namely, by Old Kilpatrick, Duntocher, Longfauld, Barloch (Milngavie), and Baldernock, into the Campsie and Kilsyth valley. From Baldernock Church another road led right north to the Blane valley, and near that road, about 1200 yards from the church, are to be seen the ruins of Craigmaddie Castle, known to have been occupied during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the Galbraith family, and believed to have been, in much more early times, a fortified place of some importance, and the centre of a considerable rural population. Near it, eastward, is the famous object called locally "The Auld Wives' Lift," and in some of the maps "Druidical Cromlech." South and eastward a little farther are the lands and houses called Bardowie, Blochairn, Blairskaith, and Fluchter. On these lands stone cairns and earth tumuli, large and small, have been levelled down or removed to supply materials for fences, or to make way for the plough, and many large memorial stones have been removed for the same purposes. A few of the old mounds and stones remain, and, probably, are worthy of investigation by those who still wish to examine such things.

The worthy clergyman who wrote the *Statistical Account of Baldernock* in 1794, recorded that—" not far from thence (Craigmaddie Castle) to the eastward, are several of those large loose heaps of stone called cairns, some of them oblong, and others of a circular shape. One of the circular ones not yet broken up, is about eighty yards in circumference. At the bottom of two that have been broken up, there appeared large flags placed on edge, in two parallel rows, three or four feet apart, lidded over with flags laid across, and the

cavity thus formed divided by partitions into cells of six or seven feet long. In one of the long cairns lately broken up were found fragments of a large coarsely fabricated urn, and some pieces of human bones. Tradition says that in this place, called Craigmaddie Moor, a battle was fought with the Danes, in which one of their princes was slain." There are still living in the district men who recollect the removal or levelling down of earth mounds which stood in fields near these cairns, and the disinterment of urns and flagstones.

Memorial stones and mounds, and cists and cinerary urns, are subjects with which archæologists, here and everywhere, are familiar. So common are they, and so much have they been written about, that it may seem almost trifling with this Society to submit to their notice specimens of the contents of the little mound in this locality, or to offer any remarks regarding them. Still, the subject is not altogether without interest, although it may have ceased to be one ready to excite discussion among well read antiquarians.

The specimens before us consist of portions of a clay urn, with a piece of bone and a bronze arrow-head, or lance head, and its rivet, found in that urn. Three urns of the same sort and size stood in line about a foot apart. No metal nor article, except black earth and small fragments of bone, with traces of more bone, was found in the urns besides this arrow-head and its rivet. A flagstone was below them, but no stone of the kind at the sides nor ends, nor over them. Their shape was that of a round jar, about seven inches in diameter and eight inches deep, narrowing at the mouth, hardly at all ornamented, unless with slight scratches and a small bead moulding. They were accidentally discovered at the depth of only two feet from the road surface, but there had been a little cutting formerly for the road in passing the mound. The object of the digging in the present instance was to improve the road level, there being beyond the height a little hollow, and beyond the hollow another height,—probably a larger and yet inviolate tumulus. Earth was being taken from the two heights to fill up the hollow. The workman who found the arrow-head, supposing it likely to be of more valuable material than bronze, tried to clear away its rust, and a portion at the point was broken off in the process.

The prevailing idea during last century and the first quarter of the present one, was that sepulchral mounds and cairns, and particularly cromlechs and other standing stones, were Druidical. The

books of the time taught that all such old things as were not in accordance with things then usual, were either Roman or Druidical. French writers indulged largely, and more learnedly than our own, in corresponding speculation. Since then, however, researches extended over much of the continents of Europe, Asia, and America, have shown that the area of such monuments is vastly broader than had been supposed, and that in early times, as now, corresponding customs had prevailed in many, or in most countries. Incremation, urns, and tumuli, had been but the fashion of a period. It may have been that in our own country rock altars and cromlechs, sacred groves and the sacrifice of human victims, belonged only to the Druids. Many and strange have been the speculations of inquiring minds about the mysterious British Druids. We may turn, if we wish to know more of these ghostly fathers, to Mr. Pratt's little book, for he undertakes "to give a synoptical history of them, gathering into as brief a compass as possible the principal statements which in modern times have been made respecting them—the ancient historical evidence—the more recent monumental discoveries, and the probable reasons for believing that the Druidical system was a corruption of primitive and revealed truth."

Mr. Pratt addresses himself to general readers, and mentions that his sketch is compiled from Toland and Huddlestone, Davies, Jones, Wilson, Worsaae, Hibbert, and a few others, including Dr. Lindsay Alexander's recent book on Iona. Very little reference is made to ancient classical evidence, although a few statements by Cæsar, Pliny, Cicero, Suetonius, and Strabo are entered; two lines are quoted from Virgil's Æneid about the mistletoe; also, a short sentence from Tacitus about Druid's houses, one from Diodorus Siculus about sacrifices, and one from Lucan about the bards. In one paragraph he refers to Giraldus, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, and the Welsh Triads; and in another to the Edda. He relies chiefly on the Welsh bards and the Triads, as commented on by Davies and Toland.

To call this brochure a *Synoptical History of the Druids*, containing the principal statements and evidences, ancient and modern, about them, may be somewhat ridiculous; and it might have been thought unnecessary to expend much time in trying to persuade people that the Druidical system was a corruption of primitive and revealed truth; for all believe that "God made man perfect, but he found out many inventions." Every system of religion which has

deviated from primitive truth is therefore so far corrupt. Yet Mr. Pratt's essay has an aim and a conclusion of very interesting nature. He wants to show by "inductive reasoning from the few facts that remain to us," that Davies is right in believing the religious system of the Druids to be "originally *Arkite*, embracing the memory of the great preservation from the Deluge, and the idolatrous worship given to Noah, his ark, and his family." But waxing warm with the idea, he becomes enthusiastic, and, proceeding to make out that the word Druid is a Celtic term for magician, exclaims—"Here, then, we have the first fact on which to establish our superstructure—Druid and Magician—Druidity and Magic are convertible terms." Next he makes them astronomers and astrologers as well as magicians, and thinks he has evidence enough that "the Druids, the Eastern magi, and the Chaldean astrologers, were only different titles for one and the same class of men"—in short, that the magi, or wise men of the East "probably were Druids, who detected the star which indicated the fulfilment of Balaam's prophecy." He believes, because the Welsh Triads tell him, that "Noah was called Hu or Hee, the sun, the Pryddian or glancing Hu—the sovereign of heaven—the victorious Bel." He believes also the old story of the name *Beltane* being from Bel, and the feast in honour of the great Bel, symbolizing either the Flood or the heavenly bodies. He believes in Dr. Smith's "grand orrery of the Druids at Stonehenge—in cromlechs being places of worship so called by the Celts—in the mystical cauldron of the Druids—in their sacrifices of human victims, as alleged by Cæsar and Pliny (who confessed that they wrote from hearsay)—and in the Druids having an Archdruid and four inferior orders of priests; the authority for the first being Cæsar, who, on being referred to, is found to say—"His autem omnibus Druidibus prœest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem;" so that the preses priest may have been a Druid pope, and as for the cardinals and other subordinates he only knows of them from Toland. Moreover, our author believes in the other old story about the Maypole as being a Druidical institution, and is convinced that Hallow Fires (perhaps also Hallowe'en and Hallow Fair) were Druidical; and as for the sacred mistletoe, he makes conscience of it that this was eminently Druidical. About as assuredly he is satisfied that the Druids wore tartan or striped breeks (braccæ) "as still worn by the Highlanders of Scotland," only of somewhat longer make, and of six colours, over which they "had on a white surplice whenever they religiously officiated," and gold chains. To follow him over the

rest of his creed would be to tax the patience of the meeting, for his creed and his credulity seem co-extensive—rather wider and larger than usual. Leaving details, therefore, we come back to his conclusions, viz., that "the religious rites of the Celts, Scandinavians, and Teutons all sprang from one common source," and showed themselves but branches of the great stream which flowed from Asia into Europe, separating and again meeting, with characteristics of their original nature still sufficient to mark their kindred.

Mr. Pratt's train of reasoning may be thought illogical, ill supported, and unsatisfactory;—we may nevertheless feel willing to coincide with him in the result here stated. The idea is not a new one, but it is natural, and consistent with a course of well attested facts in the history of European nations and of mankind.

The many writers in this and other countries who have laboured to elaborate the scanty and obscure notices of the old Romans, and to construct from them and from observed remains interesting Druidical theories, have either not known or not ventured to account for the abundance of similar remains along the shores of the Baltic and the Black Sea, in Persia, in India, in Mexico, in Honduras, and on the banks of the Mississippi.

Earth pyramids in England (as Silbury Hill, 170 feet high), smaller loose stone pyramids in Scotland, and huge ashlar stone pyramids in Egypt, may be equally assumed to have been constructed in honour of the opulent or otherwise greatly distinguished dead. Sepulchral mounds of all sizes, covering stone altars or only clay urns, may be reasonably supposed as intended to mark the last remains of those who had been respected in their lives, and whom their country or tribe, comrades or family, wished to be long kept in remembrance. We may conceive, as indeed we learn from old writers, that after battles the dead were sometimes placed on the ground surface in an oblong heap, and earth was raised over them, and afterwards the descendants of the victors added more earth. But the ordinary people of any country cannot be supposed, under common circumstances, to have been interred so ostentatiously or expensively. When, therefore, many cairns or mounds appear in one neighbourhood, we have to assume that either a battle has been fought, and the victors have seen fit to raise monuments at various places on the field, or that a large population had dwelt there, and that those structures point out the resting places of their great men, or otherwise, that the locality, having been deemed holy by the

inhabitants of adjoining districts, had been selected as their favourite cemetery.

The practice of depositing weapons of war, or articles of personal ornament, along with human remains has been about as extensively prevalent as the erection of stone and earth monuments. The reasons for it are probably only such as influence mankind to many unnecessary acts, thoughts, feelings, and habits, differing at different times—namely, the fancy or fashion of the period. The origin may have been of a sacred character, appealing to some religious ideas, or social, and denoting merely veneration for the deceased. We lament the absence of inscriptions to tell us more about the monuments and about the people who raised them. When and by whom they were constructed is a question we would like to have, but never yet have had satisfactorily answered. Authentic history fails to inform us distinctly, and the conjectures of our best authors in modern times—plausible and probable—have been, like pleadings in a court of law, controverted by opposing conjectures, equally probable. Possibly the truth may lie somewhere between.

Meanwhile, as to the particular relics before us, we may offer, with all submission, the following short remarks.

It has been laboriously tried by writers in this country and abroad to establish a good theory of eras or periods by classifying the tangible remains of antiquity, and exhibiting the general history of mankind in progressive stages of civilization,—as the stone, the bronze, the iron, and the Christian periods. The results, however, have been signally unsatisfactory. Alternating prosperity and adversity have been the lot of all communities; and even in periods of the highest national wealth individuals or multitudes are still poor. While the rich are furnished with the most refined works of high art, the poor supply themselves with implements and utensils of rude and homely character. It is useless to argue that because arrow-heads of flint or bronze have come up from old graves, nobody in that district, at the same time, could have been possessed of a shining steel sword blade. We have to recollect that if the steel article had been deposited with the others it would moulder into powder or clay long before they became decomposed. A poor peasant might not be able to make or to purchase an iron axe, or chisel, or arrow-head; but he could by his own labour upon stone produce things almost equally serviceable. Bronze articles may not have been possessed abundantly by all classes, being more expensive than iron ones, yet

their quality of not requiring labour and care to keep them from deterioration by rust, and perhaps their showy gold-like colour under high polish, may have induced a desire for their acquisition. It seems absurd to assume that bronze was used prior to a time when people knew how to manufacture iron, or that the people of this country at any period were not acquainted with the simple uses of their own commonest ores, nor in communication with other people beyond seas who knew the capabilities of the metals.

Bronze articles found in Britain in ancient tombs have been frequently subjected to chemical analysis, and compared with similar articles found in other countries. The differences have been wonderfully small, and only serve to show that the composition had been the result of careful experiments for obtaining the desired qualities. Generally there has been ascertained about 85 to 88 per cent. of copper, and the rest tin and a little lead; this mixture producing the hardness, tenacity, and light colour of the bronze used for weapons.

As naturally arising from the subject, we may, in conclusion, offer the following explanations as to the names of the places where these relics were found.

The parochial statist of 1794 wondered "when the name Bathernock came to be written Baldernock," and, sheltering himself under the venerable authority of Tacitus and Mela, he ventured to affirm that old women "once lived together in sisterhoods, in sequestered spots, devoting their time to the offices of Druidical worship, and popularly called Auld Wives." Upon the supposition of this and of their wonderful "Lift," he assumed that *Baldernock* was a corruption of *Baldruinich*, which, he said, signified in the Celtic language, *Town belonging to the Druids*. His successor, as statist, in 1841, deemed the conclusion "highly probable." The Rev. Mr. M'Gregor, Stirling, an enthusiastic historian of Stirlingshire, affirms (see page 745 of his book), that *Blochairn* is Gaelic, and means *milk and bread*, and (page 63), *Cartenbenach*, an old name of Craigmaddie, means *field of blessing*. In his opinion, also, the place must have been Druidical, especially taking into account the *Auld Wives;* and matching them with *Carlston*, which, he says, is Gaelic for a "*town of auld men*," and points to another Druidical "settlement in this quarter." Dion Cassius, writing in the third century, averred that the Caledonians had their women in common; Herodian, in the fourth century, that the men and women of this country went about then, summer and *winter, without* any clothing; and St. Jerome, in the fifth century,

when sent as a missionary to Argyleshire, declined to remain long, because, according to his account, the natives ate human flesh. These averments, and much of what we read about the Druids, may be alike true, or they may be only alike fanciful, and intended for effect, as marvellous stories which travellers like to tell, and home-folks like to hear. Passing by the Druids, therefore, whose domain, for anything we know, may never have extended so far north as to Scotland, we think the following more probable interpretations of the words:—

Baldernock is the same with Bathernock, the letter *l* being in frequent use only to lengthen the vowel before it, and the *d* to be converted into the *th; dorn* passing into English, as *thorn*, and taking, in combination, the sound *dern* or *thern;* and the adjectival termination, *ich*, *ig*, *ik*, or *ock*, according to variety of dialect. Thus we have a town or set of buildings like a small village or a farm steading, in a locality where there were more brambles, briars, whins, or other rough plants growing than usual; or, *Dern* may be Daaren, the Norse word for deer, and Baldernock would then denote buildings in a place frequented by deer. *Cartenbenach* may give us the Saxon *Kaer*, or Danish *Gaard*, or German *Gard*, all originally pronounced alike, and meaning a castle or any building having an enclosed court; and *benach*, strong of bone, to imply that the castle has been strongly built. *Craigmaddie*, the other name of the place, may indicate Maiden Craig, as a popular boast of the strength of the fortress. *Bardowie*, Bal-Er-dui, the proprietor's house in a lovely or shaded situation. *Er* is the same as *Herr*, and *dui* was an adjective common to the Celts and the Scandinavians and other Teutons—its present form with the latter is *dunkel*. *Blochairn*, Baloch-Ern, houses belonging to the lord of the manor. *Blairskaith*, Bal-Er-Skaith, indicates a place where the proprietor had suffered loss, as in a battle. *Fluchtart*, or *Fluchter*, the place or course of the flight. The Saxon or Danish etymons are *flucht*, flight; *fluchten*, to fly; also *flugt* and *flygte*. *Carlston* may have been the servants' or slaves' house; or if built later than the days of bondage, the Farmer's houses, or Charles's houses, or lot of land.

NO. XIV.

ON THE REMAINS OF A VITRIFIED FORT, OR SITE, IN THE ISLAND OF CUMBRAE, WITH NOTES ON THE VITRIFIED FORTS OF BERIGONIUM, GLEN NEVIS, CRAIG PHADRICK, PORTENCROSS, AND BUTE:

BY

WILLIAM KEDDIE, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 7th January*, 1862.]

The most conspicuous monuments of the past in the Cumbrae Isles are geological rather than archæological. The two lofty trap dykes rising through the sandstone rocks, on the south side of the larger island, are memorials of a period when the land was elevated above the water to a height indicated by their altitude above the present high-tide level. The remarkable network of similar dykes traversing the island points to a period still more remote in geological time, when the sedimentary deposits of sandstone (probably belonging to the old red series), enveloping the shores of the mainland, were broken up by the intrusion of rocks of igneous origin, now constituting the whole of the lesser island, with the exception of a few patches of sandstone on the southern shore, showing that before their removal by denudation, the beds of these sedimentary strata were continuous with those seen in section on the tall wooded cliffs of Hunterston and Portencross. But the Cumbraes are not devoid of objects of antiquarian interest associated with the human era. Several tumuli on the islands are usually assigned to the period of the Danish invasion under Haco of Norway, in 1263. A tumulus or cairn of loose stones on the shore of the larger island, opposite to Largs, has been opened and partly dispersed. One of several cairns on the little island, was examined about half a century ago by the then Earl of Eglinton; and two of the inhabitants of Millport, still living, who were present on the occasion, remember that human bones and teeth, together with some pieces of armour, were taken out of the excavation. The square tower or peel, occupying a peninsula on the south

side of the little island, although of considerable antiquity, evidently belongs to a later age than the supposed Danish relics. The most elevated portion of this island is surmounted by the old lighthouse tower, which was erected in 1750, being illuminated by the primitive expedient of burning coals in a grating upon the summit. The tower is strongly constructed, and may stand for ages, to contrast the earliest method of warning off vessels at sea from this exposed and iron-bound coast, with the improved apparatus subsequently employed in the Cumbrae and other lighthouses; and when its original history has been forgotten, and the lichen-covered walls have been converted by the future archæologist into the remains of an ancient feudal keep, and associated with the memories of roving pirates and chieftains of the isles, the future geologist will be not a little interested in the thick deposit of fragments of coal and cinders surrounding the edifice, and which will no doubt suggest to his equally vivid fancy the unexpected discovery in this isolated spot of an outlier of the great coal formation, extending from the valley of the Clyde into the adjacent territory of Ayrshire. In addition to these antiquities, present and prospective, the good people of Millport are in the habit of pointing out the remains of a cathedral, which tradition assigns to a secluded nook behind the village; but when the supposed ruins were examined, they were found to be composed of huge fragments of a trap dyke, abutting upon a valley where the sea has evidently once flowed, and bounding a ridge behind the village, which elevation was at that period probably insulated, like one of the chain of islets now closing in the bay of Millport, and named the Allens. At the further extremity of this valley, in an upland wood traversed by the Ferry Road, there is a prostrate monolith, which in its erect position was an attractive object to visitors to the island in former years. This venerable monument, which it would cost little to restore to the upright position, was overturned a few years since by some mischievous persons from Glasgow.

The islands and their shores possess many attractions to the student of natural history. The writer and a friend resident in Millport were taking their last botanical walk at the close of September, 1861, after having devoted the most of the leisure of two seasons to examining the flowering and other plants of Cumbrae, when they came accidentally upon the remains of a structure of still greater antiquity than the memorials of the Scandinavians, and belonging not to the historic, but to the pre-historic age. As Macculloch, the

geological explorer of the Clyde and western islands, would have phrased it, in his antithetical manner, they were in quest of a fungus, and they stumbled upon a fort. Behind the Ferry-house opposite to the west end of Largs, a mound rises abruptly, formed by the termination of one of the largest of the trap dykes which cross the island, and rendered conspicuous on the shore by being densely clothed with trees and brushwood. On a previous visit, the occurrence on the declivity of the mound of some pieces of burnt and vesicular stone, resembling the scoriæ thrown out of the steamboats, merely suggested a passing thought as to how they could be conveyed to this isolated ridge; but on the present occasion attention was attracted not only to scattered pieces of scorified stone, but to fragments of different kinds of rock, and especially of sandstone and greenstone or trap, agglutinated together by the fusion of the latter mineral. Some degree of familiarity with similar appearances in the vitrified forts or sites of the West Highlands induced us to examine the face of the mound, in the hope of discovering that these fragments had been detached from a vitrified wall. Nor was our search in vain; although faintly traceable in some places, and covered over by a deep deposit of soil in others, portions of the wall were readily detected. The outline of the structure could be followed along the verge of the cliff overlooking the sea, and on the opposite part of the ridge, forming two sides of a parallelogram; the lower side being only partially indicated, while the upper was lost in the accumulated soil, and overgrown with trees and brambles. Fragments separated from the wall (here exhibited) possess the characteristic marks common to specimens from the vitrified forts at Berigonium, Craig Phadrick, Glen Nevis, and Bute, (also produced for the purpose of comparison). The constituents are portions of the neighbouring rocks, of moderate size, principally trap, with inclosed fragments of sandstone; limestone, which also occurs in the island, not having been detected. The vitrified external surface bears some resemblance to the slag of an iron-smelting furnace, or to a coarse black glass. Some portions of the trap are porous and vesicular, from the escape of gases in the process of fusion, and so light as to be capable of floating on water; others are compact, exhibiting a smooth glossy fracture; and not unfrequently, in edifices of this description, the fused trap, on slowly cooling, has assumed the prismatic or columnar form. Of the different vitrified forts already named, that of Cumbrae is on the smallest scale. Its exact dimensions could not be ascertained with-

out excavating, for which there was no opportunity. The singularity of the structure had, it appears, attracted the attention of a farmer or a ferryman in the neighbourhood many years ago, and who, it has been ascertained, had dug into the walls in the hope of discovering hidden treasure,—a fruitless process, which must have considerably diminished the little that remained of this interesting relic of antiquity. The walls seem to have been of moderate thickness; the inner and outer surfaces are equally vitrified, the fusion having extended for several inches inwards, and the interior betwixt the two vitrified surfaces is occupied, as in some more extensive edifices, by loose unburnt stones.

The origin and uses of vitrified forts or sites gave rise to much discussion at the close of the last, and early in the present century, and the subject is still involved in obscurity. The existence of such edifices was first brought under public attention by Mr. John Williams, civil engineer and surveyor, in 1773; and it is mentioned by the author of the *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, that the novelty of the discovery led to its being "generally received at first as an extravagant fiction, and no London publisher could be persuaded to undertake the publication of Mr. Williams's *Account*," which, however, appeared in 1777. Mr. Williams suggested, as the most probable method of vitrification, that a mound of earth was raised on each side of the intended wall, and the cavity filled with firewood and stones, which would produce a sufficient heat to accomplish the desired effect. Dr. Macculloch, who, as a chemist and mineralogist, took an active part in the controversy, adopted the view of Mr. Williams. "It is not," he says, "easy to conceive a plan capable of producing these effects, and certainly none more feasible than the suggestion of Mr. Williams. With him I am inclined to suppose that a sort of furnace was constructed of a double earthen wall, in which the materials were placed, with such a quantity of wood as was sufficient to excite a strong heat, and that this operation was repeated till the wall had gained its wished-for elevation. The earthen furnace in which the Africans fuse their ores seems to countenance this supposition;" and in further support of this conjecture, he mentions, on the authority of a French engineer, quoted in *Nicholson's Journal*, a similar method of building practised in Hindostan. "In this process a wall of brickearth is erected, which is then surrounded by a coffer filled with combustibles. As the combustion proceeds, fresh fuel is added, until the whole wall is baked

into one solid brick." Supposing that this method had been adopted in the construction of vitrified forts, it is now generally admitted that the wood employed as a combustible, would furnish a sufficient proportion of potash for the reduction of the siliceous rocks employed as building materials, and for the formation of those silicates which are found coating and agglutinating the constituent masses of the vitrified walls, specimens such as those exhibited being of frequent occurrence, resembling the slag of the iron furnace, which is a silicate of lime and alumina. But in the forts, generally, the most fusible ingredient employed is trap or greenstone. The fusibility of this substance is indeed so great as to have suggested to Dr. Francis H. Thomson its applicability as a flux in his patent process for the smelting of copper ores. In a statement furnished to the author of the *Prehistoric Annals*, Dr. Thomson says—"Whinstone contains at least four per cent. of pure soda, fifteen of iron, and from twelve to twenty of lime. All these form a most fusible mixture, and the silica present is only in such proportion as is necessary for vitrification. Limestone is of itself not fusible except at a very high temperature; but the addition of either iron or soda with silica renders it at once vitreous. Although I am not certain as to the exact degree of heat requisite for the fusion of these materials, I may mention that in an ordinary reverberatory furnace, I have fused five cwt. of whinstone in one hour and a-half, the product being a dark mass similar to bottle glass; and I have no doubt, were proper precautions taken, that large slabs might easily be moulded for building purposes." The specimens on the table, from forts in various parts of the country, contain fragments of greenstone, sandstone, granite, gneiss, mica-slate, clay-slate, quartz, felspar, amygdaloid, and probably altered limestone, &c.; but while all of these substances exhibit in a greater or less degree the effects of the action of intense heat, insomuch as to render it often difficult to identify their original mineralogical character, the trap alone gives uniform evidence of thorough fusion, exhibiting every variety of condition from that of coarse glass to pumice-stone.

Other theories of the origin of these structures seem less reconcilable with the appearances they present than the hypothesis of Mr. Williams and Dr. Macculloch. Mr. Fraser Tytler, (Lord Woodhouselee), was of opinion that the walls might have been originally constructed of stone and wood united, and that accidental fire, or the attack of an enemy, had destroyed the composite edifice, producing in

consequence the vitrification now traceable in the ruins. Dr. Hibbert, who directed his attention to the subject at the request of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, came to the conclusion that the vitrification resulted accidentally from the burning of beacon fires as the signals of wars or invasions, and of bonfires on the occasion of religious observances and festive rejoicings. Williams and Macculloch had espoused the view that these edifices were constructed for purposes of defence; but Hibbert rejected the name of forts—applied to them by their discoverer—and proposed to designate them simply as vitrified sites. Sir George Mackenzie, of Coul, likewise ascribed the vitrification to the effects of beacon fires. There are between forty and fifty vitrified structures known in Scotland, to which country they may be regarded as being almost peculiar, none having been discovered in England (although Macculloch mentions the instance of a single vitrified wall in an ancient house in Shropshire), and only two in Ireland, viz., one in Donegal and one in Meath. On Lord Woodhouselee's conjecture, it is extremely improbable that the same uniform result should have been produced by accidental and temporary burnings upon so large a number of structures, spread over no fewer than twelve Scottish counties, and exhibiting, in many cases, the effects of heat penetrating the walls to the extent of several feet; and the improbability is not diminished when it is considered that no such vitrification is effected in modern cities by the conflagration of piles of building containing perhaps scarcely less wood and stone than all the vitrified forts of Scotland put together. Even in lime kilns, where greenstone and other less fusible rocks are kept in contact for years together, with powerful heat, and where the lime must frequently be brought to a temperature favourable to its action upon the more refractory earths, the vitrification observed on the inner walls is very partial and superficial. The same objection applies to Dr. Hibbert's supposition, ascribing the effect to bonfires and beacon fires. Some of the forts, to be afterwards noticed, consist of walls from six to twelve feet in thickness, showing traces of heat throughout, and measuring several hundred feet in length. The walls are usually built close upon the precipitous ridges of a hill, and often follow the sinuosities of its outline, leaving the utmost available space between, with the least possible standing-room outside. Within these inclosures vast bonfires might have been lighted without their reaching the walls by several yards. But the situation of many of the forts precludes the idea of their having been intended or used for signals. It has been taken

for granted by those writers who maintain that such was their purpose, that they occupy the loftiest situations, and were visible from each other. On the contrary, some are so entangled amongst hills as to render it impossible that their signals could be visible at a distance. The fort in Glen Nevis is absolutely concealed by its position. Ben Nevis bars the view abruptly on the opposite side of the valley, and the prospect towards Loch Eil is closed in by the windings at the opening of the glen. Only on the eastward, the fort looks out upon the summits of a range of mountains, and is otherwise most unfavourably situated either for giving or receiving signals. The nearest known fort is that of Torduin, occupying the summit of a low hill at the extremity of Loch Oich, on the Caledonian Canal; but the fort in Glen Nevis is completely cut off, by its peculiar position, from any connection with this or the other forts in the Great Glen; nor is there any apparent reason for supposing, as is usually done, that a light on the low hill of Torduin could be visible at Dun Jardil, or Dungeardal, on Loch Ness, from which it is separated by more than five miles of intervening hills; although it is not improbable that Dun Jardil might have signalled to the fort at Craig Phadrick, at the northern extremity of Loch Ness, and thus have communicated with the shores of the Moray Frith. The well-known fort of Berigonium, at the opening of Loch Etive, occupies the summit of a long narrow hill of inconsiderable height, rising from a flat alluvial plain. The site has all the appearance of having been chosen with a view to its defensible position; and is about a quarter of a mile from a lofty hill which would have commanded an extensive district of country, including the Linnhe Loch, Loch Creran, and Loch Etive, had the object been to obtain a suitable point for signals. The vitrified remains in the Kyles of Bute, known as the Burnt Island, occupy a small insular site only a few feet above the sea-level, chosen apparently on account of its obscurity: as a post of observation it could have had no communication even with the fort on the opposite or south end of the isle of Bute. These remarks on the want of apparent connection between the forts in this district are limited to instances which have come under the writer's own observation; but the same absence of the means of communication has been noticed in the relative position of the forts scattered through other parts of the country.

The subject of vitrified forts did not escape the attention of the *late Mr. Hugh* Miller, who, in common with Williams, Macculloch,

and Hibbert, was able to bring his knowledge of geology to bear on the subject. A description of the vitrified rampart of Knock Farril, at Strathpeffer, embodied in the *Rambles of a Geologist*, contains the following remarks on the theory of Sir George Mackenzie, and which apply equally to the corresponding view of Dr. Hibbert:—"He (Sir George) held that the vitrification is simply an effect of the ancient beacon fires kindled to warn the country of an invading enemy. But how account, on this hypothesis, for ramparts continuous, as in the case of Knock Farril, all round the hill? A powerful fire long kept up might well fuse a heap of loose stones into a solid mass; the bonfire lighted on the summit of Arthur's Seat in 1842,* to welcome the Queen on her first visit to Scotland, fused numerous detached fragments of basalt, and imparted, in some spots to the depth of about an inch, a vesicular structure to the solid rock beneath. But no fire, however powerful, could have constructed a rampart running without break for several hundred feet round an insulated hill-top." Sir George imagined that particular exigencies might require signal fires to be lighted simultaneously at different points within the walls, and hence the vitrification would become continuous. "This, I am afraid (says Mr. Miller) is still very unsatisfactory. A fire lighted along the entire line of a wall inclosing nearly an acre of area could not be other than a very attenuated, wire-drawn line of fire indeed, and could never possess strength enough to melt the ponderous mass of rampart beneath, as if it had been formed of wax or resin. A thousand loads of wood piled in a ring round the summit of Knock Farril, and set at once into a blaze, would wholly fail to affect the broad rampart below; and long ere even a thousand, or half a thousand loads could have been cut down, collected, and fired, an invading enemy would have found time enough to have moored his fleet and land his forces, and possess himself of the lower country. Again, the unbroken continuity of the vitrified line militates against the signal system theory. Fire trod so closely upon the heels of fire, that the vitrescency induced by the one fire impinged on and mingled with the vitrescency induced by the others beside it. There is no

* This notable bonfire was constructed under the direction of the present distinguished Professor of Engineering in the University of Glasgow, Dr. W. J. Macquorn Rankine. It consisted of 26 tons of wood and 26 tons of coal—52 tons of combustible materials in all. The turf was removed from the summit of the hill, and formed into radiating lines or ridges six inches in height, and twelve inches apart, leaving a circular series of air passages. The fire was lighted at seven o'clock in the evening, and the entire mass was consumed by four o'clock next morning. It was consumed at the rate of six tons per hour, or 13,440 lbs per hour, or 60 lbs of fuel per square foot per hour; being greatly beyond the rate of combustion in an ordinary furnace. The highly oxidizable ferruginous basalt at the top of the hill, where I have been to-day, March 1, 1862, retains no perceptible trace of the vesicular surface produced by the intense heat of the bonfire.—W. K.

other mode of accounting for the continuity of the fusion;"—and the author further suggests that, on Sir George's supposition of different fires being lighted at once in various parts of the inclosure, each signal denoting a different piece of intelligence, any such differences could not have been detected by day at half a mile from the hill, and at night their respective significations would have been confounded at the distance of a very few miles. Mr. Miller was inclined to think that Williams's theory was "the true one in the main," although he considered that it might be modified and improved by Sir George Mackenzie's. Regarding hill-forts as the first attempt at fortification in a mountainous country, it might be supposed that such of them as had been constructed on conspicuous positions, would in a later age be selected as stations for beacon fires; that partial vitrification would be produced by successive burnings; and that the effect thus produced by accident being observed by the guardians of the stations, would at length suggest the practicability of fusing the entire ramparts by the same method. "And so, in course of time," concludes Mr. Miller, "simply by shifting the beacon fires, and bringing them to bear in succession on every part of the wall, Knock Farril, with many a similar eminence in the country, comes to exhibit its completely vitrified fort where there had been but a loosely piled hill-fort before." This theory is plausible, but in order to render it satisfactory, it must be made to account for the existence of those vitrified walls, which, from their position, could never have been employed as signal stations. It is of course not improbable that the first ideas of the vitrifying process were suggested in some such way as is here indicated, and that it was matured by experience into a regular art; but this supposition just brings us back to the original theory promulgated by Williams, which, on a view of the whole question appears, as Mr. Miller has said, to be in the main the true one. It may be taken for granted that the precise method by which the cementation of stones in building was effected in ancient times, will always remain a matter of conjecture; but the knowledge of the principle involved in the process is as old as the art of glass-making; and although the mode of operation of the fort-builders must be consigned to the category of the *artes deperditæ Scotiæ*, it is not the less true of this and other lost arts, that the science of the present day could achieve the same results by less operose methods; and that were it deemed necessary for the purpose of defending the living or desirable for commemorating the dead, the modern chemist would

experience no insuperable difficulty in devising a process for constructing a vitrified fort, nor the modern engineer in heaping up piles of masonry which should rival the Pyramids of Egypt.

Some notice will now be taken of the more notable of the forts to which reference has been made. One of the best known is that of Dun Macsniochan, the name given to a long double-topped rocky eminence rising on the pebbly beach of the bay of Ardnamucknish, at the opening of Loch Etive. About four hundred yards to the north-east is a bold range of cliffs of conglomerate, known as Cragan Righ, or the King's Rock, the intermediate space being occupied by part of the flat alluvial plain bounding the Loch, and in contrast with which the eminence acquires an insular aspect. The castle of Dunstaffnage is situated on the opposite shore of the loch, and the surrounding scenery is not surpassed in grandeur and variety in the Western Highlands. The vitrified fort occupies the whole of the upper surface of the hill. To this spot tradition or modern invention assigns the site of the ancient Pictish capital of Berigonium. Bellenden affirms that Fergus "beildit the castell of Berigone in Lochquhaber;" but Lochaber lies at a distance of several miles from the shores of Loch Etive; and while Boëce referred *R*erigonium, mentioned by Ptolemy, to Galloway, Camden gave Berigonium to Carrick. Dr. Jamieson treats the name Berigonium, also written Beregomum, as a misnomer. "There is not," he says, "a vestige in the language or traditions of the country, that this castle ever bore a name that had the slightest resemblance of this. The only Gaelic name by which the pretended Berigonium is known is Dun Macsniochan, or Dun Macsnichan. As Sniochan is supposed to be a patronymic, the designation may signify 'the fortified hill of the son of Sniochan or Snachan.'" Dr. Jamieson is inclined to think that the name is of Norwegian rather than of Celtic origin. A pavement is said to have existed between the hill and the neighbouring ridge, and the remains of water-pipes are, on equally doubtful authority, reported to have been found in the peat moss. The same dubiety, however, does not attach to the upper half of an ancient quern or hand-mill (the *muilean bradh* of the Highlanders), now produced, which was dug out of the moss near the fort a few years ago, and was obtained for the writer by Mr. Campbell, the intelligent Post-Office keeper at Ledaig. A monolith of schistose rock, seven feet high, apparently a memorial stone, stands solitarily in the flat plain, at a short distance from the hill. Pennant says of Dun Macsniochan,

"The hill is doubtless the work of a volcano, of which this is not the only vestige in Great Britain;" an observation not more remarkable for its ignorance and credulity than the legend of the common people, that Berigonium was destroyed by fire from heaven. Yet Dr. Garnet, a chemist and physicist, of some note in his day, who travelled in the Highlands in 1798, repeats and adopts Pennant's statement of the volcanic origin of the hill, and actually gives Linnæan names to the different descriptions of scoriæ.

The hill, which is probably not more than 150 feet high, consists of mingled strata of limestone and schistose rock—the limestone predominating. It is nearly precipitous on three of its sides, one of which is washed by the sea; at the end furthest from the water it ascends from the plain by an easy acclivity. The walls of the fort occupy the upper surface of the hill, so as nearly to cover the principal and precipitous part of it to the very edge. The works consist of two principal divisions, each forming a parallelogram, with a space betwixt them, in which no remains of a wall can now be detected. Macculloch, who described the structure in the *Geological Transactions* in 1814, and adopted the view of the defensive character of vitrified forts, gives the outlines of three distinct works, two of which are cut off by a cross wall; but his sketch of the ground plan, assuming its accuracy forty-eight years ago, can no longer be traced. His description of the works is as follows:—"The greater portion of the hill being occupied by two of these works, the strongest part was cut off by a wall from the more accessible end, thus forming a sort of citadel or place of retreat at the last extremity. To occupy and defend the vulnerable side of this position, the outer work appears to have been placed without the principal area, that from it the enemy might be seen and opposed in every part of his ascent. This disposition bears incontrovertible marks of military design and experience. Were a modern engineer," he adds, "to defend Dun Macsniochan, he could do little more than build a fort to occupy the ground and contain his men, erecting an outwork to command the approach." The west and most inaccessible division measured 180 feet in length, the breadth varying from 90 to 30 feet, an inequality accounted for by the walls following the sinuosities of the summit. This inclosure, while communicating with the other division, appears to have been approachable also from the plain by a narrow passage excavated in the side of the hill, and which has received the name of *Beallachna Baunrigh*, the Queen's Pass. The second or eastern division measured 240 feet in length,

with an average breadth of about 60 feet. The portion of the walls laid bare for the present admeasurement we found to be twelve feet thick. The effects of the action of heat can be traced throughout the mass, although the vitrification is most distinctly seen on the outer and inner surface of the wall, and for a foot or so in the interior mass. The strength of the ramparts is nowhere so manifest as at the angle of two of the walls, where the mass is agglutinated and indurated throughout, presenting an appearance of indestructible durability. Macculloch is of opinion that the vitrification was not carried upwards more than a few feet, the upper portion of the wall being constructed of loose stones; and this idea certainly derives probability from the circumstance observed in the present instance, and still more particularly at Glen Nevis and Craig Phadrick, that in the debris rolled down from the dilapidated walls, a large portion of the stones exhibit no appearance whatever of having been acted upon by fire. The writer named conjectured, from the quantity of loose stones found at the base of the walls, that the entire height might not exceed five feet;—"nor indeed," he remarks, "would a work which was intended for defence from within admit of a greater height of wall than five feet, or that over which a man might look, a height," he adds, "which is equal to that of the ancient British field-works, if this may be determined from some of the perfect fragments which remain in Cornwall." The walls consist, to a large extent, of fragments of rocks different from those composing the hill upon which the fort is built. The materials are gneiss, granite, quartz, mica-slate, clay-slate, and conglomerate, the latter forming the neighbouring ridges, and supplying, apparently, the large proportion of trap-rock or greenstone diffused through the walls. Almost the sole constituents of this conglomerate, which is familiar from its extensive development from the neighbourhood of Connal to the shores of Oban Bay and the Sound of Kerrera, are rounded pieces of trap of various colours, together with fragments of quartz, cemented by carbonate of lime. From the rejection of the rocks nearest at hand, namely, limestone and slate, and the substitution of others which must have been conveyed from some distance, it is not unreasonably inferred that the stones employed were to some extent selected for their known fusibility. Macculloch gives the weight of his authority as a mineralogist to this conclusion:—"In the walls," says he, "the pudding-stone (conglomerate) which is the only vitrifiable ingredient, predominates to such a degree as to occupy the greater part of

them. Hence it appears at least a probable conclusion that the builders were acquainted with the effect of fire in destroying limestone, and that, intending to erect a vitrified wall, they rejected that which was unfit for their purposes, however conveniently placed. Had the object been to erect a dry wall of stone and wood, the limestone would have equally answered their intentions. This notion of a design to vitrify seems to receive additional strength from the apparent solicitude and labour employed in introducing so much pudding-stone into the work. It is very likely that accident had taught them the vitrifiable nature of this ingredient." The effect of the fused trap as an agent in agglutinating the different calcined substances will appear from an examination of the specimens. But the changes produced on the diversified constituents of the calcined mass are not less remarkable. Quartz is sometimes seen to have been converted into a friable substance resembling rotten sandstone. Granite, gneiss, and mica-slate, have been rendered brittle and scoriaceous. Where quartz has come in contact with the potash contained in the fuel, a slag or vitreous substance has resulted, cementing the adjoining fragments, or enveloping them in a covering resembling coarse earthenware. The gneiss and mica-slate are frequently observed to have been softened and rendered in some degree plastic by the action of heat, and to have been bent and conformed to the projections of the contiguous masses. The presence of limestone is not detected by the ordinary test, having likely been calcined, and taken part in bringing other substances into a state of fusion. A small quantity of carbonaceous powder abstracted from a crevice opened in the wall exhibits traces of woody fibre when examined under the microscope. The fort appears to have been amply supplied with water from a well or spring on the verge of the hill.

The vitrified fort of Craig Phadrick, at Inverness, acquired reputation from its having been laid bare by Mr. Telford, the engineer, when engaged in forming the Caledonian Canal. The hill, which rises 435 feet above the river Ness, consists of conglomerate of old red sandstone age; but differs from that of the Loch Etive and Oban coast in being destitute of fragments of greenstone, and in its containing a mixture of granite, gneiss, quartz, and other associated rocks. The ramparts exhibit the remains of two entrenchments, an inner and an outer, the inner wall being the most distinctly traceable, and of an oval form; the outer following the irregular outline of the summit, leaving no space betwixt the outer walls and the escarpments

of the hill. The inner division measures ninety-five yards in length by thirty in breadth. The mineralogical structure of the rock and the fort was examined by Macculloch, who states that the substance which cements the conglomerate in this instance is agglutinated by adhesion, as the sandstones are, without a common binding paste, and consists of fragments of the same rocks as the pudding-stone itself, exhibiting generally a gritty mixture of hornblende, mica, felspar, and quartz, with a considerable portion of ferruginous felspar clay. The cementation of the wall has been produced by the vitrification of the mingled substances, thus forming the adhesive paste of the pudding-stone. The same changes appear in the texture of the roasted specimens of quartz, granite, gneiss, and slaty rocks, as in those from Dun Macsniochan, but the scoriæ of the more fusible ingredients are, in this instance, less spongy and pumice-like, although the act of fusion has been accompanied in many cases by marked evolution of gases.

The fort in Glen Nevis crowns the shoulder of a hill a few miles up the glen, on the right side of the river Ness. The height is considerable, and the acclivity of the hill somewhat steep and abrupt. The outline of the structure conforms to the peculiar shape of the site. Estimated in a rough way, the length of the inclosure is about 200 feet, and the breadth about 130 feet. The walls, which are five or six feet thick, are built of gneiss, granite, mica-slate, and quartz, with fragments of greenstone or porphyry. The vitrification is complete on the two surfaces of the walls, but the traces of heat in the interior are less distinct than in the structures already described. Some of the stones are only slightly burnt, whilst the consistency of others is changed throughout, having been fused and inflated by air bubbles. The debris accumulated at the base of the precipitous portion of the hill consists chiefly of stones which have not been calcined; and from its extent the walls may be supposed to have been of considerable height.

The vitrified fort at the south end of Bute is built on a cliff overlooking the sea. It is situated amongst trappean hills, and the walls are principally constructed of stones of that nature. The inclosure is 130 paces in length, and the breadth varies from fifteen and twenty to thirty paces. It is undefended on the side next the sea.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTICES.

Last summer (1862), on visiting the promontory of Portencross, between Largs and Ardrossan, and ascending the hill behind the old

castle, my attention was attracted by the outline of a wall, obscurely traceable round the summit, under a dense covering of soil. On detaching a small fragment from a projecting mass of what seemed a lichen-covered rock, it presented unequivocal marks of vitrification. I took the earliest opportunity of returning to the place, and with the assistance of several friends who accompanied me from Cumbrae, laid bare parts of the wall, which proved to be the remains of a vitrified fort. The wall appears to have inclosed a space of 260 feet in length from east to west. This space is separated into two distinct compartments by a wide ditch, with traces of a middle wall. The western division measures 150 feet in length by seventy in breadth; the intermediate space, fifty-three feet in width; and the eastern division fifty-eight feet in length by thirty-eight in breadth. The general outline is of an oval form. The eastern division opens upon an esplanade about ninety feet in breadth, terminating in a precipice on the landward side, but declining towards the sea-shore by a less abrupt descent, which probably formed the approach to the fort. With this exception, the walls have been continued round the steep face of the summit of the hill, which has, in all probability, been scarped on some of its sides, as in other edifices of this description, for greater security against assault. The vitrified portions of the wall are not of great extent; and the process of vitrification, as in other instances, may only have been partial, and not continuous. The portions which remain in this state are on the south and north sides, and when laid open by the hammer exhibited very distinctly the usual appearances of vitrified walls. Trap-rock, or greenstone, as in all the structures of this kind, has been employed as the fusible ingredient. As in the case of the vitrified remains in Cumbrae, the fused greenstone here envelopes and infolds pieces of sandstone, these being in both cases the prevailing rocks. The sandstone cliffs forming the shore-line at Portencross exhibit huge masses of over-lying trap. The specimens of vitrified stones produced show the ordinary conditions; the stones are cemented together by the fusion of the trap; the sandstone has been twisted and become porous and light from the action of heat; the trap has been inflated by gas bubbles, and has sometimes run into drops of impure glass, having a fracture similar to that of obsidian; while slags or coarse silicates occur, resulting from the combination of silica with the alkali supplied by the wood employed in combustion.

The vitrified fort at Portencross, which falls to be added to the

number of similar erections previously known in Scotland (Hibbert, in 1825, enumerated forty-four), differs from those previously noticed, in its having (partly, at least) been chosen for the site of a later edifice. The remains of a wall which had been built of stone and lime, were distinctly traced along the outline bounding the eastern division, and which appears to have been constructed within the line of the ancient fort. For the process of vitrifying stone walls being admitted to have preceded in this country the knowledge of the use of mortar in building, the wall of stone and lime must be assigned to a less ancient period than the fort itself. In its perfect state this wall must have inclosed an area of fifty-eight feet in length by thirty-eight in breadth. The eminence commands an extensive view of the opening of the Frith of Clyde, including the Cumbraes, Bute, Arran, and the entire sweep of the Ayrshire coast. From its advantageous position the latter edifice may have been a signal station; or it may have been in some way subsidiary to the Boyds of Portencross, the original owners of the old castle, which occupies a picturesque site on a ledge of rock projecting into the sea under the shelter of the bold headland.

In the course of the summer the writer had an opportunity of examining the so-called vitrified fort on Dun Fion, a prominent hill overlooking the sea betwixt Brodick and Lamlash in Arran. A careful inspection failed to detect the slightest vestige of vitrification in the walls or in their debris. The structure appears to have been a hill-fort of considerable dimensions.

A dredging excursion during the season afforded a favourable opportunity of exploring the vitrified fort in the Kyles of Bute, commonly known as the Burnt Island. Its height above the sea-level is only eighteen or twenty feet. The edifice is nearly circular, and does not occupy the entire surface of the islet. The breadth measures sixty-two feet, and the length sixty-three feet. The average thickness of the wall is six feet. The rocky basis consists exclusively of mica-slate. The materials employed in building the wall are trap, sandstone, quartz, and mica-slate, the latter exhibiting curious flexures from the action of the heat. The fusion is remarkably complete, and none of the forts formerly described afford a better example of vitrification. There is some appearance of a second or inner wall, which is only partially vitrified. The fused masses of greenstone and other substances are frequently found to have assumed the columnar form in cooling. The edifice having been reared on

this little island in accommodation to the existing level of land and water, it is one of several such structures from which it can be inferred that no change in the relation of the sea to the land has taken place on the western coast since the remote period when vitrification was practised in this country.

Dr. Scoular, whose studies in Celtic literature and antiquities have led him to take an interest in this subject, has called my attention to two works recently published, which would seem to throw a ray of historical light on the extreme antiquity of vitrified forts, although still probably coming far short of the period of their origin. In the *Life of Columba*, written by Adomnan about the year 680 (the founder of Iona having flourished about the year 570), there is repeated reference to a fortress of the Pictish king, Brudi, situate near the north-east end of Loch Ness. Brudi was converted by Columbus, who is described by Adomnan as paying a visit to the king in this *munitio*, or fortification. The reference to the site of the fort as being at some distance, although not far, from the banks of the river Ness, seems, in the estimation of Dr. Reeves, the editor of a recent edition of Adomnan's work, to point clearly to the vitrified fort of Craig Phadrick. "As this river (the Ness) has a very limited course," he remarks, "the circuit of inquiry for the situation of the dun is greatly narrowed; and there being but one spot within it which is answerable to the name, the identification may be regarded as nearly certain."

In his notes to the Dean of Lismore's Book, Mr. Skene endeavours, not unsuccessfully, to establish a connection between the names of a family of the Cruithne, the early settlers in the Highlands, and the vitrified forts of which they took possession. The Cruithne and the Scots were the two races which are believed to have entered as original elements into the population of Ireland and of the Highlands of Scotland, the former having preceded the latter. The Cruithne are supposed to have alone constituted the population of the Scottish Highlands before the sixth century. The Cruithne were pagans; and in 563 Columba came from Ireland to convert them to the Christian faith. They divided the Highlands with the Dalriadic Scots, who were Christians, and came over from Ulster, where the Scots had at an early period settled among the Cruithne of that province, and took possession of Cantyre, part of Argyle, and Lorn, &c. Says Mr. Skene,—"Cuchullin was of the race of the Cruithne, and belongs both to Ulster and to Scotland. In Ulster, his seat was

Dundealgan, and the scene of his exploits the district of Cuailagne and the mountains of Sleave Cuillin; but even Irish tradition admits that he was reared by Scgathaig, in the isle of Skye, and here we have Dunsgathaig and the Cuillin Hills." But the passage in which Mr. Skene traces the names of the vitrified forts in the Great Glen, to one of the families of the Cruithne, is the following, which relates chiefly to the well-known fort mis-named Beregonium, near Dunstaffnage, and previously described. "The children of Uisneach were Cruithne, and must have preceded the Scots, for the great scene of the Scotch adventures are the districts of Lorn, Loch Awe, and Cowall, afterwards the possession of the Dalriadic Scots; thus, in the vicinity of Oban, we have Dun mhic Uisneachan, now corruptly called in guide-books, Dun mac Sniachan, a fort with vitrified remains; and here we have on Loch Etive, Glen Uisneach, and Suidhe Deardhuil. The names of the three sons of Uisneach were Ainle, Ardan, and Naoise; and it is remarkable that Adomnan, in his *Life of St. Columba*, written in the seventh century, appears to mention only three localities in connection with St. Columba's journey to the palace of the king of the Picts, near Loch Ness, and these are Cainle, Arcardan, and the flumen Nesae. Two vitrified forts in the neighbourhood of Loch Ness are called Dundeardhuil." In a note, Mr. Skene adds,—"It is remarkable that the ancient legends of Cuchullin and the sons of Uisneach connect them with those remarkable structures termed vitrified forts. Dun Scathaig, Dun mhic Uisneachan, and Dundheardhuil, are all vitrified forts, and the latter is a common name for them; there is probably a mythic meaning under this."

On a general view of the observed facts, it is not easy to discover the reason upon which the author of the *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* grounds the conclusion, which, he says, is "inevitable," that the vitrification of these edifices was accidental and not designed. Whatever obscurity may rest upon the method by which the cementation was effected, and upon the purpose which the edifices were intended to serve, whether as places of security and defence; or, what is greatly less probable in some cases, and in others simply impossible, of mere signal stations; their unique character, and the uniform result of the unknown process, would lead to a conclusion the very reverse. To any one who examines them with an unprejudiced eye, they present the most unequivocal evidences alike of studied design and efficient execution. Thirty years since, Dr. Hibbert invoked the assistance

of the Scandinavian archæologists in solving the problem of their existence and uses, expecting that similar edifices would be found on the hill tops in Norway; but no response has as yet been given to his appeal, from which it may be inferred that no such erections have been discovered in that country. Apart from the peculiarity of their structure, the extreme antiquity of the remains is made apparent by the great depth of the soil accumulated over the walls, even in the most exposed situations. Little more can be affirmed with certainty as to the age to which they belong, than that it must have preceded the period when the use of calcareous mortar was introduced in masonry in Scotland. But if the data be so deficient for forming a conclusive judgment as to the precise method of vitrification and the uses which the structures were intended to serve, there is not even a vestige of evidence upon which a probable conjecture can be founded as to the race by whom they were erected. Whether they are the works of the original Caledonians or of the Scandinavian invaders, is a question upon which the investigations of modern times are incapable of throwing light, or which, at least, antiquarians have ceased for a quarter of a century to discuss with any prospect of reaching a satisfactory issue. The narrower the range of matter-of-fact inquiry, the wider the scope for the imagination; and the baffled antiquary may well be content to resign to the poet the task of creating a history for those venerable relics upon which the traditions of ages are silent, and which call up in the mind of the wanderer in some of the loneliest and loveliest scenes of the Scottish Highlands, images of a past as shadowy and undefined as the gray mists that float around their summits.

Note.—The writer has been favoured with the following remarks by Mr. James Napier, chemist, whose practical knowledge of the different fusibility of rocks gives weight to his opinion on the subject of the vitrifying process:—"There are a few things I wished to have had time to refer to in your paper on the vitrified forts. I understood you to say that the vitrification extended to a considerable depth in the walls. Now this is an important fact that necessitates certain conditions. The idea which seemed to prevail was that a great *body* as well as *intensity* of heat was necessary. If this was the case these forts could not be standing as walls. If, for instance, you take a mass of whinstone, say two feet cube, and apply a strong body of heat to the mass, it does not yield like a piece of lead or other metal under the same circumstances, when the heat would be so

rapidly conducted through the whole that it would vitrify or fuse nearly all at one time; but the whinstone or other stone, is so bad a conductor that long before the vitrification penetrated one foot, all the external portion would be melted and run off. If it were done in a pit, or having a wall round it to prevent its flowing, then the same effect would be produced; at first, namely, before the internal parts of the mass were vitrified, the portion between the centre and walls would be in fusion, so that the outer part would be one homogeneous mass of glass, while the inside portion would be merely vitrified as your samples were. My impression is, from the samples I saw, that the heat has not been so intense as to melt or make the stone *flow*, but merely to vitrify it, for which a heat of 1400 to 1600 degrees would be sufficient; and all that was required to cause the vitrification to penetrate was not *increase* of heat, but a *constant* heat not exceeding what was required to vitrify the outside, keeping it up till it had penetrated to the required depth. Either this, or high heat *under pressure*, is the only condition I can suppose."

NO. XV.

NOTES ON PARTICK IN OLDEN TIMES:

BY

JAMES NAPIER, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 24th March*, 1862.]

From many incidental notices found in charters granted to various parties, it is evident that Partick is a very old town, and has also been a place of considerable importance, not only to its proprietors, but to its more venerable and exalted neighbour, Glasgow, from its favourable position for water power for manufacturing purposes. Nevertheless, except these incidental notices, little or nothing of what may be termed the History of Partick is known.

A few years ago I was in great hopes of seeing it proven that Partick was once a seat of royalty. Chambers in his *Caledonia* refers to King Roderic, who was contemporaneous with St. Kentigern, having a seat at *Pertmet*, which the learned author says is "now Partick, a village on the Clyde below Glasgow." But from a series of papers in the *Northern Notes and Queries*, upon this and other kindred matters, I think it has been satisfactorily shown that the Pertmet where Roderic resided is not what is now called Partick, but a place in the neighbourhood of Rutherglen, which took its name from the same King Rutheric; I am therefore still necessitated to speak of Partick as a plebeian village, depending on its own rural beauties and local capabilities for any notoriety it may have attained.

In early charters and other notices of Partick the name is never spelt as we spell it, but differently, as *Perdeyc*, *Perthic*, *Pertiq*, *Perthwick*, *Perdehic*, &c. How and when it got the modern spelling I have not been able to ascertain; the nearest to it is in an old session-book of the sixteenth century, where a person the name of Craig belonging to the Walkmill of "Partic" is rebuked for non-attendance at the kirk on the Sabbath-day. In a document dated 1483, disposing of certain lands, it is spelt *Perthik;* while, in 1555, in a charter granted to John Stewart, fifth Provost

of Glasgow, it is again spelt Perthwick, as in earlier charters; so that it is evident no particular rule was followed until a more frequent use of it was required in titles of land, which after the sixteenth century passed into the hands of many private parties, and which would bring into use a certain rule or mode of spelling the name. Much speculation has been advanced as to the origin and etymology of the name, which the different ways of spelling makes difficult to ascertain; some may be said to be mere guesses or modern inventions, such as the Kelvin being a noted stream for the *Par*, or young salmon, and that that part of the river from the Clyde to the waterfall at the mills being the best locality for catching these fish, it was consequently named *Partake*—the old name *Perthwick* will hardly adapt itself to this fancy. Dr. Leishman in his *History of Govan Parish* supposes that the name is derived from Particate (Particata), a name for *pole* or *perch*, a staff used in mensuration, so that when the Crown granted these lands to the Church it was so many perticates of land; hence the name. If this measure gave a name to Partick, I think we would have a great many Particks in Scotland, as King David was very liberal in his grants. At the same time he granted the lands of Perthic to the Church, he also granted much land throughout the whole of Scotland in the same way, and by a similar mode of measurement, so that this idea, I think, little better than a guess; and the land being named Perthic in the grant, the place must have been previously known as such, which is an internal evidence against it being afterwards named from a term used in the deed. Another supposition which I think more ingenious, and probably more truthful, is, that *per* in old Latin means through, and *thec* or *theca*, a place of safety or deposit. As the ancient Romans had a road or highway from Dumbarton to Glasgow through Partick, it is probable that the Romans fixed upon this portion of the route for a convenient and safe resting place; hence the name Perthic. I may mention that until within these fifty years there existed an old road that came down by the Balgray, through Hyndlands, and Dowan Hill grounds into Partick, by the Byres Road, that was called "The Roman Road" from time immemorial. About sixty years back the late proprietor of the Dowan Hill estate made many endeavours to close up the road, and succeeded so far as the general public was concerned; but a few spirited old men in the town continued to pass over it at short intervals of time for the purpose of maintaining the public right, but at the death of Thomas Douglas of Scotstown Mills,

who took the lead in this matter, this practice was discontinued; and tradition says that a dinner to the neighbouring proprietors and a few pounds to the poor of the village stopped all further opposition and the road was lost to the public; and the fact of such a road ever existing there, is all but lost to memory, there being but few alive now who remember it.

Whether this really had been a road used by the Romans I do not know, nor would the fact prove anything in reference to the origin of the name of Partick from the source referred to; but it is a proof that the Romans had a road into Partick, and the fact that the best and safest ford through the Kelvin existed at Partick, immediately west of the old Bridge, a ford that was used in the oldest times, is a sort of corroboration of Partick being a resting place for the Romans.

The earliest notice I have seen of Partick is at the consecration of the Glasgow Cathedral, in 1136, when King David endowed it with a part of the lands of Perdeyc. "Some time before the year 1147," says Cosmo Innes, "King David I., with consent of his son Henry, granted Govan and the See of St. Kentigern of Glasgow in pure alms, and soon afterwards Herbert, the bishop, erected into a prebend, in the Cathedral of Glasgow, the Church of Govan, with all its ecclesiastical rights and pertinents, and with the Islands between Govan and Perthic, together with that part of Perthic which David the King gave to the Church of Glasgow at its dedication, and that other part of Perthic which the same king afterwards gave in pure alms to Bishop John and his successors." Again he says, "It seems probable that before 1152 Govan and Perthic, which were distinct manors, were also distinct parochial territories, the latter lying on the north, and the former on the south side of the Clyde. The islands in the river, then existing between them, have now disappeared and become part of the mainlands."

In reference to these islands between Govan and Partick, mentioned in these grants, it may be remarked that the Clyde in former times was very broad, and in several places had two or more channels extending much further north than at present. These channels were divided by islands, or inches. The first connected with Partick was the Water Inch, which stood immediately after the Kelvin joined the Clyde; then the White Inch, Buck Inch, King's Inch, and Sand Inch, which were the largest; but tradition says there were several smaller inches, the names of which are lost. All these inches have been added to the land on the north side of the Clyde. I have

heard it stated that the original Pointhouse was erected on the Govan, or south side of the river, which afterwards changed its course and left the Pointhouse on the north, or Barony side, which some years ago led to a dispute between the two parishes who should lift the rates. However, in reference to this, I have also heard it stated that not the Clyde, but the Kelvin effected this change; that the Pointhouse being originally built on the Partick side of Kelvin, this river changed its course to the west side of the Pointhouse, cutting it off both from Govan Parish and Partick. If this last be the true change, it shows that the ferry and ferryhouse were originally for the convenience of Partick people, as it should be, rather than at the greatest possible disadvantage as at present.

A regular ford for horse through the Kelvin to the ferry existed within these fifty years opposite where Messrs. Tod & M'Gregor's works now stand, which the late George Oswald of Scotstown kept open while he lived by riding through it several times in the year.

From the different references to the lands of Perthic in early times, it seems that these lands extended from Blawart Hill, above Scotstown, to Gilmour Hill, the greater part of which was gifted to the Church; and after the Reformation a great portion of it was given to the College of Glasgow, which still retains the superiority.

In 1451 James II. granted to his beloved and familiar squire Walter Stewart of Arthurlie, a liferent tack of the lands of Perthwick, within the Barony of Renfrew; and up to the beginning of this century, when the new bridge and road leading from Clayslaps to Partick, forming a part of the Dumbarton Road, were made, there were extensive bleaching, dyeing, and printworks, and a number of houses at the foot of Gilmour Hill, opposite the Westend Park, called Gilmour Holm, which was also termed Partick, so that the name applied to a large tract of land.

There was certainly a common impression amongst its old inhabitants that Partick was at one time a place of considerable note, apart from its local position. I have endeavoured to find out upon what this impression is based, and the only thing I can find beyond what I have already stated—its natural beauty and facility for waterpower—is in connection with the Church, and the Bishop of Glasgow having a residence there.

"The Bishops of Glasgow," says the author of *Parochiales Scotiæ*, "had a residence in Partick before 1277. In 1362 the compromise of a dispute between the Lord Bishop and his chapter took place at

the *Manor house* of Perthic." It is stated that this compromise was brought about by a meeting of the following—the Bishops of Dunkeld, Brechin, Orkney, and Galloway, and the Abbot of the Holy Cross, Edinburgh. Now if these great men met at the house in Partick, which is indicated by the document being dated from there, then the house must have been one of considerable pretensions; and in the *Registrum* we read of Helias de Perthic, Petrus de Perthic, Rector of the Church of Rutherglen, Johannes de Perthic, Dominus Petrus de Perthic, Jocelinus de Perthic, and others, a string of notables and persons of such dignity that would necessarily require a good many dependants, whose accommodation would form a little village alone. That the Bishops continued to reside in Partick till the time of the Reformation, in 1560, is proven by the fact that Bishop Bethune, after collecting many of the sacred relics belonging to the Cathedral, secreted them in his Meal Mill in Partick, till an opportunity was afforded him to remove them with himself into France. It is said that he fled from his Manorium in Partick. In connection with these historical references we have the names of certain localities still existing, as Bishop's Mill, Bishop's Byres (now Victoria Street), Bishop's Meadow and Orchard (now forming the docks and meadow lands west of these), and the Bishop's Road (now forming Mill Road and Queen Street Partick); but strange to say, we have no idea where this palace or manor house stood. All I can find is a statement in *Parochiales Scotiæ* "that it is supposed to have stood on the bank which overlooks the junction of the Kelvin and the Clyde." This supposition, however, as I will presently show, may be an error. Till within these last twenty-five years an old ruin stood on the bank of the Kelvin near to where the Kelvin formerly joined the Clyde, now forming part of Anderston Street and a dyehouse. This ruin was called "The Bishop's Castle," not only by the inhabitants of Partick, but by Chambers in his *Caledonia*, and by Clelland in his *History of Glasgow*. Chambers's note runs "That Archbishop Spottiswood, who greatly repaired our Cathedral and the archiepiscopal palace, also built, in 1611, a castle at Partick to serve as a country seat for the archbishops, as one of his castles was destroyed at the Reformation." This statement, as we will see, lacks authority. Mr. Laurence Hill, in his interesting pamphlet *Hutchesoniana*, has satisfactorily shown that this ruin called "The Bishop's Castle," was erected by George Hutcheson as a country residence; and to put the matter beyond doubt, Mr. Hill, in the above-named

pamphlet, publishes a copy of the actual contract and specification for the building, headed in the quaint language of the time, "Contract betwixt me and ye masoun in Kilwynning anent the biging of the house in Partick," 1611. Mr. James Smith of Jordanhill compared the said contract with the ruin, and had no hesitation in identifying it as the ruin of George Hutcheson's mansion.

The question now occurs why the private residence of George Hutcheson got the designation of the Bishop's Castle, as so distinctly affirmed by Chambers. It has been conjectured that probably the house was let out after the death of George Hutcheson, and that one of the Episcopal bishops, probably Burnet or Spottiswood, had it as his residence, and hence the name. That the house was let out after the death of George Hutcheson is made all but certain by the following item of account, in 1663, against Mrs. T. Hutcheson:—

"Item, in Partick fyve glass windoes in George Mure's house and wyrees in the forsyd, and the glass windoes to the house in Partick are fourtifyve foots and ane half foot wide." The tenant here is simply termed George Mure. The house would then be fifty-two years old. I very much doubt any Bishop of Glasgow living in it after this date. Spottiswood was previous to this date, but Burnet may have rented it so far as dates are concerned, but I can find no positive notice of it. The land on which this house was built was part of what is termed Bishop's Meadows, and what I am inclined to think is that George Hutcheson built his house either on or near the site of the old Manor, which, if it existed in 1362, must have been pretty venerable at the time of the Reformation, in 1560, and was possibly demolished by the populace, or left to go to ruin. From the contract it seems that either a building had existed on the site previous to this contract with the mason from Kilwinning, or that George Hutcheson had begun to build and had resolved to enlarge it, so that the contract embraces the taking down what had been built and laying a new foundation or grundstane, "for sa meikle as the said George having ane house foundit in Partick, not in ye baronie of Glasgw, and ane part of ye wallis and grund yr of alreddie layid qlk being intendit to have bene maid ane eard hall, and now of intentioun to alter ye same in forme and maner following,—to wit, sal caus tak doun the stanewark alreddie biggit, and to cast the grund of the house qlk the grund be fund sufficint grou to lay the grundstane." This contract is merely for the workmanship, the stone and other materials being supplied by George Hutcheson

himself; so that George Hutcheson may have used up, in part, old materials which may have formed the ruins of the Bishop's Castle. Were it not from some such cause, it is difficult to account for the short time, comparatively speaking, that this house of George Hutcheson existed in good repair. According to the contract, the foundation-stone was laid on the 1st of April, 1611, and the house was unroofed and in ruins in 1783; and from inquiries I have made of old people long since dead, it was last inhabited about 1770, and then by common work-people, who let out the hall or upper room for dancing and other amusements, and none of my informants had ever remembered hearing of *gentry* living in it. Now, that a house built of such pretensions, and with the shrewd caution of George Hutcheson, should only be habitable for the class for which it was built for little above 120 years, as buildings were then made, is unaccountable, except on the supposition of old materials being partly used in its construction; and that it was in the stonework the destruction took place is also probable from the circumstance that in 1783, when it was unroofed, in order to build the old Merkland Farmhouse, which stood close to the present weaving factory, from the materials of this ruin, the woodwork being oak, was so good that the builder retained it and used new wood of a different sort for the farmhouse. This building from these old stones was only habitable for sixty years—so much for old materials. There is a house in Partick built with new materials in 1619, only nine years after George Hutcheson's, yet inhabited.

That the ruins of George Hutcheson's mansion was identified as the Bishop's castle, can easily be accounted for. The researches of the archæologist and antiquary are but recent studies. When Chambers found, from old charters, that the bishops had a manor in Partick, inquiry was naturally made as to the site, and the ruins of George Hutcheson's house on grounds known as the Bishop's Meadows being found, it was at once accepted as the *bona fide* article. I may mention that the idea of it being the Bishop's Castle is not a tradition of Partick. I have inquired at many old people, and they all stated that they did not know it to be so in their youth, but that their information was imported by some one who had seen it stated in books. I may remark, while on buildings, that Partick contains none either of great note or antiquity; however, it has an antiquity and notoriety in its manufactures, especially its mills. In a recital of the Church lands annexed to the Crown, and afterwards feued by Walter Com-

mandator, of Blantyre, of the Bishopric Lands in 1587. There is named prominently—Wester and Easter-side of Partick, Miln of Partick, and Miln Lands, Partick Yard, Waucking Mill of Partick (now Scotstown Mill), Brewland of Partick Mill, called Archy Lyon's Mill, Meadows of Partick, New and Old Parks of Partick Mill, called Wheat Mill.

Where all these mills were, and the other localities named, I cannot tell, but they indicate a considerable trade (and only a portion of the trade of the town), for there were other businesses carried on, such as tanning, brewing, bleaching, dyeing, printing, besides other mills not connected with Church lands. I extract the following from *Clelland's History of Glasgow*:—"Before the Reformation the Bakers of Glasgow were in use to grind at the Town Mills in Partick, and also at a small mill which then belonged to the Archbishop, and subsequently to the Crown. The mill belonging to the Church was situated a little to the east of the Town's Mill, and had nearly gone into decay; these mills being of small dimensions were barely sufficient to supply the inhabitants, and by no means capable of producing an extra supply on any emergency."

In the year 1578 the forces of the Regent Murray, who successfully opposed those of Mary Queen of Scots at the battle of Langside, were quartered at Glasgow and neighbourhood. On this occasion the bakers were called upon for an extraordinary supply of bread for the troops, which they accomplished by uncommon exertion in bruising and bolting grain, not only in the mills, but also in their own houses, so much to the satisfaction of the Regent that he gave them a grant of the Archbishop's mill, which had now become the property of the Crown, and a piece of land adjoining it, which was annexed to the Royalty of Glasgow in the first session of the first Parliament of Charles II. In this annexation there are the words—"Dissolving the Lands of the Wheat Mill on Kelvin, belonging to the Town and the Baxters from the shire of Clydesdale, and annexing them to the City of Glasgow." If the Wheat Mill named here be the same as that called the Wheat Mill given in feu to Walter Commandator, of Blantyre, did the City and Baxters gain it by purchase, or how?

This mill, granted to the bakers, termed the Bishop's Mill, did not seem to be of great value to the town as it then stood, for in 1660, on 4th February, the following minute occurs in *Burgh Records*:—"The said day the Deane of Gild maid report that he and the Deacon Conveiner, conforme to the Counsalls ordours, had maid search and

vyall of the worth of the old mylne of Partick to the Towne, in respect of the great dewtie the Towne payis thairfor zeirlie, and having tryed almost the haill former tacksmen of the mylne, they find that the haill malt broune in Partick and Govane is scars worth ane furlott moulter per weik, but that the said mylne was werie stedable to the towne in tyme of ane drouthe or frost."

In 1664 the bakers erected a small mill on the site of the old Bishop's Mill, which, in conjunction with the Town's Mill, served them till the year 1771, when they purchased from the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow the snuff and malt mill at Clayslaps, a few hundred yards above the Partick Mill. There is probably a typographical error in the statement of Clelland, that the mill belonging to the Archbishop was to the east of the Town's Mill—it is to the west of the Town's Mill. The mill that was built in 1664 was burned down several years ago, and a large mill was built on the old site, still termed Bishop's Mill. The Slitt Mills, built for an Iron Company for slitting iron, was with the dam a work of very great magnitude. The iron rolling and splitting machinery was driven by eight water wheels. These mills have been long since used as flour mills, although still called Slitt Mills. They are now out of use. In connection with these times and mills, it is stated in the *Crawford Peerage* "that Captain Thomas Crawford, of Jordanhill, surprised and took Dumbarton Castle in April, 1571; and that in reward for this and many other services he obtained the Lands of Bishop Meadows, Blockstone Barns, and Mills of Partick." What mills these were that were given to Captain Crawford I have not been able to ascertain. In 1577 the same Captain Crawford was Provost of Glasgow; and about that time he erected the old Bridge of Partick over Kelvin—on the south side of this bridge are still seen the Captain's coat armorial. This bridge, as built by Captain Crawford, was not much more than half the present breadth, with very low parapets, and allowed only one cart to pass in breadth. About seventy years ago the bridge was made to its present breadth by adding several feet to the east side. Whether this bridge of Captain Crawford's was the first erected over the Kelvin in Partick I have not been able to ascertain, but from several of the mills being situated on the opposite side of the river from the town, and as the river in the winter was often flooded for weeks together, at least a foot bridge would be necessary. The ford would be quite passable for carts except on rare occasions of flood. It may be mentioned

that until about the time the bridge was widened, a pontage was levied for cattle passing during certain days of the two great fairs at Dumbarton, the Muir Fair in June, and Balloch in September.

There must have been about 150 to 200 years back a considerable number of masons living in or near the village. A fraternity of Freemasons (a lodge of operatives), existed in Partick two hundred years back, holding a charter of the old mother lodge of Kilwinning, called the Partick St. John's. I have endeavoured to find the true date of this lodge but have failed—the lodge is now extinct. Whether William Miller, the contractor for the building of George Hutcheson's mansion, and who was from Kilwinning, and was to supply "Masons, Hewars, and Barrowmen," brought with him, from that ancient seat of masonry, a few of the brotherhood who founded the Partick St. John's, I cannot say, but think it probable. This being what is termed an Operative Lodge, its members for a long time were confined to operative masons; but this rule was broken through, and others got admission, and increasing, led to a dispute on St. John's evening, 1763, at the election of office-bearers. The operative masons would not allow any member to hold office but an operative mason: the speculative brethern protested and appealed to the sheriff, who advised arbitration by the Glasgow lodges, which was agreed to, and the result was the separation of the operative from the speculative masons, that the former should have the charter, register books, chests, and jewels at a valuation which, with the bills and money belonging to the lodge, were to be equally divided between the parties. The speculative party then petitioned the Grand Lodge of Scotland for a charter, which they received in 1769, forming Partick St. Mary's. The operative lodge removed to Glasgow, becoming the Partick and Glasgow Kilwinning St. John. The St. Mary's continued in Partick with various vicissitudes till within these few years, when it also was removed to Glasgow; so that Partick, now an extensive burgh, has no Mason lodge. The number of petitioners for the charter of St. Mary's Lodge was fifty-six.

As a proof of how soon an old habit passes into desuetude during a town's progress, I refer to the old custom of using a bell at funerals and announcing the death of an inhabitant. This custom was entirely forgotten by the inhabitants of Partick until the accidental finding of the bell, within these few years, with the name and date upon it, 1726; and when the bell was brought back to the town only one man then living remembered it being used. This

person, George Craig, died three years ago, aged ninety-five. My father, who is eighty-six, has no recollection of it, so that it must be seventy years since the practice of using the bell was given over. Since the recovery of the bell I have collected a few notes on the practice, and find it to have been common both in Scotland and England, extending several hundred years back. Robert Chambers, in a note to one of the common nursery rhymes on this custom, says that the custom prevailed in all Scottish towns. Upon the death of any person the bedral or town-crier was sent with his bell or wooden platter, beat with a stick or spoon, through the chief streets to announce the event. In the *Burgh Records*, date 19th November, 1577, the following entry occurs under the heading

"SANCT MUNGOWI'S BELL.—The quhilk daye the Prouest, baillies, and counsale, with dikinis coft fra Johne Mr. Sone to umquhile James Mr. and Andro Lang, the auld bell that zed throw the towne of auld at the buriall of the deid, for the sowme of ten pundis Money, quhilk they ordanit Patrick Glen their thesaurare to pay to hame, and als granted the said Andro to be maid a burgis gratis, quhilk bell they ordanit in all time to remane as comone bell to gang for the buriall o' the deid, and to be givin zearly to sic person as they appoynt for auys in the zear, takand cautiouns for keping and delyuering thairof at the zear's end. And the said Andro Lang, as sone to umquhile Robert Layng, is maid instantlie burgess, as ane burgess sone, gratis, for the said caus of the bell, and has gevin his aith of fideletie to the towne, and als for observing of the satutisis thairof."—"*Note.*—23rd October, 1640. The said day the deid bell delivered to Patrick Forsyth, quham ordaines to give the half of the prycis of his part of the bell to William Bogle, during his lyfetime, and ordaines the deane of Gild to caus mak ane new deid bell, to be rung for, and be for the deid under hand."

How Andro got the bell as his private property is not stated, but this minute shows that the custom of using the bell at funerals was old in Glasgow in 1577.

At Peebles, sixty years ago, says Robert Chambers, the announcement was, "All brethren and sisters, I let you to wut that a brother (or sister) has departed at the pleasure of God, called ———. A' friends and brethren are invited to the burial, on Tuesday neist, at twa o'clock." In his *Domestic Annals* the same author gives the following as the formula used at Edinburgh:—"Beloved brethren and sisters, I let you to wit that there is ane faithfull brother (or *sister) lately departed* out of this world, at the pleasure of Almighty

God," and here the crier veils his face with his bonnet, and continues, "his name is Wully Woodcock, a cordinger; he lies at the nixt door within the Norgate Closs, on the Nether Wynd, and I would ye gang to his burying, on Thursday, before twa o'clock. When the burying time come the bell calls the company together, and he is carried to the burying-place and thrown into the grave as dog Lion was, and there is an end of Wully."

In September, 1650, the bellman was forbade using the words *faithful* brother or sister.

This custom was not confined to Scotland as Chambers indicates, but was common also in England. So early as 1648 it is mentioned by A. Wood in his *Oxoniana* that it had been a practice, time out of mind, for the bellman, when any died in college, to go into every college and hall, and then make open proclamation, after two rings of his bell—"That, forasmuch as God has been pleased to take out of the world, such a person, he was to give notice to all persons of the university that on such a day and such an hour he was solemnly to be buried." The bellman also went before the corpse from the house to the church or chapel, ringing his bell. The same was evidently done in Glasgow. In Hexham the custom is within living memory; and the invitation after ringing the bell was, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, &c. All friends and neighbours are requested to attend the funeral of so and so, to be lifted at so and so." A similar custom existed in Carlisle till lately, and in Penrith it is not yet entirely done away, so that the custom was as common in England as Scotland. The funeral bell of Dunblane is still to be seen in the cathedral, dated 1615. Like Partick one, it has an iron handle, which, however, has not been universal, for in an old session-book of Hatton Parish Church there is an entry as follows:—"Paid for a new timmer handle to the bell, 3d." The particular formula used in Partick I do not know, but the late George Craig told me the town-crier went through with the bell and announced the death and invited all to attend the funeral at the hour mentioned, but did not remember the particular words used. Probably some more rude article than the bell was used in Partick, like Peebles, previous to 1726; and the getting of the bell either by public subscription or gift, was no doubt a step in the way of respectability. After laying aside the bell the custom was, and continued till within these few years, for two neighbours to go through the whole inhabitants the

night before the funeral and give a personal invitation. In old times, funerals in Partick, like other places, were very expensive affairs to parties having any pretensions to respectability. From the death to the funeral a sort of open table was kept; every visitor was treated with drink; and on the day of the funeral all who attended got as much as they could eat and drink, and often went home with their pockets filled for the use of their family. My informant told me that at his grandfather's funeral a boll of meal was baked into cakes, besides a large quantity of flour, and for a week the house was in uproar, and the cost was a serious item, affecting the family long after.

Another very ancient custom was common in Partick up till about sixty years ago. Most of the villagers had a cow of their own. These fed in one field or common, and attended by one herd, who, blowing a trumpet or horn in the morning, every owner let out their cow, which joined the herd and was driven to the common. In the evening they were brought back, and each cow took its own way home when it reached the village. Chambers gives the same custom as being common in Edinburgh some 200 years ago. In Killin I saw the same custom as described during my stay there last year. In that interesting work, *The Land and the Book*, it is given as a common practice in Palestine to this day. Large droves of oxen and asses are conducted from the common by the herd, and then each takes its own way, often through intricate windings, to its own stall, lowing as its master appears to meet it. And so must have been the custom in the days of Isaiah, who, in speaking of Israel says,—"The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib."

Your time at present will not permit me to refer to other customs and localities of the village, such as the *Parliament Closs*, the *Quaker's Burying-ground*, the *Races*, the *Drum*, which in itself was a sort of institution, for not only was it beat night and morning at a certain hour as a tap-tow, and also as an advertiser, but was used on all public occasions, such as deacons choosing and processions, which were always preceded by the drum. There was also the fishery for salmon; my informant, who had rented the fishing, told me that during some floods of the Kelvin not less than fifty salmon have been caught in the cruives on Kelvin Dam-head. Salmon was sold at 1½d. per pound. There are also traditions of Prince Charlie's

men having passed through the village to the alarm of its inhabitants, and the hiding of their valuables from plunder.

As to the deacon's choosing, which gave a general holiday in the village, I give the copy of an article taken from the *Glasgow Mercury* of 10th August, 1780, from an Englishman, in illustration of the state of society in Partick in these days. This was furnished me through a friend by Mr. Reid (Senex). "Returning on the evening of Friday last from a pleasant excursion through the country side beyond Dumbarton, I arrived at Partick, a village in the neighbourhood, where I was not a little astonished to see a great number of decent people and country gentlemen, not fewer, I presume, than 2,000, gathered together about the town. Upon inquiry I found this vast multitude was assembled to choose a *Preses* for the Ancient Society of Millers upon the Kelvin. I at first looked upon such a scheme as trifling, but when given to understand that their funds are considerable and well managed, and that a large sum thereof is annually distributed to a number of poor and infirm people in the neighbourhood. I was soon prejudiced in favour of this respectable corporation, and waited, though not without apprehension from such a concourse, till their whole business was transacted, when a great majority of votes were in favour of a gentleman of property hard by; and the parties, though keen at first, dismissed to my agreeable surprise without any altercation or disturbance whatever, but with an air of satisfaction and of good will to each other,—a circumstance not always to be met with among my own countrymen on the other side of the Tweed, where even at country meetings, in choosing of a Parliament man, I have often seen the assembly not near so manageable nor the candidates more respectable than these here."

Calico printing and dyeing were carried on in Partick for a very long time back. Where Messrs. Tod and M'Gregor's works now stand, a print and dyeing work existed from the earliest period I could trace (my inquiry extending upwards of 100 years), and carried on by men of considerable note. Papalon, the introducer of turkey red into this country, rented these works, and dyed turkey reds there; and the works were either wholly or in part burned while in his possession. The present weaving factory was built for calico printing; but the projector not being able to furnish the fittings for more than one flat, he very soon became insolvent. At that time this house

became connected with the history of the two first churches in Partick. For several years some of the lay brethern belonging to the Independent body, among whom was M'Gavin, known as *The Protestant*, had preaching in a school-room in the village. This school-room being found too small, permission was obtained to use one of the floors of the factory; at this time John Campbell, now of the Tabernacle, London, preached there while a student, and so successfully, that regular service was carried on at the usual hours on Sabbath-day. The congregation becoming numerous, and losing the privilege of meeting in the factory, they resolved on building a meeting-house, but then the question naturally arose, to what body this house should belong? The Independents were too few to form a party, and the result was, the erection of two churches—Relief and United Secession—now the two U.P's.

At this time, about 1823, the population of the village was given at 1,900; but the erection of Mr. Walker's bleaching work, and the occupation of the weaving factory by the Lancefield Spinning Company, gave the first great impulse to the progress of Partick. Previous to this period the principal trade for men was handloom weaving, and for females, sewing and agricultural labour, which soon gave place to the public labour of these factories. But however much these changed the kind of labour of the village and advanced it, it is little when compared with what the boatbuilding and other correlative labour has produced.

Let us take the two periods, 1823 and 1861, and extract from them the elements of *time*, and say that in Partick, a quiet rural village of 1,900 inhabitants were living happy and contented, as they had done for centuries before, but there came in amongst them from all directions upwards of 8,000 people, who threw down their huts and filled up the middens and ditches that surrounded them, converted their fields and gardens into streets and crescents, took their daughters and sons into marriage, and so acting and disposing themselves, in defiance of old customs, that before they were settled down only a few of the original 1,900 inhabitants were left to tell the tale, that a little country village was transmuted into a prosperous burgh, emulating successfully in its manufactures the greatest cities in the world. Such is often the way we read history—the events of an age being told in a few lines—by which the element of time is overlooked, and we are thus

led to wonder how people could survive such revolutions, but when allowing time its proper place the wonder ceases. Although all these changes have taken place in Partick—changes unparalleled in this locality—still it has taken thirty-eight years to produce it. Partick in 1823 had 1,900 inhabitants, in 1861 11,000, with a rental of upwards of £34,000.

Such are a few brief notes respecting Partick, which could have been greatly extended but for the taxing of your patience, which I am afraid has already been held too long in tension.

NO. XVI.

GLASGOW, 1*st December*, 1862.

DR. SCOULAR gave an address on "The Necessity of Collecting the Crania found in Ancient Tumuli." In the lecture he demonstrated that if the crania from the cairns and barrows belonged to different races and were constant in their characters, then by their aid we could ascend a step higher in our researches where philological studies were unable to aid us. He stated that, although by far the greater part of the population of Europe were of Aryan or Indo-European descent, yet we found emerging from below the recent stratum detached portions of a more ancient race. The tribes of this original race, called Allophyllian by Dr. Prichard, were recognised in the Basques or Euskarians of France and Spain, and in the Finnei tribes of the east shores of the Baltic and the north of Russia. The same phenomenon was observed in India, where the Hindoos had driven the older race before them. It would be interesting to ascertain if, before the arrival of the Celts, this older race had inhabited the British Island; but on this question we had no historic or philological data. It hence became an important inquiry to ascertain whether we can derive assistance from any other source, and the only one open to us was a thorough investigation of the remains found in the oldest tumuli. The success of this method depended very much on ascertaining whether the crania of the Allophyllian and Aryan races were distinguished by well marked characters, by a comparison of the crania of the modern Aryan and that of the Finlander of the present day, as was easily seen in the elongated and oval cranium of the Swede, and the shorter and square head of the Fin. When we examine the crania from tumuli we find the same distinction of elongated and square heads. The inquiry, however, was only commenced, and the time for positive results had not yet arrived. A chronological classification of the tumuli was an essential preliminary, and it would be desirable to show some parallelism between the tumuli and their other contents and that of the crania.

NO. XVII.

GLASGOW, *5th January*, 1863.

DR. SCOULAR gave some "Historical Notes on the Modes of Ancient Interment." He stated that at a time when the remains found in ancient tumuli were attracting so much attention, it was of importance to collect any traditional information which could be obtained respecting them. Ireland is the only country in Europe which has preserved any records of the Pagan modes of sepulture. Since the introduction of Christianity into that island, about the year 438, until the present day, Ireland has been in possession of an uninterrupted national literature, which gives us an insight into the usages of Pagan times. In these Irish writings, whether chronicles or poems, we find notices of every place of note, whether of fortified sites or places of sepulture. It is a strong presumption of the accuracy of these writings, many of them composed a thousand years since, that in all topographical details they are strictly correct, and easily verified. The countries of the kings of different races and ages were well described; as these sepulchres still existed we could easily ascertain the fidelity of the old writings. It is remarkable that the oldest of these indicate the greatest amount of labour and the most elaborate workmanship. Such are what may be called the Tuath de Dannan sepulchres, of which magnificent remains are to be seen in the vicinity of Drogheda. They consist of immense mounds covering stone galleries of cyclopian workmanship, which remained unmolested from a period long before the Christian era until the ninth century, when they were violated by the Danes.

The more modern cromlins of the Scots race consist of a collection of mounds of much smaller size, and the mound of Daltic, the Pagan king contemporary with St. Patrick, with its monumental pillar stone, is still to be seen at Rath Cragan in the county of Roscommon. An excellent account of these monuments is to be found in Dr. Petrie's work on the *Round Towers*.

It is remarkable that the Pagan modes of interment did not cease immediately after the introduction of Christianity, but continued to

be practised long after; and this, with other evidence which might be given, proves, not only the very imperfect conversion of the natives, but the fact that many of the chiefs remained Pagans long after Christianity became widely diffused. A very common mode of interment was to bury the chief in a standing position, and in his armour, and with his face toward the country of his enemies. King Lavghaire, who obstinately refused to listen to St. Patrick, was interred in the external rampart of Rath Lavghaire, at Tara, in a standing position, with his military weapons upon him, and having his face turned southwards upon his enemies, the Lacerions, as if fighting with them or bidding them defiance. What is more remarkable, we have an authentic statement that this mode of interment was practised even in the sixth century. In the year 537 Eagan Baul, King of Connaught, and father of St. Callagh, was buried in the same manner as Lavghaire; in his arms, and with his face toward Ulster. What is still more remarkable, the custom of erecting cromlechs over the dead was practised to as late a period as that of burying the dead in a standing position. Callagh, the son of Eaghan Baul, was murdered by his four foster brothers, the four Maols. The four youths were hanged, and the place of execution is still called Ard-na-maol. "The monument raised over these youths," says Dr. O'Denovan, "is still in existence." It is a remarkable cromlech, supported by three pillar stones, and fixed as level as a horizontal dial. This is the only cromlech in Ireland which can be satisfactorily connected with history.

Another custom of which we have historical evidence was that of erecting a pillar stone over the cairn or mound, and these stones appear to have had Ogham inscriptions on them; and as the art of deciphering them is making rapid progress, it is to be hoped that they will carefully be sought for by our Scottish antiquaries.

NO. XVIII.

GLASGOW, *2nd March*, 1863.

DR. SCOULAR read a paper on "Celtic Mythology." During the present century philologists have shown that from India to Ireland an ancient race of men have spread from the north-west of India to the plains of Bengal on the one extremity, and on the other through Western Asia to the extreme west of Europe. No doctrine in comparative philology is better established than that the language of the Vidas, the Greek, Latin, Sclavonian, and Celtic, are all descendants of a primitive language spoken by the ancestors of such a variety of nations. Science is progressive; and, taking the linguistic affinities of the Aryan tongues as a proof of common descent, we now attempt to find in addition the evidences of a common faith in the study of their mythologies and the investigation of their religious monuments. The mode in which this research should be conducted had been sketched out in the admirable essay by Professor Müller, which went to show that mythology is very much a branch of philology. The contents of the Vida hymns enabled us to assist at the formation of a mythology, and showed us the true origin of Pagan myths. The early religion of the Aryan races consisted in the worship of the heavenly bodies and the powers of nature. As these objects exhibit many phenomena and run through many changes, these attributes were considered apart, and afterwards personified, and hence the endless fables relating to these attributes. This system of personified attributes pervades all the Aryan mythologies from Greece to Scandinavia and Ireland. A more important consideration is, that the names of these predicates can be usually traced back to the Aryan language in its oldest surviving child—the Vida hymns. In some cases the evidence of this appears on the surface; thus there can be no doubt that the Dyans and Varuna (the firmament), are the Zeus and Uranos of the Greek; and the myths of Homer and Hesiod may be traced up to the people of Aryana.

It is more difficult to apply this to the mythologies of Western Europe. These have reached us in a modern and fragmentary state,

and in no case more so than in that of the Celts. What Guinm has done for German mythology may be attempted with the Celtic, although at best with far more meagre results.

The oldest and most interesting remains of Irish mythology which we possess, is to be found in the hymn of St. Patrick, of which a manuscript eight centuries old still exists. In this hymn, which is in the Irish language, we have the expression—"cretim in dulemain duie," that is—"credo in numinis elementorum." We have here the Pagan name for the Deity, the Christian term being Dia.—*Petrie on Tara Hill.* It is remarkable that this Pagan name is used by the Irish and Highlanders of the present day. In an ancient Gloss given by Zeus, we have "dule," equivalent to "Creator." The word "dul" occurs in Welsh, and also in the ancient language of Gaul. Dioscorides tells us that the plant "Cinquefoil" was called πεμπεδουλα by the Gauls. It is obviously the same as "dula,"—Sanscrit,—hence φυλλον, foleum, from φυω. Dulem is therefore the all-pervading animating power, the source of life and activity in all things.—*Zeus' Grammatica Celtica.*

Under this Dulem the elements also were worshipped, and evidence of this was given from the Pagan oaths of the Irish and other sources. That the Irish and other Celts worshipped fountains, was shown by quotations from *The Life of St. Patrick* and Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba.*

With respect to groves and trees Irish history abounds in evidences of the veneration in which they were held. It is true we find nothing to be compared to the ash of Yggdrasil; but what is perhaps as important, we find undoubted vestiges of an Aryan origin. A frequent expression in old Irish writers to designate a sacred tree or sanctuary is—"fidh nemedh;" the Irish "fidh" is equivalent to "vih," a wood or grove, old Saxon "vidh;" hence "vi gild," equivalent to "cultus idolorum." The second word—"nemedh," is called in Latin "nemus," from the Sanscrit "nam," equivalent to "sanctus;" hence the Irish "naomh," a saint;" hence "fidh nemedh," equivalent to "Sylva sacra."—*Grimn Deutsches Mythologie.* This explains the passage in the *Capitularies* of Charlemagne—"De sacris sylvarum quae nemidos vocant," that is, the worship of trees; and the form of the law shows that it was intended for Celts, not for Teutons. That the term was common to the whole Celtic races is obvious. In Strabo we find δρυνεμετον, a grove of oaks. In Venantius For-

tunatus, a Christian poet of the fourth century, we have the following verses which prove that he had a knowledge of the Celtic tongues when he translates—

> "Nomini vernemtis voluit vocitare velustos,
> Quod quasi fanum ingens Gallica lingua refert."

The object of the paper, which is the first part of a more lengthened one, was to show that the mythic names of the Celts did not stand alone, but had a manifest affinity with those of the Germans and Sclavonians, and that all had their source in the language and mythology of Aryana.

NO. XIX.

REPORT OF SUMMER MEETING, AND EXCURSION TO HAGGS AND CROOKSTON CASTLES, &c., UPON 27TH AUGUST, 1863.

DR. SCOULAR, *one of the Vice-Presidents, Preses.*

The members proceeded to Haggs Castle, belonging to Sir John Maxwell, Bart., of Poloc, and were received by Mr. Colledge, his factor, under whose guidance they made a minute inspection of the building.

From the following inscription in a panel over the entrance-door, 1585:—NI DOMINUS ÆDES STRUXERIT FRUSTRA STRUIS. Sr JOHN MAXWELL OF POLLOK, KNYGHT, AND D. MARGARET CONYNGHAM HIS WYF BIGGET THIS HOUS, it would appear that the building was erected towards the latter part of the sixteenth century, the characteristics of the architecture of which period are very beautifully exhibited. The plan of the house is one which was common at the period, viz., L-shaped, and although not possessing the same strength as houses of a similar class erected at an earlier and more turbulent period, still the vaulted first storey, with its small windows, shews plainly the feeling of insecurity which was not yet removed.

The building is described by Mr. Baird as being about 55 feet in length, 39 feet in width at the west end, and 24 feet at the east end, and is three stories in height. The principal apartment is about 28 feet by 18. While partaking of the features of the Scotch manorial buildings in its high-pitched roofs, crow-stepped gables, dormer windows, and circular stair-turrets, it wants the very common feature of corbelled angle-turrets.

The details are very effective and well arranged: for example, the jambs of the entrance-door, which are of the Early Pointed period, are enriched with the dog-tooth ornament, the whole enclosed with a cable-moulding continued round the panel, containing the inscription before quoted, and three panels above it, which originally, as now, were evidently filled with armorial bearings. The cornice on the principal front is exceedingly rich, the upper member being the cable-moulding, and the under portion being formed with small dentils, so as to give the effect of chequer-work. The dormer

windows are very beautiful, the same cornice being continued round them also.

The castle was fully two years in building, as would appear from a letter of Sir John Maxwell to his father-in-law in 1587, which says,—"the house was near an end, wanting only the reparrelling within, and that he was ashamed that it should stand like ane twme Kirne." The hint thus gently conveyed would appear to have been kindly taken, for Sir John shortly afterwards made the "Haggs" his principal residence.

At what time this ceased to be the family mansion-house is not precisely known, but the "Haggs" appears subsequently to have become the jointure-house of the dowagers of the Poloc family up to about the middle of the last century, when it was allowed to fall into a ruinous condition. To prevent its further decay the present baronet, a few years ago, commenced its reparation, and it has now been made the residence of the factor on the estate.

Historically, Haggs Castle is connected with the religious troubles of the West of Scotland, and relative political events of the seventeenth century. The Maxwells of Poloc at that time favoured the Covenanters, and having sometimes attended conventicles, they incurred the displeasure of the Government. In 1667 a conventicle held in the Haggs formed the subject of an inquisition by the *Episcopal Presbytery* of Glasgow, and we learn, from the records of the Privy Council, that on more than one occasion the Baronets of Poloc were heavily fined and imprisoned at Edinburgh for their non-conforming views.

The members next proceeded to the remains of a circular intrenchment, or camp, in the Norwood of Poloc. This fort has an area of about one-fourth of an acre within its fosse, and may have been a military post for observation, such as the Roman armies while in Scotland placed along or near their roads in connection with their camps and garrisons. Their camps usually had a regular square form, and were laid out with approaches and roads after one uniform design. Their outposts were round or elliptical, or of whatever form best suited the slopes of the knolls on which they were commonly placed.

The intrenched fort in Poloc Norwood crowns the summit of a small hill, and if the trees in and around it were away, it would command an extensive view towards Glasgow, Paisley, Renfrew, and Dumbarton.

We cannot venture to say when or by whom this fort and some others in the neighbourhood were made, seeing there is no record of details for identification. We may, however, search back into history to learn who were likely to need such intrenchments, and to be at the trouble of constructing them. Back to the beginning of the eleventh century we are safe in assuming that they could not have been required for any army. During the five centuries earlier we are in the dark, or have only such a faint glimmering that it is hardly safe to assume anything; yet if there had been considerable battles, or bodies of troops contesting or holding the district, some writer would probably have recorded the fact. Then if we go farther back, we come to the time of the Roman occupation, and we learn from their writers the following facts:—About A.D. 80 Agricola constructed camps and forts between the Forth and the Clyde as a base for his operations northwards. He then proceeded, fought the battle of the Grampians, and having subdued a considerable tract of country north of the Forth, he returned to his base, and strengthened it by additional camps and forts, extending them along the Clyde firth opposite Ireland. In 120 the Emperor Hadrian ordered the abandonment of these northern works, and the construction of a regularly fortified wall from Newcastle westward across the island, as he considered the country north of that either too difficult to hold or perhaps not worth holding. The Caledonians and their allies, however, gave so much annoyance during the next twenty years, that the Romans resolved to resume Agricola's line of works, and to make it stronger than before. Their general, Urbicus, therefore, in 140-142 constructed the Forth and Clyde wall, with its garrisons, repaired the camps and outposts already existing, and constructed others. Regular roads were formed for communication between this wall and that of Hadrian, with branches parallel to, and a few miles inland from the north wall. Along these roads there were constructed such camps and forts as manifestly were necessary for their system of occupation. One branch ran from the central north road west by Bothwell, Glasgow, and Paisley, at which last place there was a camp regularly fortified, and having an area of forty acres within its fosse, which might hold eight thousand troops with their baggage, according to Polybius. It occupied the height called Oakshawhead, which commands a wide view of the neighbouring country. Two outposts were placed, one southward and the other westward, each being about a quarter of a mile from

the camp. Looking eastward, we see that a fort at Crookston, another at Poloc Norwood, and another at Camphill, complete the chain up to Glasgow, so that the Clyde was defended along its ford, near the west end of the wall, where from the hills along its north side it was necessarily weak. It is probable, therefore, that the Poloc fort was one of the outposts near to the road which led to the Paisley camp.

Thereafter the party was conducted by Mr. Colledge to other objects of antiquarian interest upon the estate lying on the north of the river Cart. There are here several interesting remains, which probably indicate that the neighbourhood of Poloc was a station of considerable importance to the ancient population of the district. Of these, perhaps the most ancient are two circular mounds, not tumuli, but what in Ireland are called "raths," consisting of earthen mounds surrounded by a fosse. One of these in far later times has been selected as the site of a square tower or castle, some remains of which still exist.

On the invitation of Sir John Maxwell the members then examined various articles of antiquarian interest in Poloc House: among these was a ciborium set with garnets, for holding the consecrated wafer, which was used by Mary Queen of Scots on the morning of her execution at Fotheringay.

The members next proceeded to inspect the opening of a tumulus situated in the Poloc grounds on the south of the river Cart. The Society has on this occasion to acknowledge the kindness and liberality of Sir John Maxwell, who not only afforded permission to inspect the many interesting antiquities on his estate, but sent a number of workmen to open the tumulus, and have everything prepared for the inspection of the Society. The tumulus is situated in the park, in alluvial and sandy soil formed by the Cart. The mound is a truncated cone, having a diameter at base of 56 feet, and at top of 26 feet, with a height of 6 feet. The materials to the height of 3 feet from the ground surface are sharp fine sand and land stones, none larger than what a man might conveniently carry, disposed roughly somewhat like a low wall round the base and near its outer edge. Over the stones and the sand is a mass of ordinary soil. In the interior of the tumulus there was no appearance of any artificial arrangement, either as a gallery or stone coffin. In the centre of the mound, on the natural surface of the ground, was found, with its mouth downwards, an unglazed earthen cinerary urn,

which may be described as follows:—The thickness of the material $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch, the external diameter at the mouth $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches lower 14 inches, at 3 inches down from the mouth 13 inches, at 5 inches further down again 14 inches, at bottom $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the external height $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The form of the urn is handsomer than usual. The rim is flat, and inclines outward for 2 inches, and is then finished with a bead moulding. The only ornamentation is on the rim, which has carving accurately executed in its manner, viz., a double dotted straight line, drawn diagonally from point to point at top and bottom without intersection, and then a filling up of the angular intervals with fainter lines, variously, but regularly and closely drawn. Below the moulding the sides are nearly perpendicular, but swelling a very little downwards, and then contracting equally to the sole. The colour of the pottery is, on the outside, fawn approaching to brown, deepening inwards to dark red and black in the cross section.

The tumulus had no ditch round it, nor was there any appearance indicating that there had ever been one. The spot selected for it was about two feet higher than the general ground surface, as if it had been a small sand knoll tailing out broadly.

During the progress of the excavation, the sand as it was cleared away by the labourers was carefully examined, so that no relic should escape notice. The only other noticeable article found was an amber bead, which lay near the centre of the mound, but several feet distant from the urn.

The urn contained fragments of calcined bones: these have been carefully examined by Dr. Allen Thomson, Professor of Anatomy in Glasgow College, who has kindly made the following interesting and elaborate report:—

"Having been requested to examine a number of fragments of bones found in an urn at Poloc, and to state my opinion of their nature, I have to report as follows:—

"These fragments consist of between three and four hundred pieces, varying in magnitude from half an inch or less up to three or four inches. They are much broken and decayed, and many of the hardest and most compact portions are split up in a peculiar manner, by fissures dividing them into laminæ. They appear to have been burned, the greater number being completely deprived of the animal matter, and a few charred black, as if incompletely burned.

"By far the greater number appear to belong to an adult human

skeleton, but a few fragments are manifestly parts of the skull of a child.

"Besides the laminated cleavage already mentioned, many of the compacter portions are also bent to a considerable extent, in consequence apparently of unequal loss of substance in the process of decay.

"None of the fragments present any signs of injury or disease having occurred to them, or of having undergone any change but what is to be explained by burning and natural decay.

"It has been possible to fit together a few of the fragments at their broken edges; but for the most part this could not be done. There has therefore been considerable difficulty in determining the age, sex, and stature of the individuals to whom the bones have belonged; making, however, due allowance for the shrinking produced by burning and decay, I am inclined to consider the bones represented by the fragments as most probably belonging to an adult female in the prime of life, and to a child of about two or three years of age. In the bones of the adult ossification has manifestly been complete; the state of the sockets of the teeth shews that they have been all occupied; and in the state of the other bones there is nothing to indicate the effects of age. In the few small fragments of the child's skull, the half of a supraorbital arch, the petrous bone of one side, and the broken alveoli of some of the temporary and permanent teeth, have furnished the indications from which I have determined the age.

"Not a single tooth or any fragment of one has been discovered; with reference to which I may remark, that in examining for Dr. Bryce an ancient skull from Arran, I found the teeth, though at first sight apparently perfect in form, liable to crumble into dust with the slightest touch.

"The following is an enumeration of the fragments which were most easily recognised:—

"1. Adult Bones.

"1. A portion of the inner table of the lower jaw, including a part of the alveolar ridge; the outer table, with less than half the alveolar wall. The inner walls of six alveoli are distinctly marked, with a trace of a seventh, all in a condition as if they had been occupied by their respective teeth, viz., the central and lateral incisor, the canine, the two bicuspid, first molar and part of second molar teeth, of the right side; and in a similar manner on the left side there remain

small parts of the alveoli of four teeth, viz., the central and lateral incisors, the canine, and the first bicuspid teeth.

"Another fragment of bone seems to consist of part of the outer plate of the lower jaw, and contains the half walls of four alveoli.

"2. The head, neck, and small portion of the ramus of a lower jaw of the right side, of small size, but apparently adult.

"3. A portion of the alveolar part of the upper jaw of the right side, together with a part of the nasal aperture, and the palate plate. It contains, somewhat broken into on the outer side, the alveoli of the two incisors, the canine, two bicuspids (both with double fangs), and the first molar teeth.

"4. The petrous bone of the left side, containing the ear labyrinth and meatus internus.

"5. The inner two-thirds of the left supraorbital arch, recognised by the supraorbital foramen, and on the posterior surface the wall of the frontal sinus.

"6. Various portions of the flat or tabular bones of the cranium, among which are distinguishable, (*a*) some portions, including parts of the lambdoidal and other sutures; (*b*) a fragment of the occipital bone containing the external occipital protuberance, and the superior curved lines very strongly marked; to one side of which can be fitted (*c*) the greater part of the mastoid portion of the right temporal bone; (*d*) various fragments of other flat bones of the cranium.

"7. Of the vertebral column there is not much remaining. The following fragments are recognisable:—(*a*) a considerable portion of the axis or second vertebra, with its processus dentatus; (*b*) the bodies and pedicles of the third, fourth, and fifth cervical vertebræ; (*c*) portions of the bodies of several dorsal vertebræ; (*d*) spinous process and several other portions of a middle lumbar vertebra.

"8. The root of the acromion process and border of the great notch of the scapula.

"9. Portions of the articular heads of two humeri, portions of their shafts much broken, and the lower articular extremities of right and left humerus, corresponding with those of a female.

"10. Middle portion of the shaft of a right and left radius, and carpal end of the right one; portion of the shaft of the left ulna, and upper extremities of both ulnæ, much mutilated.

"11. Only one fragment, which could with probability be referred to the pelvis; it seemed to be a portion of the inner plate of the os inominatum, comprising a part of the ilio-pectineal line.

"12. Various portions of the shaft of two femurs; the lower end including the patellar surface and one condyle.

"13. Various portions of the shaft of the tibia and fibula, the sides not distinguished.

"14. Of the hand I was able to recognise the metacarpal bone of one thumb, one distinct first digital phalanx, and several fragments from the middle portion of others.

"15. Of the foot I was able to recognise the remains of both ossa calcis, one astragalus, and portions of several other short bones, which I conjectured might belong to metatarsal bones.

"16. A small portion of the middle of one of the longer ribs, and several fragments of the lower or small ribs.

"2. Bones of a Child.

"Of the child's skeleton I was not able with certainty to recognise any of the bones belonging to the trunk or limbs, and only a very few of the head. The following are the pieces which appeared to me capable of determination:—

"1. Several fragments of bone which fitted together and formed a portion of the alveolar arch of the upper jaw, a part of it also presenting a palatal surface with the incisor fissure, a nasal and an orbital surface. The outer plate was entirely removed; the inner remaining portion presented the half walls of the sockets of four milk or temporary teeth,—probably an incisor, canine, one fang of the small molar, and one of the larger molar teeth,—and above and behind these the half walls of the alveolar sacs of five permanent teeth, probably the middle incisor, the lateral ditto; two bicuspid, and part of the first molar teeth.

"2. A fragment consisting of the inner half of the left supraorbital arch and containing the supraorbital notch; along with this there is also the adjacent portion of the orbital plate, and the nasal portion (glabella and nasal notch) of the frontal bone. This last part runs a quarter of an inch beyond the middle line, and presents on the back the foramen caecum, and the internal frontal spine running up from it.

"3. A portion of bone which does not exactly fit to the preceding, something having been broken away from between them, but which seems to complete the margin of the orbit of the left side—constituting, therefore, the upper part of the malar bone, and presenting the orbital, facial, and temporal surfaces.

"4. A number of pieces, much mutilated, of the flat or tabular bones of the skull, amounting in all to six or seven square inches—probably chiefly parietal and frontal, but so much broken as to render their determination difficult.

"Soft Parts.

"In addition to the bones mentioned above, I found three portions of a softer structure, easily torn into shreds, but presenting the character of animal membrane or texture which had undergone decay. One of these in particular attracted my attention from its presenting the tubular form so distinctly that I cannot doubt it is the remains of an artery, or some such part of the animal frame. How this escaped destruction by the burning I cannot pretend to explain. I will not, however, venture to affirm that all the bones have been burned; to ascertain this would require a chemical examination.

"From the above enumeration of the fragments, it will be seen that a certain number, constituting the great majority, are bones of an adult of rather slender form, and probably, therefore, a female of middle life, or neither young nor very old; that a few fragments of the head of a child, whose dentition bespeaks an age of from two to four years were mingled with the rest; that there can be no doubt as to the existence of the parts of two bodies, seeing that the fragment of the upper jaw and that of the supraorbital plate are of the same part and side of the body as the corresponding fragments of the adult. But it must be left for conjecture, upon the evidence which these remains afford, whether or not the whole of the child's body had been burned."

Objects of the nature of the tumulus were very frequent over much of the earth's surface before the Christian period. Rawlinson says they had covered immense areas of ground in the ancient Eastern world, and great ingenuity and skill had been employed in the construction of some of the larger ones near towns. Incremation seems to have been discontinued in Britain before the time of the Crusades. The raising of earthen mounds over the more distinguished dead, or by the friends of the deceased, would probably cease at the same time.

What may be the date of the construction of the tumulus at Poloc must be left to conjecture. We may venture, however, from its name having been so long, as is known, the Law Hill, to suppose that it had been put to use some centuries ago as the Baron's court

hill. His people would meet here to state to him their grievances, or to answer to charges civil and criminal, and plead and receive sentence, according to practice in this country and in the north-west of Europe generally. For district meetings, and the administration of justice on the larger scale, there were greater law hills; and the people met for elections, or other affairs concerning the kingdom, upon still more important eminences.

On concluding the examination, Dr. Scoular gave a few remarks on the aim of the investigations in which the Society had been engaged. He stated that a more important part of the duties of the archæologist and philologist was to explore the unwritten history of man. The only means of arriving at legitimate conclusions was by studying the relics of his words and works. It is the business of the antiquary, in the first instance, to classify the remains from the evidence which they themselves afford; secondly, from the structure of the works, or the remains of works of art and the mode of sepulture, and the anatomical characters of the crania which they contain. A correct classification is our first object, but when this has been done the most difficult task remains, of connecting our classes with their chronological equivalents. If we admit the ages of stone, bronze, and iron, we have to enquire if the practice of incremation existed in all these periods, or had an epoch to which it was restricted. A still more important question arose—was each age characterized by a peculiar form of the crania? and were the people of the stone period of a different cranial type from those of the bronze? If such be the case, we are carried to the domain of philology, and have to enquire whether the Celts of the Aryan family were the earliest settlers in Europe, or had been preceded by the Finnic race, whose descendants still exist in several parts of Europe and India.

The Members then proceeded to Crookston Castle. By tradition Crookston Castle is intimately connected with the history of Mary Queen of Scots. Here it has been stated that she first met the Lord Darnley. In this, however, tradition errs, for it was at Wemyss Castle, in Fifeshire, that this took place, and they were married at Holyrood House. The tradition probably arose from Crookston Castle having been a possession and frequent residence of the Dukes of Lennox.

The earliest description of this interesting and noble ruin is given in "Crawford's History of Renfrewshire." He says:—

"In the same Paroch of Paisley, and near to the River of Cart

(Levern ?), stands some considerable remains of that noble and stately edifice, the Castle of Crockstoun, the principal messuage of the Regality of Crockstoun, which Regality comprehends the lordship of Darnly and Inchenan, in this Shire, and the lordship of Tarboltoun in the Shire of Ayr, where was one of the principal seats of the noble family of Lennox. This ancient building did consist of a large quarter, with two very lofty and high towers, with battlements on the wings thereof, in which there has been many spacious and large rooms. It had a very agreeable prospect through a great part of the Country, and had adjoining to it some square and level pieces of ground, where, no doubt, there were orchards, and surrounded with pleasant woods. Hard by the Castle is to be seen that noble monument the Ew-tree, called the tree of Crockstoun, of so large a trunk and well spread in its branches, that it is seen at several miles distant from the ground where it stands. The impress is on the reverse of the large pieces of an ounce weight coined by Queen Mary after her return from France that she had taken Henry Lord Darnley for her husband."

The ruin, which by the anxious care of Sir John Maxwell, the present proprietor, has now been arrested in its farther decay, consists of the quarter referred to by Crawford, with the north-east tower and part of the basement of the tower on the south-east corner. Though Crawford speaks of the castle as consisting of a quarter and two towers only, there are clear evidences of there having been originally four towers, one at each corner of the building.

The castle appears to have been built with very great care, and must have been of great strength. The walls, externally, are faced with hewn stone, and are of great thickness, being as much as 8, 10, and 12 feet in breadth. The plan of the castle is a parallelogram 60 by 40 feet, with towers at each angle. These differ in size, one being 26 by 20 feet, another 26 by 18 feet, another 22 by 16 feet, and the fourth is 20 feet square. Their walls vary in thickness from 5 to 10 feet, and the area covered, measuring over the towers, is about 77 by 54 feet.

The best preserved portion of the building is the north-east tower, which is entire to the height of the parapet. The angle turrets have been machiolated, which was very seldom the case in the castles of the district. The great hall, which occupies the whole area of the middle floor of the principal building, has been a noble room, 44 by 17 feet, with large and deep bays in both sides and at the west end.

Its ceiling had been a high-pointed arch, traces of which still remain.

Immediately under the hall is an apartment of the same style, its arched ceiling formed of strong stone ribs, the spaces between which are linteled over with hewn flags, and most probably the arching over the great hall was in the same manner.

Of architectural details there are few left. Externally, everything has been plain, if we except the corbelling which supports the parapet, but from fragments of the bases and capitals of chimney jambs it is evident that great skill and taste have been displayed in the interior decorations. One capital still preserved is certainly very fine, and judging from its character we may assume that the castle was erected in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

There are a great number of masons' marks on the faces of the hewn stones, and it is worthy of notice that among them is one which is also found on the walls of Glasgow Cathedral.

The moat of the castle is still 10 feet deep, and 30 feet broad throughout its whole length. It is, however, much overgrown with brushwood. A drawbridge crossed near its west centre, where there are still some remains of the gateway towers.

The members afterwards inspected a monolith at Hippingstone, on the east side of the road leading to the Kennishead Railway Station. It measures 6 feet in height above the ground surface, and at least as many feet below, and in breadth is about 2 feet 6 inches in each direction at its centre. It bears, however, no inscription, and no tradition or record is known to indicate its age or object.

NO. XX.

ON SURNAMES, AND SEVERAL MATTERS RELATING THERETO.

BY

DAVID MACKINLAY, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 2nd February*, 1863.]

Rowland Hill on one occasion commenced a discourse by stating that he would first speak *to* the text, then *round about* the text, and lastly, *away from* the text. In this paper I mean to avail myself of the liberty of the preacher, as my subject requires a little freedom of treatment.

Before entering on the subject, however, it may be well to say a few words about personal or Christian names. These have been used in all ages of the world, and, in early times, were usually chosen from their fancied appropriateness to the condition or prospects of the family, or in order to express some peculiarity in the personal appearance or disposition of the child. Many beautiful illustrations of this are to be found in the Bible.

An interesting inquiry here presents itself—Were personal names in early times liable to be changed during the life of the bearer? I think we must answer this in the affirmative; at least so far as to say that changes were occasionally effected: for when a man by his conduct belied the name he bore, it is reasonable to think that his neighbours would call him by another name more in keeping with his true character. A consideration of the names mentioned in the Landnámabók—the Domesday book of Iceland—is strongly confirmatory of this view. How otherwise can we explain the existence of such personal names as Bothmódr, = weary of the fight; Drafli, = drawler; Gamli, = the old; Gaukr, = proud fool; and others of like kind, which could not have been imposed in infancy? The son of one of the first settlers in Iceland was called Smithr—most likely in consequence of his clever-handedness. He is the only one of that name mentioned in the Landnámabók.

The rich variety of the ancient personal names is very striking;

and, taking population into account, probably equalled that of our modern surnames. Thus, the Landnámabók exhibits a list of more than 800 male personal names among the first settlers of Iceland and their immediate descendants; and the number of these names increased with the increase of the population. Indeed, personal names had a tendency to increase indefinitely till the custom was introduced of bestowing upon children the names of other people. The poetry of name-giving then disappeared, and personal names not only ceased to increase, but became at once exposed to decay through the occasional disuse of particular names. In the western parts of Europe this decay was greatly accelerated by the introduction of Christianity, which cast discredit on the mythological and warlike names—a very numerous class—and substituted for them a few well-known scriptural names. Among the latter none took so high a place as the name of the beloved disciple of our Lord. In Iceland at the present day, nearly 6000 persons, out of a population of 32,000 males, bear the name of John, although there are 518 male personal names in use throughout the island. The census returns of Great Britain—if examined with this view—would probably shew that the name John is not less common here. In Iceland, where surnames are still very rare, personal names are more numerous than with us. The extreme poverty of these names among the people of Western Europe is mainly owing to the use of surnames.

So long as population was sparse, and the choice of a child's name was unrestricted by custom, a second name was not needed; but the increasing density of population, combined with the decay of personal names, at length rendered this desirable. If a dozen Johns lived in the same village it is plain that in speaking of them individually some descriptive epithet or appellation would be necessary in order to distinguish the one from the other. Surnames were scarcely known in this country before the Norman conquest, and it was several centuries after that event before their use became general. At first they were confined to the great families of the country, but in process of time they were adopted by, or imposed upon all classes of the community.

In all ages princes and other men of mark have occasionally been distinguished by some epithet added to their name. Thus we read of William the Lion, Henry Beauclerk, Hrolf the Ganger, and Charles Martel. But these *to-names* were not peculiar to the great: on the contrary, they were in frequent use among all classes of

society, and in later times became a fruitful source of surnames. Many of the persons mentioned in the Landnámabók have to-names attached to the personal names. Some of these to-names their bearers had no reason to be ashamed of—as Rammi, = the strong; Rauthfeldr, = red coat; Bláskegg, = blue beard; Hvassi, = the sturdy; Góthi, = the good; Spaki, = the wise; Kneif, = the fishing rod. Others of them were far from flattering—as Skjálgi, = squint-eyed; Hynefr, = hairy neb; Illíngr, = the scoundrel; Gothlaus = the wicked; Nefja, = nosey; Ölfus, = ale bibber. Many of our surnames are merely to-names which have clung to the families of their first bearers, and which, in not a few instances, must have been very unwillingly adopted. Who, for instance, would choose to assume the name of Addlehead, Cowbrain, Gallows, or any of the thousand and one nicknames equally opprobrious which are now perpetuated as surnames?

Strictly speaking, surnames scarcely deserve to be so called until they become hereditary. In early times they were not so. A man might then be known by a particular name at one period of his life, and by a different name at a later period; and his children did not necessarily assume the name by which he himself was known. If he had half a dozen sons, each of these might have different surnames, none of which resembled his own. It was no uncommon thing for a man to be known by a local surname at one period and by a trade surname at another. By and by, however, surnames became more fixed, and a man fell heir to his father's name more regularly than to his estate. But, after all, it is doubtful if surnames have yet become definitely fixed among certain classes of the community.

The variableness of surnames in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, even among the nobility, is shown by a glance at the genealogical tree of the house of Stuart. Alan Fitz Flaald, who lived at the beginning of the twelfth century, and who was grandson by the father's side to Banquo, Thane of Lochaber, had two sons, Walter and William. Both of these took the surname Fitz Alan. Walter's son, Alan, assumed the name Fitz Walter; while Alan's son, Walter, became Walter Fitz Alan. Walter's son, Alexander, gave up the practice of assuming the father's Christian name, and took the surname Stuart from the office he held in the state, and in his descendants the name became hereditary. William, the other son of Alan Fitz Flaald, took, as before-mentioned, the surname

Fitz Alan, and in his descendants this became the family name. The family of the Duke of Norfolk, who is the lineal representative of William, still retain the surname Fitz Alan, with the Scandinavian personal name Howard added to it. It is worthy of note here, that while Walter Fitz Alan's descendants became hereditary Grand Stewards of Scotland, those of William Fitz Alan became hereditary Earls Marshal of England.

Surnames have been derived from many various sources, but the most prolific of these have been sirenames, local names, and trade names. Of the latter I do not mean to speak.

Sirenames are surnames taken from the Christian or personal name of the father or other progenitor. The personal name was often assumed without change or addition, and thus have originated such surnames as James, Henry, Giles, Oswald, and others. Names of this class are very numerous, but many of them do not readily indicate their origin, either because they have suffered corruption, or represent ancient personal names now extinct. There is less variety among the Celtic sirenames than among the Teutonic and Scandinavian. A careful survey of the names recorded in the Landnámabók —and these represent only a small part of the old Norse personal names—shows how much our surnames owe to our Scandinavian ancestors. Here are some sirenames under the letter A which represent old Norse personal names no longer in use: Airey, Aiston, Algar, Alley, Almond, Ann, And, Anketell, Arkell, Arney, Arnott, Ass, Atley, Atwool. Some of the old personal names have branched out into several surnames, in consequence of various slight changes of form or sound. Thus the old Norse personal name Sigurdr (pronounced almost like Sivurdr), is represented by the surnames Seaward, Saward, Seward, Sheward, and Sword,—the latter showing its parentage better when pronounced in the less polite but more correct way, as Swurd.

In assuming a father's personal name it was common, at least in later times, to add some word or particle to the name to show the relationship. To this custom we owe such names as Williamson, Robertson, Richardson. But as the contracted form of the name was often preferred, we have the same names under the form of Wilson, Robson, and Dickson. This was especially the case in some of the Border Districts where Robsons, Jacksons, Wilsons, and Dicksons abound. The sirenames ending in *son*, are, as a rule, more modern than those from personal names pure and simple, for while many of

the latter represent personal names long since disused, the former almost always represent personal names still current.

The Gaelic prefix Mac, = son, is not always confined to personal names. Thus we have MacIntyre, = carpenter's son; MacPherson, = parson's son; MacCambridge, and MacQuaker. A few of those exceptional cases—as Smithson and Wrightson—are to be found among English surnames. Irish sirenames have the prefix O, = grandson or descendant, more often than Mac, but both are common. The heads of the great clans both in Scotland and Ireland were usually known by the clan name alone. Thus the chief of the O'Donoghues was styled "the O'Donoghue." Nor did the sub-chiefs take a Christian name, but added to the clan name some descriptive word, as in Macdermot Roe, = red, and O'Conner Don, = brown haired. Not long ago two of these representative names—the O'Conner Don and the Chisholm—were found in the roll of the House of Commons, but almost all of them are extinct. The last representative of the Macnabs died about eighty years ago. Though in utter poverty his ancestral pride clung to him to the close of his life. No one could address him with impunity as Mister Macnab. He would scornfully refuse the title, and proudly add,—"There's mony a Mister Macnab, but there's only ae Macnab."

Welsh sirenames—and these form the great bulk of the surnames of the principality—represent the sonship, either by *s* added, as in Jones, = Johns; Davis, = Davids; or *Ap* prefixed, as in Ap Ryce, Ap Howell. Where *s* is added, as in Rogers, the word son is evidently implied in addition, so that Rogers is merely an ellipsis for Roger's son. Those having Ap prefixed, have in most cases been shortened by leaving out the first letter of the prefix and joining the second to the personal name. Thus Ap Ryce becomes Pryce or Bryce; Ap Richard, Prichard; Ap Howell, Powell.

Where a Welsh sirename has an English synonym it was formerly customary to use either form indifferently. This comes out very clearly in the course of a trial which took place nearly forty years ago. One of the witnesses, John Jones, was asked if he had always gone by that name, and he said he had. He was then asked if, at the time he lived at Cærmarthen, he did not go by the name of Evan Evans, and to this he also replied in the affirmative. This apparent discrepancy was explained by Mr. Taunton, who stated that Evan is the Welsh synonym of John, and Evans of Jones, and that John Jones might be called indifferently Evan

Jones, John Evans, or Evan Evans, without any real change of name.

Fixed families' names were rare among the Welsh before the seventeenth century. The father of Matthew Henry, the Commentator, was the first of the Henrys in whom the name became hereditary. Till names became fixed, a man's surname usually differed both from his father's and his son's. If John Ap Ryce had a son Roger, the latter would be called Roger Ap John, or Roger Jones; while Roger's son, William, would be William Ap Roger, or William Rogers. The number of christian names current in Wales being extremely limited, much confusion prevailed; and to remedy this, it was not uncommon, especially in written deeds, for a man to add his father and grandfather's surname to his own. In this way the William Ap Roger just mentioned would become William Ap Roger, Ap John, Ap Ryce. In his interesting work on English surnames —a work to which I have been not a little indebted in the preparation of this paper—Mr. Lower quotes the name of the Patron Saint of Llangollen, as an illustration of the absurd extent to which Welsh names sometimes showed the pedigree. Here it is:—St. Collen, Ap Gwynnawg, Ap Clyndawg, Ap Cowdra, Ap Caradoc-Freichfras, Ap Llynn-Merim, Ap Enion-Yrth, Ap Cunedda-Wledig. Welshmen thus compelled to carry their pedigrees in their names could not fail to become expert genealogists. Need we wonder, then, that some of them were able to trace their descent up to Adam himself?

I cannot help thinking that imperfections in the nomenclature of a people have a tendency to beget a fondness for genealogical pursuits. It is to this cause that we are in great measure indebted for the long pedigrees of the Irish, Welsh, and Gaels. The Icelanders have no Celtic blood in their veins, but they possess family trees almost as old as a Welshman's. Indeed, these are the only trees which thrive in Iceland; and the reason why they thrive is the extreme rarity of surnames. There are only fifty-eight native ones in the island, and all of recent origin, so that few families have a second name. But by means of family records, and with the help of conjecture when these fail them, people trace their descent for *centuries* back, picking up by the way as many of the old worthies as they can. Most families of any pretension count Snorro Sturluson among their progenitors, and not a few claim to be sprung from the old Norwegian Kings.

Another and very abundant source of our surnames is *names of*

places. There is scarcely a town or village in the country, if we except the Celtic portions of it, which has not given name to one or more families. Before surnames were fixed landlords were usually known by the name of their estate. Thus, if Robert had the estate of Waterbeck, he would be called Robert of Waterbeck; and if he exchanged Waterbeck for Foxley he would become Robert of Foxley, or Robert Foxley. In course of time, when surnames were becoming fixed, the name Foxley would cleave to the family, even after the estate was parted with. When the name of the estate and that of the proprietor are identical, it may fairly be inferred that the estate has been in the possession of the same family for several centuries. Farmers often derived their surnames from the name of the farm they tilled, and those of a humbler class from the place of their birth or residence. In this way it happened not unfrequently that the poorest serf bore the same name as the wealthy lord on whose lands he laboured.

After surnames were fixed it became customary to give a landowner or farmer a to-name from his estate or farm; and this custom has not quite died out yet. In an old Renfrewshire ballad one Scott of Dunrod thus figures:—

"The witches ride in Inverkip,
And in Dunrod they dwell;
But the greatest loon amang them a'
Is auld Dunrod himsel'."

These to-names were common among the Border mosstroopers two or three centuries ago, and in many cases took the place of the previous surnames. Maitland of Lethington thus mentions the matter—

"Thay thieffis that steillis and turses hame,
Ilk ane of them has ane to-name;
Will of the Lawis,
Hab of the Shawis,
To mak bare wawis
They think na shame."

Surnames from local names usually retain the old form of the names. Bristol gives name to a good many families, and always under the old form of Bristow. In this way Caryll is taken from Carlisle, Lithgow from Linlithgow, and Anguish from the province of Angus. Nicoll in some cases represents the City of Lincoln, as Johnston does Perth, and Snowdon, Stirling. The families who derive their name from London, usually spell it as Londin or Lund, —the latter the old Scotch form. The extreme rarity of the name

London, however, in any form, is worthy of the attention of the antiquary. Londoners must have often settled down in the provinces, and there got their surnames. Why not then the name of their birth place? For this reason probably,—that most of them being craftsmen or tradesmen they would naturally resort to the borough towns where they would get surnames from their trade or occupation. We have reason to believe that men who followed trades or well defined occupations got their surnames from these, rather than from their place of birth or residence, and that in the transition period local surnames were often supplanted by trade surnames. Indeed, speaking generally, the surnames from trades and occupations point out the descendants of the burghers of the middle ages, while the local surnames point out the descendants of the rural population.

Among local surnames those taken from the ancient territorial divisions of our land are worthy of special note. But before mentioning these, it may be well to recollect how the population of the island was distributed in the centuries succeeding the Norman conquest. The Cornish Britons occupied the extreme south-west corner of the island, and the Welsh the present principality. The Gaels or native Scots were confined nearly within their present limits. The Anglo-Saxons or English occupied the chief part of the country south of the Forth and Clyde. But in the basin of the Clyde and the neighbouring valleys to the south there still existed a broken remnant, mixed with Saxons from the Lothians, of the ancient Welsh kingdom of Strathclyde; while in Galloway wild Scots from Ireland had largely displaced the pre-existing population. Along the east coast from Essex to Northumberland the Danes or Norsemen were very numerous; and from Fife to Caithness formed the main element of the population. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Danes were closely allied to the Saxons, both in lineage and language. In the southern half of the island the Anglo-Normans, or *French* as they were usually styled, were the chief owners of the soil; and though much fewer in number in the northern half they held there the best fiefs in the land.

Bearing these facts in mind we can easily understand why the Kings of England were wont to address their people as their French, English, and Welsh subjects, and why the Kings of Scotland addressed theirs as their French, English, and Scottish subjects; and also, why French, English, Welsh, and Scott came to be adopted as surnames.

Scott would at first mean either a Highlander or Gallowegian, and at a later period, any one born north of the Tweed. English or Inglis, which is the Scotch form of the word, would be applied to a Lowlander as well as to a native of England, but afterwards became restricted to the latter. The Gaelic word Sasunnach still means both Lowlander and Englishman. French is a pretty common surname here, and denoted both an Anglo-Norman and a native Frenchman. Many of our Scotch Frenches are descended from the French soldiers who came over at sundry times to help the Stuarts in their wars with the Kings of England. French could not have been so common a surname north of the Tweed but for the close intimacy which so long subsisted between France and Scotland. And here I may mention an incident which shows how these Gentile surnames sometimes originated. At the close of the twelfth century several Norman soldiers settled down in a small Sussex village, much to the regret of the natives, who called them French by way of contempt. The Normans on their part, and for the same reason, called the Saxons English. These epithets descended from father to son, and by and by became the acknowledged surnames of the villagers, so that in later times one-half of the villagers were called French and the other half English. Welsh, Walsh, Wallis, and Wallace, all have the same meaning. It may seem strange that the defender of Scotland should have borne the name Wallace or Welshman, but this I think can be explained. Renfrewshire, of which he was a native, formed part of the ancient British kingdom of Strathclyde, whose population was of the same race as that of Wales. About 300 years before Wallace's time, Strathclyde was united to the Scottish monarchy, and received a large accession of Anglo-Saxon immigrants from the Lothians, but many of its ancient laws were in force till repealed by Edward I., when he was in possession of the country. In an English political song written during the reign of Edward, Wallace is styled Guylliam de Wallia, or William of Wales; and again Walays, = Welshman; and again le Walays, or the Welshman,—names which seem to point to his descent from one of the old Welsh families of the district. Irish, Paddy, and Cornish, occur as surnames, and so do Scotchman and Welshman. England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Cornwall, are also met with. Brett, Breton, and Britton, were surnames occasionally applied to natives of Wales. Brett, however, also meant a native of Strathclyde. Galloway is, as might be expected, a common surname in the West of Scotland, for the province of that

name continued a semi-independent principality till far on in the fourteenth century. But many other of the old provincial divisions of the country are represented by surnames,—as Cowall, Badenoch, Strathearn, Tyndal, Lindsey, and others. And here it is worthy of note that those territorial names which, though in use during the rise of surnames, had not yet displaced the old names, seldom appear in our family nomenclature. Thus we have Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, as surnames, but not Ayr; Galloway, but not Wigton or Kirkcudbright; Nithsdale, Annandale, and Eskdale, but not Dumfries; and Clydesdale, but not Lanark. Most of the county names, both in England and Scotland, have been used as surnames. Thus out of the twenty-three counties which skirt the east coast, there are only four (Suffolk, Northumberland, Banff, and Shetland), which do not, so far as I know, give names to families.

The surnames taken from parishes, manors, towns, and other small county divisions, are very numerous. Here is a list—by no means a complete one—of Renfrewshire surnames: Aitkenhead, Beith, Barfoot, Birkenshaw, Blackburn, Blackhall, Crookston, Dumbreck, Eaglesham, Erskine, Freeland, Fulton, Govan, Houston, Johnston, Kelly, Kirkland, Mearns, Merrylees, Newlands, Paisley, Renfrew, Ralston, Threepland, Walkinshaw. The English counties have, in proportion to their size, given origin to a much larger number of these than the Scotch counties,—a pretty sure indication that in earlier times, as now, the population of England was much denser than that of Scotland.

Our surnames of foreign origin are chiefly taken from the maritime countries of Western Europe, and especially from France and the Netherlands. The great intercourse which existed between the latter and Britain in early times accounts for this. During the middle ages the armies of the Anglo-Norman Kings were often recruited in Flanders, so that Flemish soldiers found their way into many parts of England and Ireland, and helped to garrison the Scotch towns which were in possession of the Edwards during the war of independence. Flemish artizans and traders also settled at various times in the towns along the east coast. From these causes Fleming became one of the commonest of the Gentile surnames. More than one-half of the old French provinces are represented among our surnames, and many of the towns and lordships, especially in Normandy. Cockayne is derived from a country whose situation is still undetermined; but here is what an old Fabliaux writer says about it.

After telling us that he had been sent thither by the Pope to do penance, he thus describes what he saw:—"All along the roads are tables loaded with viands, which any one may freely eat, and shops where every thing is to be had for the taking. There are to be found rivers of wine, an eternal spring, and every where the song and the dance. But the most marvellous thing in this happy land is the fountain of youth. Are you growing old? Bathe in the fountain, and you come out in your early prime. It only remained for me to profit by my advantages. But through pure kindness of heart I wanted to bring my friends to share in my good fortune. Scarcely, however, had I left the country for this purpose, than I felt myself unable to retrace my steps, and I am now reduced to unavailing regrets. From my misfortune you may draw this lesson:—when you are well off, be content to remain so." I dare not affirm that the Cockaynes of England are the descendants of this repentant traveller.

Many surnames point out the situation or chief feature of the first bearer's residence. Glen, Hill, Townsend, Ford, Tarn, Underwood, Bywater, are examples of this class. It is easy to understand how names like these originated. If one man lived on a hill, another in a wood, a third by some noted tree, and a fourth near the cliff, what more natural in speaking of these men than to call the first John At-the-hill, or as we now find it, Athill; the second John-at-the Wood, or Attwood; the third John At-the-tree, or Attree; and the fourth John At-the-cliff, or Attercliffe? Not long ago, in a case before one of the Assize Courts, it came out that one of the witnesses named Bythesea resided near the sea shore,—probably not far from the spot from which his ancestor derived the family name. In process of time most of the surnames of this class lost the prefix; thus Athill was liable to be shortened into Hill; Attwood into Wood, &c. This change is sometimes capable of being traced. Thus in the old ballad entitled, "A little geste of Robin Hode," we read of "that gentyll knyghte, Sir Richard at the Lee;" but in the ballad of later date this same Sir Richard is styled simply "Lee." George à Green, or George of the Green, becomes George Green, and other names are similarly shortened.

I have before briefly described the distribution of the population of Great Britain in the centuries succeeding the Norman conquest The diversity of languages then spoken has produced a corresponding diversity in our surnames, which still bear testimony to the composite character of our people.

To the Cornish language we owe the most of the surnames of Cornwall, and many of those of Devonshire and Somersetshire. "In no other county of England," remarks Mr. Lower, "are there so many local surnames as in Cornwall; and as the names of places are almost exclusively derived from British roots, the family nomenclature differs materially from that of the rest of England."* Surnames from Scandinavian personal names and to-names are numerous along the east coast where the Northmen chiefly settled, but are most abundant about Northumberland and north-eastern counties of Scotland. In the Celtic portions of the country, besides the sirenames, which of course take the lead, there are native surnames taken from to-names—as Bain and Geal, = white; Roy, = red; Gorham, = blue; More, = big; Cain, = well beloved; Vallach, = a conceited fellow; Cameron, = wry nose. Names from trades are rare among the Celts, a plain indication that industry was not their forte. Gaelic surnames are singularly deficient in those derived from places. This is mainly owing to the custom which prevailed of each clansman assuming the name of his chief, but is probably due in part also to the circumstance that the separation into clans and the unsettled state of the Highlands placed a barrier on the free locomotion of the people.

But it does not follow that all whose tongue or surname is Gaelic are the descendants of the Gael. The inhabitants of the western islands and of the western parts of Argyll and Inverness have not a little Norse blood in their veins. Time was when the Northmen were the dominant race there, but being less numerous than the old settlers their Norse tongue and manners had to give place to those of the Gael. In this way the descendants of the Northmen forgot their foreign lineage and assumed Gaelic surnames. Lord M'Donald of Skye and the M'Dougalls of Lorn are lineally descended from the Scandinavian Somerlied, Thane of Argyll and Lord of the Isles, who ruled over those places 700 years ago. The inhabitants of the eastern parts of Inverness have a large intermixture of Norse blood, for the earldom of Moray, within which eastern Inverness was comprised, was almost wholly Scandinavian. It should not be overlooked that many Highland surnames, though Gaelic in form, are Scandinavian in substance,—the only thing Gaelic about them being the prefix Mac. Of such names I may mention the following:—

* Lower's Essays on English Surnames, Vol II., Page 32.

	From Norse Personal Name.		From Norse Personal Name.
M'Culloch, . . .	Kjallakr.	M'Phin, ...	Finnr.
„ Auliffe, } . . .	Olöv.	„ Liver, ...	Leifr.
„ Aulay, }		„ Luckie, ...	Lóki.
„ Iver, ...	Ivar.	„ Manus, } . . .	Magnus
„ Alley, ...	Ali.	„ Mann, }	
„ Brodie, ...	Broddi.	„ Sween, ...	Svein.
„ Orm, ...	Ormr.	„ Vicar, ...	Vicarr.
„ Nutt, ...	Knutr.		

These and others of like kind, show that the Norse personal names continued in use even after the descendants of the Norse settlers had ceased to speak their mother tongue.

This intermixture of a foreign element with the Celtic is found not only in the Highlands, but also in Wales and Ireland. The descendants of the Saxon and Scandinavian settlers have names as Celtic as the Celts themselves, and even the Norman settlers laid aside their Norman names, and helped to swell the number of the Joneses and Williamses of Wales, and of the O'Donnells and O'Donoghues of Ireland.

But there is a *per contra* side to this statement. If the most thoroughly Celtic portions of our country are not wholly Celtic, neither are the most thoroughly Saxon portions of it wholly Saxon. In all parts of the country there is a mixture of races. Historians were wont to affirm that no Britons remained in those parts which were subdued by the Saxons. A large emigration undoubtedly took place, but history fails to show that all the Britons, or even a majority of them, removed from the conquered country. The little evidence we have is rather on the other side. In connection with this, a curious anecdote is told of one of the Saxon saints—Guthlac by name—who was abbot of Croyland, in Lincolnshire, about two centuries after the Saxon conquest. He was awoke one night by some horrid noises outside the monastery. Fearing that the place was going to be attacked by Britons he got up to reconnoitre; but he returned greatly comforted on finding that the noise-makers were *only* devils. Now though this anecdote scarcely proves that the good saint's slumbers were disturbed by infernal spirits, it goes far to show that there were men in the very heart of Saxondom long after the Saxon conquest who were known by the name of Britons. These Britons, in the presence of the more numerous race, would in process of time become incorporated with it, and would lose their ancient

language and manners, just as the Norsemen of the Hebrides did. But to return to the subject.

Surnames of Norman origin are most frequent among the ancient nobility and gentry,—many of whom are descended from the soldiers who came over in the wake of William the Conqueror and his sons. Some of these soldiers had been lords in Normandy, but many were penniless adventurers who had embarked with the hope of spoil. Nor were they disappointed, for after the conquest the forfeited lands of the Saxons were divided among them. Thus men who at home had been steeped in poverty became lords of many manors, and had Saxon gentry for their servants. Most of these new made lords took surnames from the name of their birth place; and in this way it came to pass that the names of the villages and hamlets of Normandy are largely represented in the surnames of our nobility. Others assumed ancestral personal names, which were in many instances identical with those in use among their kinsmen of Norway and Denmark. And thus some of our Norse surnames have come to us, both directly through the Vikings and their followers, and indirectly through the Normans. Among such surnames I may mention Hamlin, Mallet, Riddell, and Rollo. In the Annals of the Conquest two Norman names are mentioned—Broth and Kake—which have since died out; or, shall I say, been swallowed up? They doubtless represent the Scandinavian Broddr and Keikr. Once naturalized in England the Norman names were not long of finding their way into Scotland and Ireland. After the death of William the Anglo-Normans quarrelled among themselves, and not a few were deprived of their domains and had to flee from England. Some of the latter got possessions from the Scottish Kings; others came across the Tweed and helped themselves. In these and other ways many Norman families settled in Scotland, and Norman names were introduced. Montgomery, Bruce, Sinclair, Somerville, Colville, Neville, Comyn, Barclay, and Riddell, are names well known.

It was in the way of conquest that the Norman names became introduced into Ireland, and these names are still numerous in the Irish peerage. In none of the three kingdoms, however, do the Normans occupy the exclusively high position which they did of yore. Time was when the old English chronicler sorrowfully wrote—

> "Of the Normans beth thys hey men that beth of thys lond,
> And the low men of Saxons."

But lapse of time and vicissitudes of fortune have done much to level

the proud race of the conquerors; and now we see the Norman names side by side, in all ranks of society, with the once despised Celtic and Saxon.

Passing over the corruptions and other changes which surnames are apt to undergo, I would here merely allude to an interesting question in connection with local surnames, which is worthy of more attention than it has yet received. It is this,—Why should certain places be so largely represented among local surnames while others apparently as likely to give origin to these are not represented, or only to a small extent? To take an illustration from our own doors, —Why should a petty estate like Aitkenhead and an insignificant village like Provan be comparatively so well represented among the Lanarkshire surnames, while Rutherglen—an older burgh than Glasgow—gives name to only one or two families, and Partick is not represented at all?

The last point I shall notice is the *localization* of surnames. Where the name of a place is employed as a surname some of the families bearing it are usually found resident not far away. Local surnames peculiar to a town or district are almost always taken from names of places at no great distance. Thus, surnames like Glasgow, Govan, Paisley, Provan, and Rutherglen, are most common in our own neighbourhood. In Glasgow the local surnames of Lanarkshire and adjoining counties are well represented, and in Edinburgh those of Fife and the Lothians. Northumberland and Durham yield a large proportion of the local surnames of Newcastle, while those of Manchester are chiefly drawn from Lancashire and Cheshire.

We are all familiar with the romantic story of Robin Hood, and have read how—

"Robin stood in Bernysdale,
And leaned him against a tree,
And at his side stood little John,
And a good yeoman was he.

And there good Scathelock stood besides,
And Much the Miller's son,
Of whose stout body there was not an inch
But was worth a whole man each one."

We have also read of Allan a' Dale and Stoutly, and the brave chaplain, Friar Tuck, all yeomen good, who trod with Robin the "merrie greenwood." Nearly 600 years have elapsed since Robin killed the king's deer in Sherwood Forest, and yet the names of these his companions are common surnames in the forest district.

Many have looked on Robin Hood's history as a nursery tale, but in its main features it is only too true; and its truth is in part attested by the persistence of the names just mentioned on the spot where they were first heard of. Besides these, Hardstaff, Beardall, Bowman, Archer, Shaklock, and other names are met with which were probably first borne by bold outlaws who, like Robin himself, had fled to the forest glades to escape from the cruel oppression of the Normans.

Provincial names are found localized in the same way. A traveller carried blindfold into Wales, and set down in the middle of any of the towns, could tell by a glance at the signboards that he was within the principality. Gaelic names are most abundant in the Highlands, and Danish names along the east coast, where the Danes chiefly settled. And Saxon names though, like the provincial names, diffused over the whole country, are still most common where the Saxons possessed the land. A constant movement is going on in the population,—and in Scotland perhaps on a larger scale than in England; but it is a movement of individuals rather than of families, so that, notwithstanding numerous removals, there is usually a remnant, so to speak, left to perpetuate the family name, near the spot which gave it birth.

NO. XXI.

ON THE ARYAN THEORY OF LANGUAGE:

BY

DR. SCOULAR.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 7th December*, 1863.]

Dr. Scoular read a paper "On the Aryan Theory of Language," chiefly with the view to correct the errors into which Mr. John Crawford the author of the "History of the Indian Archipelago," has fallen in a paper read to the Ethnological Society of London on this theory. This theory of the origin of language is more generally received on the continent than in Great Britain. The theory is that the languages spoken from Bengal to Ireland are all to be traced from a primitive tongue spoken by a people settled to the north-west of India, termed by the ancients Aryans—that this Aryan race subsequently spread themselves over the country originally occupied by the Allophylian or Finnish tribes. This primordial race, though now covered by the Aryan, occasionally cropped out, as it were, in the Basque and Finnish tribes. With reference to Mr. Crawford's first objection to this theory, which is that the Aryan race, being an agricultural people, were not likely to undertake foreign emigration, Dr. Scoular remarked that the very reverse of this was the case, as only such a people could form permanent settlements, whereas a horde of nomads could only make good a settlement upon a people previously civilized. It was only a great agricultural people, such as the Greeks, Romans, and modern Europeans, which succeeded in making permanent settlements among barbarous tribes. Another objection of Mr. Crawford's was the different physical features and intellectual characters of the Aryan tribes, some being black, like the Hindoos, and others pale, like the Swedes. To this Dr. Scoular answered that this objection had no bearing on the question, in so far as it was a question of grammar, not of physiology. Mr. Crawford also endeavoured to show that in the Celtic languages words traced to the Aryan were derived from

the Latin by means of the early Roman missionaries. To this Dr. Scoular replied that the Irish numerals had far more affinity with the Latin than those of the Welsh, while the latter were in daily contact with the Romans when the Irish had no other influence than through a few missionaries; in fact, some of the Irish numerals had more affinity to the Greek than to the Latin. Also, that the supposed Latin words quoted by Mr. Crawford were more easily derived from the Aryan than the Latin. Besides, there were a great number of Aryan words in Irish which did not exist in the Latin, and could not be derived from that source. But Mr. Crawford virtually abandoned his own theory when he was compelled to admit that the Sclavonic languages had borrowed from the Sanscrit or Aryan; and the idea that the Sanscrit in the Greek was derived from the Persians, and communicated by the Greeks to the Latins, was a sufficiently wild hypothesis, as we know that the epics of Homer were composed long before the Persian invasion of Asia Minor. These observations of Mr. Crawford would appear to have misled Sir Charles Lyell, who had fallen into the additional mistake of imagining that the laws of the Aryan tongue applied to every other language. Dr. Scoular observed that languages did not graduate into each other as Sir Charles Lyell imagined, but there were groups of languages with which transition was almost impossible, as in the Aryan, Shemitic, and Chinese. The principal object of Dr. Scoular's remarks, as above indicated, was to show that the advocates of transmutationism, when they seek for proofs, or at least analogies in favour of their doctrine, have misunderstood the subject, and merely intruded their own vague and superficial opinions.

NO. XXII.

SUGGESTIONS OF OBJECTS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL INTEREST IN THE WEST OF SCOTLAND:

BY

COSMO INNES, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 29th January*, 1864.]

A STRANGER coming from the quiet atmosphere in which I dwell, and landing in the whirl and clang of your great city, is apt to be surprised that any of you can shut out the pressure of business, the excitement of mercantile adventure, so as to give his mind, for even a short time, to objects of literature or science, still more to our peculiar study, which very practical men for the most part regard as trifling.

And yet Glasgow is pre-eminently a place for the study of antiquities, were it only to enable you to compare your present and past state—to look back to the little rural village clustered beneath your grey cathedral—to the days when your University had not yet shed learning and science over the land—when your river flowed clear and unpolluted to the sea—when foreign trade was unthought of—when the biggest vessels at the Broomielaw were gabbarts from the lochs within the Mull—when cotton was an unknown word—when men had not dug for iron nor even for coal; and to contrast your present city, its "streets of palaces and walks of state," the crowd of busy commerce in Argyle Street, the miles of masts on both sides of your river, the wealth and splendour of your houses and manner of living—to compare Glasgow past and Glasgow present!

It is owing partly to the fine building material among which your city stands; but it appears to me to be by far a nobler town—speaking of its streets and buildings—than any of the great emporiums of England. But the streets and buildings are the least part: knowing as I do something of its past history, I have always considered the growth and rise of Glasgow and its trade as the most remarkable of any city in the world.

However interesting it may be to speculate on the state of our country and people at the time when the trade of the Clyde was carried on in little canoes; when the alluvial flat where the forest of masts is now seen on both banks of the Clyde was a swamp, with the fine river taking its course, and often changing its course through it, —I say, however interesting it might be to call up in imagination that early state of Scotland and its inhabitants, it would not serve any good purpose to the antiquary. I believe we may safely leave the enquiry to the geologist. If we could indeed learn anything from the rude barks of the state of art among their builders—if we could arrive at any probable conclusion of the race that first floated on your noble river—if we could even guess their family from the shape of their skulls—that might be worth any amount of trouble and expense. But I think it is not so. We find the canoes of twin islands of the same cluster in the Pacific differ more markedly than any one of those rude shells of oak differs from another in the other extremity of Europe, where the difference was caused only by the shape and size of the trees. Then as to the people and their skulls, what is so fallacious! You pick up a skull beside an ancient monument, and you found your theory on the presumption that it was of the same people who raised the monument. But that grey stone and its neighbouring cemetery may have been a place of interment from the earliest population, and down to present times. As long as it is the practice of men to bury where others have buried before, so long must we distrust the archæologist's reasoning about skulls from the place of their interment.

We may pass over the Roman occupation of our country almost as lightly. It was certainly very limited both in extent and time. The camp at Ardoch is perhaps worthy of more careful examination than it has met with; and the great wall of Antonine, which terminates so near your city, is a tempting mine to explore. But let the explorer be satisfied with Roman remains, inscriptions, altars. The country through which it passed, the tribes it was intended to repress, were perhaps unnamed, certainly held as barbarous and unworthy of description by those Southern warriors. Yet it is to them we would now turn with warmest interest.

The fine collection of remains from the wall preserved in your University has been described in the authorized work, *Monumenta Romani Imperii*, and discussed by Alexander Gordon, Horsley, Professor John Anderson (1800), and later and more satisfactorily

by the late Robert Stuart in his *Caledonia Romana.* I do not know that these works leave much to be desired on this subject, and yet it would be worthy of some enlightened scholar blessed with abundance, to make a complete survey of our Northern wall, accurately examining any remaining forts, and endeavouring to fix the precise points of its termination, both of which are strangely subject of doubt. In some respects the Antonine wall is more worthy of such careful survey and description than the southern one, on which the Duke of Northumberland is at present carrying on an investigation, with the assistance of Dr. Collingwood Bruce, on a scale of princely extent and expense. The sections that would be occasionally necessary for such a work would no doubt repay a zealous archæologist with a quantity of Roman sculptures, inscriptions, pottery, perhaps implements, weapons, arms, and ornaments, but all Roman, throwing light perhaps on the name of the general or the centurion, the legion or cohort employed on the work—of fame and great interest to the gossips of the Roman forum; but how much more we should value some memorial of the natives, with whom we might claim kindred! It would be worth while digging if we could hope to find any mention—even a name—of tribes whom the Romans called Horestii—Mæatæ—could we discover the native name of Galgacus—whether there ever was a country called Caledonia—a people of Caledonians!

I trust to be pardoned for passing over the history of the kingdoms of Cumbria and Strathclyde. If you try to read Ritson's "History of the Caledonians" you will readily forgive me for declining to follow him in that world of conjecture. Let us take the few facts we learn from writers like Gildas, and the more reliable Bede, of that curious cleft rock, that natural fortress of Dumbarton, the Alcluyd, the rock of Clyde of these authors, which must have been an object of interest as soon as our bays and friths were navigated even by canoes. It was certainly, at the very earliest period of what we can call history, looked upon as a strong fortress *(arx munitissima)*, whether entirely trusting to its natural strength or helped by some rude fortifications. Shall we say it was the capital of the kingdom of Strathclyde? Alas! are we quite sure the king of Strathclyde had a capital—or did he roam at large through Lennox and Clydesdale and Ayr? I do not put this as a mere sceptical puzzle; I wish to draw your attention to that state of society when the bond of union was *kinship*, when the *nation* was the tribe or the cluster of tribes, not necessarily fixed to certain seats; on the con-

trary, more frequently in a state of motion, impelled by various causes—by desire to better their condition—by success in war with a neighbour occupying a more fertile territory—by defeat in war and being driven back by their conqueror. An example is better, and we have one at hand. We know the Scots first in Ireland; from thence they pushed across (or were driven across) to Argyll; there they made some tarrying, and again moved onwards to the Lowlands, naturally after the manner of their descendants, determined "that they should take who have the power." One curious thing must strike you. The Scots did not give their name to their first country, but they gave it here, on this side the sea, permanently. A distinguished lecturer and writer on public law has said that the greatest of national revolutions is when a people make the change from the bond of *parentela*—of kindred—to the union which depends on local boundaries, fixed seats, all the interests that arise from permanent occupation of the same soil. I doubt whether that great change, from the roaming horde to the nation occupying and vindicating a fixed territory, had occurred in this great valley when another change occurred of still more importance.

Consider it how you will—whether as the philosophical historian, or as the Christian rejoicing in his trust—in any view, the greatest revolution of mankind, as regards man's condition and happiness, is when the people are converted from paganism, the worship of false gods, to Christianity and the service of the true God—from a religion inculcating revenge and bloodshed, to the religion of forgiveness, mercy, and charity.

Along with Christianity comes the first faint light of modern history, or at least of traditions so steadily handed down by a body of missionaries, never quite broken or interrupted, that they have the characteristics of history. By such light we can see Ninian founding his "White Church" (Whithern) on the Solway, in the early part of the fifth century (432). That first missionary stretched his ministrations a long way, for he dedicated a cemetery here in Glasgow.

In the same fifth century was born, beside Dumbarton, St. Patrick, the apostle of the Irish. I suppose his native tongue of Strathclyde served him for his ministrations among the Irish.

Then comes, in the sixth century, your own Kentigern, born, you know, in Lothian—floated up the Forth, till his cradle-boat stranded on the white lands of Culros Bay—where St. Servan was at his

prayers, and rescued the infant destined to found two great churches call them bishoprics or no; Glasgow, where he found the cemetery with a few great trees, already consecrated by St. Ninian, and St. Asaph's, in Wales, where he too found himself doubtless among kindred people—borrowing even the name of your valley and river of Clyde.

Contemporary with Kentigern was St. Columba (they met once here at Glasgow), the founder of that island monastery—"placed far amid the melancholy main"—which shed the light of Christianity over the wild waters, the islands and mountains of the North, to Shetland and Iceland—which even sent out missionaries to spread the faith among the pagan English.

Don't be afraid of a lecture of saintly legends! though I think our Presbyterian pride is too apt to despise and throw out of view those apostles of our forefathers. My business is with the antiquities of the country, not of the Church. Only notice how that little group of early Christians stands out in high relief when all around is dark! It is so in some degree with the churches those missionaries founded, or I should perhaps say consecrated, for I have a firm belief they fixed for the most part on sites already chosen for worship, such as that worship was.

You know the Christian churches of those first missionaries and of their successors for many centuries were of timber (if we except St. Ninian's church—*Candida Casa)*, and we must not think to find vestiges of them. But if you reflect on the thing you will agree with me that the church necessary for the rites of the Christian religion was likely to be placed in the spot where the people had usually assembled—for whatever purpose, religious or judicial, or mixed—before. You remember that old St. Paul's was founded on the ruins of a temple of Apollo. York Minster, which in that remarkable substructure of its vault shews the birth and ruin of at least three temples, must be attributed to a similar origin during the time when York was the favourite station of the legions that occupied Britain for so many centuries. So, be sure, it was elsewhere.

Now, though I can neither tell how or what our forefathers worshipped,—for our Druids and Druidism are shadows, like the ghosts of Ossian,—and though I cannot assert that they had laws, and assemblies, and judges, yet if, as is probable from analogy of other people, they had some worship of a supreme being, and had also some semblance of law—making and settling of differences, in gatherings

of the people, I think I can shew where such meetings for divine and secular services were probably held.

Scattered over all Scotland, more or less widely apart, are rude monuments of stones set on end, of unknown antiquity and use, often singly, sometimes in groups, sometimes in circles, sometimes in double circles; sometimes on magnificent scale, with avenues of erect stones leading to the great circle from every quarter, and surrounded with a mound of earth; in rare instances with a stone chamber regularly built in an interior barrow. A few of these stone circles in Arran have lately been examined and described with extreme care and minuteness by Dr. James Bryce. They are of a very common class, and the contents of the grave, the kist, the urn, the remains of human and animal life, are quite the same that are found all over Scotland.

Some antiquaries of high authority set down all these unhesitatingly as sepulchral monuments. I cannot quite concur in that opinion. As long as we admit the probability—almost the certain fact—of large meetings, for whatever purpose, we can scarcely doubt that Stennis in Orkney, or Callernish in Lewis, was a place for such meetings. The use of such "standing stones" for judicial meetings comes down within the period of record, and leaves no room to doubt that the others—the most extensive and sumptuous especially—were in like manner the places of gathering the tribes for their common affairs, the place of judicial meeting, and doubtless where the judge and priest was identical—the place of religious ceremonies.

I do not dispute—indeed I am well convinced—that these ancient monuments, single, grouped, circled, were also used as places of burial. I suppose interment was generally accompanied with some religious rite, and so the place of religion naturally became the place of sepulture, before as well as after Christianity. But reflect, too, how unwilling our countrymen are to change their place of burial, how determined when at all possible to have their bones laid beside their fathers, and you will find another reason for thinking that our ancient churches are often, say generally, placed on the site of old heathen temples and more ancient cemeteries. I have observed a large portion of these monolithic monuments—these standing stones of Scotland—in the close neighbourhood of parish churches.

In short, as the oldest marks of human settlement are *connected* with sepulture, perhaps the oldest that can be precisely authenticated and fixed are the cemeteries of our old parish churches. Beside the church you will often find a well, a junction that may have been

significant in pagan times, but after Christianity the well of baptism used by the missionary of the district for his first converts; and in hundreds of cases you will find it bearing his name, or the name of his patron saint, to whom he dedicated his church, when the missionary himself and his dedication are quite forgotten, from the violent changes that have passed over our church. These are often the oldest evidence of dedication—always the most free of suspicion.

The day of the saint to whom the church was dedicated was generally commemorated by a yearly fair, and we can sometimes ascertain the dedication from this ancient and unsuspected association.

I have heard antiquaries point to the yew-tree in the churchyard as a work of Christianity. I think that is a mistake. The ancients long before the Christian era were fond of cypress and yew for their cemeteries, and some of those beautiful yew-trees you find in the churchyards of your western glens may date before the Christian churches they shade. You know the yew is singular in reproducing branches, suckers, and in time, new trees from the bark, so that it is in some situations almost everlasting. The Swiss naturalist, De Candolle, fixes the age of the yew of Fortingall at the meeting of Tay and Lyon at about the period of the Christian era.

We may take it then as a general rule in our investigations that the place of the church is the earliest settlement of man in the parish. Like other rules, it is liable to many exceptions, and it applies only of course to old parochial churches.

One exception may be with regard to the grey cairn, the standing stone, the mound or barrow, where these are not beside the church, as they very often are. In such cases, if we admit these monuments to be sepulchral, let me guard you against a common mistake. Pray do not suppose, wherever such monuments are raised, they mark a field of battle. I fancy that in most cases the hurry of battle, the pursuit or retreat, was not likely to allow of monuments requiring much time and leisure. At any rate, men dying in peace were buried too. The care and expense of the sepulture may mark the quality of the tenant, but not in general the circumstances of his death.

One other remark before I leave monuments and funeral matters. At the base of some of the standing stones—in the centre of the cairn or barrow—is often found, along with the kist that contains the body, an urn, sometimes two. They are of very uniform material, and with surprisingly little variety in shape or ornament. They differ, indeed, in size and in position, some being found with the mouth

downwards. By our common antiquaries these are all indiscriminately called cinerary urns. I take that to be a mistake; and the late Mr. Kemble, who had dug up more graves than any of us, believed that these were old pipkins, just the jars and jugs of domestic use, which were filled, not with the ashes of the deceased, but with broth or other food which he was thought to require on his last long journey. I do not pretend to decide the question of the contents of these urns, whether inverted or upright, but it is to be observed they are generally found along with the bones of the deceased, crammed, indeed, into very short coffins, but bearing no marks of having been calcined, or at all exposed to fire. I merely throw it out for enquiry, Did our Pagan ancestors burn their dead, and when or from what cause was the change to interment?

By right of antiquity, then, as well as other interest, the old parish church is the first object of an antiquary's research,—its history, its structure, its churchyard, its monuments. It is not every churchyard which will yield such wonderfully interesting monuments as the sculptured stone coffins of the cemetery of St. Constantine of Govan. Yet the intelligent explorer will not stop here. The well of the clachan and its name—the village fair—on what saint's day does it fall by the calendar? Next, he will examine the old grey stones standing near at hand—are they rough, or sculptured with symbols and scenes of war and the chase, or with the cross and emblem of Christianity? The old cairn may be examined, and even tapped, but gently and reverently, for fear of disturbing the bones of an ancestor. All round the more ancient monuments, the ground might be probed without risk of throwing down the massive stones. I know gentlemen who wield a probing iron with a sort of mysterious skill that enables them to say speedily—"The earth has been disturbed on this side, and I can feel the large stone cover of a cist."

I am not quite without experience of these different ways of reaching the history, the Christian history, of a church and parish. Some of the blunders of our statistical accounts of parishes which profess to give information about such matters used to amuse me; as where a minister describes his church as dedicated "to a person who seems to have been regarded as of more than usual sanctity, named Michael,"—forgetting that Michael was the great Archangel, he who made war upon the great dragon; and another speaks of Kilmichael as the burial place of St. Michael—actually consigning the Archangel to the churchyard!

On the bank overhanging the lovely glen of the Beauly stands the church of Kilmorach. The name is a Gaelic word signifying literally "the church of Mary," and the church was dedicated, like so many others, to the Blessed Virgin. But the minister, himself a Celt, and understanding the word, was at a loss who this Mary might be. "But," writes the reverend minister, "from what family this lady sprang cannot with certainty be ascertained, though it seems most likely she was a descendant of one of the lairds of Chisholm."

Malrubius, the patron saint and founder of the very ancient church or monastery of Apurcrossan, now Applecross, on the west coast of Ross, gave name to the beautiful loch, called after him Loch Malrui, or Loch Maree; and several churches of the North were dedicated to him, all of which I believe are to be distinguished by having an old established fair on his holiday, the day of St. Malruve, called by the people *Summer-eve*, and interpreted to mean Midsummer-eve, though it falls, I think, on the 27th of August.

Take a note of a personal exploration. On a bright morning of summer, Dr. Reeves, the first of Irish antiquaries, Mr. William Skene, our most accomplished Celtic scholar, and myself (who knew no Celtic, and so much disqualified for the undertaking we were engaged in) started on an exploration to Iona, which was to include some of the other footprints left by St. Columba—Dr. Reeves being then busy on his great work, the Life of that saint. Among these vestiges was a rumoured monastery said by tradition to have been his first resting-place on the island of Ilachaneuve (I hope I pronounce the word intelligibly, it means "the island of saints") which lies out beyond Scarba, and in sight of the grand red rocks of the Ross of Mull. We embarked in a little row-boat at Easdale, with an old man and a boy for our crew, and arrived without peril or difficulty at a green islet uninhabited. We were ranging about the rocky shore rather disconsolate, for we had come to see the ruins of a monastery, and no ruins were visible. Could we be in the right island? We returned to our landing-place, a green cove into which a little stream trickled from a spring on the bank. We asked the old boatman about an ancient monastery—about old ruins—a great many other things, in a tongue to me unknown; but they produced nothing, he had never heard of such remains, and took no care for our anxiety. At last the interrogator of our party demanded, "What spring is that?" and well I remember the old man's ready answer, *O! tobor na Columchille*, "The well of St. Columba

of the Churches." His information gave us new courage; we recommenced our search, and soon lighted on a most curious bit of building—a bee-hive house, with low covered passages, connecting it with another small circular building—a little chapel, with a window of the size of a modern pane of glass—all so low and grass grown, as easily to elude a common search. The structure was without mortar, without mark of hammer or chisel, with no knowledge of the arch, the whole such a dwelling as a family of Columbites, or Columba himself, might have chosen and formed in a situation where there was no timber. We all agreed that if any house could be yet above ground which had been built in the days of St. Columba, this dwelling on the little lonely island was such a one. There was a cemetery beside the chapel, with a few rude gravestones marked with the cross, that might be of any date, and a few more recent graves, the tenants of which must have been brought over a wide and often a stormy sea, to take their last sleep in the "Island of Saints."

We made our notes, filled a page of Dr. Reeves's memoranda of his Saint's footprints, and on our return shewed the doubting Irishman Corievreckan in his glory. The tide was flowing strong against the wind, and the whirlpool was better to look at than to cross just then. (You know it is in the strait between Scarba and Jura, but Dr. Reeves, trusting to his books, had asserted it to lie between the outer isles and the Irish coast.)

But it is time to leave St. Columba and his churches. I must not even speak of Iona. There are churches along that beautiful west coast of yours—a church, or a chapel, or a cemetery marking the place of one, at the head of almost every loch and bay—many of them rich in unspoiled crosses and monuments, that would well reward a summer's ramble, even without the minute examination and poring into records which a man would like to give to his own parish church.

Of historical events, events within the period of history, I do not think there are many that have taken place within your district upon which light can be thrown by local examination. The greatest event on this shore of the island was undoubtedly the battle of Largs in 1263, on which our friend Mr. Tennent has bestowed some tasteful care. I am not disposed to place quite so much confidence in the boasting sagas of the Norse as their countryman Professor Munch did, yet I know no account to be opposed to his for circumstantiality

and consistency; and to render his account in English was a notable service to our history, only to have been exceeded if the contributor had given us some information of the coasts and seas he has so often visited in his yacht, and which the intelligent and much to be lamented Professor Munch knew only by map.

There are some points on this shore that derive interest from being connected with him who was, after all, the greatest of Scotchmen—Robert Bruce. He built the Castle of Tarbet, on East Loch Tarbet, and bestowed great pains and expense on its building. We have tried to make some account of his operations from the records of his expenditure, still preserved;* but the favoured man who can compare that account with the existing remains, who can put spade in hand and explore those venerable ruins, could give a more lively picture. Robert is said to have lived much in Rothesay. The monuments of the little chapel above the town are of Stuarts, a little later; but much of the castle is no doubt of his date; and a most curious study it forms, with its wide *place d'armes* in the interior, its chapel so much hampered for room, its lofty outer walls parapetted for defence. I remember some proofs of the hero in his old age and sickness taking pleasure in his mimic fleet, and cruising both in the Frith and in Lochlomond while he lived at Cardross, on the bank between Leven and Clyde, where also he died. I think there are no remains of that royal dwelling, and some historians have imagined that Bruce died at Cardross in the carse of Stirling—a mistake.

I do not know if the rock of Dumbarton has been carefully examined for the vestiges of its old occupation. The history of its ancient lords, the great old Lennox earls, is not without interest, but I suppose we are more likely to stumble on traces of them in Inchmurran, where they took up their abode after they sold their rock castle to King Alexander II. Like the mighty Earls of Stratherne, the Earls of Lennox were of the Celtic manner of life, and of the native faction, notwithstanding their pedigree—for surely the first Arkyls and Alwins of Lennox were Saxon. There was something attractive to the Southerns in those early times in the security of the mountains and lochs, the free air, the chase, the wild life, perhaps even in the picturesque beauty of the Highlands. You remember how the English statesmen complained of the English lords of the Pale in Ireland mixing with the *mere Irish*, as they called them, and

* In the *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ.*

becoming *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*—more Irish than the Irish themselves. So this Saxon family of Lennox soon ran into Highlandry. In the third generation they were already Maldwins, Dugals, Malcolms, Gilchrists, Duncans, Donalds, and younger sons founded Highland clans such as M'Farlane and Colquhoun. It is worth an antiquary's attention, indeed, how many of our Highland clans are derived from Teutonic ancestors: whether Norse, like the M'Leods, the M'Aulays (who seem to be sons of Olaf, surely a Scandinavian); or Norman, like the Frasers, and, I think, the Campbells. Another subject worthy of some attention in the West Highlands is, the multitude of small sub-clans, called familiarly by the name of their little sept, but knowing themselves, and recognised as yet by all intelligent Highlanders as members of the great tribe. Some account of these—an enumeration of the multitude of patronymics—seen nowhere more than in the streets of Glasgow and Liverpool, and an attempt to ascribe them each to his own clan, would be of service to society in the Highlands; and if not done now may become impossible.

Why should not some gentleman, who has leisure and local information, give us a careful and scholarly version of the *Inquisitio Davidis*, perhaps the most interesting of our Church records? It is, you know, the *retour* or verdict of the good men of the country in Prince David's time, that is, before David I. (who succeeded in 1124) was king, declaring the possessions of the successors of St. Kentigern. The study I desiderate would of course investigate the authenticity and authority of the record (though I have satisfied myself of its genuineness, as really the verdict of the jury it asserts itself), but the more important enquiry would be for identifying the numerous churches and lands, the property of which was declared to be in the bishop. The chartulary of the bishopric and many other charter helps would be brought to bear on this. The enquirer could not go far without being struck by the strange shape of the great diocese, reaching from the head of Lochlomond over Renfrew and Ayr, across to Tweed and Teviotdale, having a church dedicated to your patron, St. Mungo, at Eddleston (of old, Pentiacob), so like in name to Penycook, also dedicated to St. Kentigern.

The boundaries of our ancient dioceses are interesting subjects, and often turn upon some national or political consideration, as well as on the influence of the early patron of the see. Dunkeld had episcopal authority over Iona, though Argyll and the Isles inter-

vened; and that same see of St. Columba at Dunkeld had churches and lands all down the Forth, on both shores.

I have observed lately some discussion about the country palaces of your bishops, one of which was at Partick. I think some information on that subject may be derived from a record in the possession of the Roman Catholic Church at Edinburgh—the Rental of the Archbishopric shortly before the Reformation, when its possessions were much dilapidated: I think it begins in 1508. I remember it gives some curious instances of the admission of kindly tenants of the Church, entitled to their lands by the custom of St. Mungo, a more favourable tenure than the common feudal law of Scotland recognised.

A curious chapter of local history would be an enquiry into the history and privileges of the old sanctuary of the church of St. Machutus—*ecclesia Machuti—Lesmahago*, in the upper ward of your valley.

Will you let me mention a subject of some interest to others than antiquaries just now? Nearly a century ago, John Williams, a mining engineer, in the service of the trustees of the forfeited estates, had occasion, in travelling through the great West Highland properties under his charge, to observe at the same time the present want of wood for all purposes of use and beauty, and the evident remains of ancient wood, especially of oak, surviving, and shewing itself wherever protected from the depredations of cattle and goats. Proceeding on this foundation he recommends turning the whole district into a forest, enclosing where necessary, banishing goats, &c., making what he rightly calls "a glorious royal forest, the greatest magazine of ship timber so near the sea in Europe."

It is unnecessary to examine or controvert Mr. Williams's opinion, though some of you know I am a doubter in this matter also, and believe that, except in a few very favourable and very small places, the west coast of our Highlands never produced anything more than that beautiful copse of mingled oak and birch, which grows indeed everywhere spontaneously. It is better to mark this as a capital and amusing subject of investigation to any one who feels an interest in wood, whichever side he takes in the controversy. I myself gathered a few facts as fairly as a prejudiced man like myself could be expected to do, and gave them as a foundation for an enquiry, which we once hoped to carry forward by the machinery of the Highland Society. But even later than my attempt, and indeed very fre-

quently, we have discoveries and circumstances brought to light which give a great deal of colour and support to the popular belief of the ancient Caledonian forest, and the close unbroken wood that of old covered Scotland. The most interesting and the best described of these is a late discovery of a buried forest of great oaks found at the mouth of the Cree, in Galloway, which Dr. Arthur Mitchell has carefully examined and noted for us. Dr. Mitchell is a most accurate observer, and scrupulously careful in the statements of his facts. Let me read a few lines of his description:—

"Below Newton-Stewart the crooks of the Cree are compared to those of the Forth between Stirling and Alloa. From this point the river pursues a winding course, through a flat or plain, which has been aptly likened to the Carse of Stirling. This carse, which lies between the road to Creetown on the one side, and the road to Wigtown on the other, covers an area of 10 to 12 square miles, including the part under water at full tide, and consists throughout of bluish clay silt, clayey loam, or carse clay. On the west side a large extent is still covered by peat, averaging 7 to 8 feet in depth. On the east side, indeed, little peat now remains, and the next generation may see nearly as little on the west. The peat lies immediately over the clay, the line of separation being sharp and defined, there being no evidence of any vegetation prior to the formation of the peat.

"The clay bank, or bed of clay which forms the carse is of great but unknown depth. About two miles below Newton-Stewart, in making a bridge for the railway in 1860, piles were driven more than 40 feet down and no bottom found.

"The trees, which, so far as I know, are all oak, are found in two distinct positions: first, in the channel of the Cree, or projecting into its channel from the banks at the side, with 10 or 15 feet of sandy clay above, and an unknown number of feet of clay below; and, secondly, under the peat on the surface of the clay.

"The existence of this ancient Cree forest does not rest on our finding some half dozen trunks; you may count them by the hundred, exposed in the bed of the river between Newton and Barsalloch, and you may reckon roots by the score where the moss has been cleared away near the mouth of Lime Burn. The pillars of nearly every gate on the way are observed to be made of handsome logs of black oak.

"Not only is the wood abundant, but it is of great size.

"Mr. M'Culloch, of Barholm, about twenty years ago raised an oak from the bed of the Cree which was 15 feet in girth and 50 feet long, and which he sold for £25 to Mr. Younghusband, of Whitehaven, to be used in shipbuilding.

"The Rev. Dr. Richardson gives the measurement of two logs raised

by a cabinetmaker in Newton-Stewart. One was 58 feet long and 14 feet 9 inches in girth, and the other 35 feet long and no less than 17 feet in girth; and the same authority adds that 'numbers of them were 12 feet in circumference.'

"Dr. Black, F.G.S., in a note sent to me by Mr. Innes, states that the growth rings of one 'were reckoned up to about 600;' and I found a cabinetmaker in Newton-Stewart making large panels of an oak said to have been 15½ feet in circumference, and which was found in Kirrochtree Moss, in what appeared to be a mixture of clay and peat, at a depth of 8 or 9 feet.

"In 1814, in the moss of Barnkirk, close to Newton-Stewart, a canoe was found made out of a single log of oak. Mr. M'Millan, who then occupied Barnkirk, made the lintel of a cart-shed door out of it. Above the canoe in the peat, 6 feet below the surface, a bale of tallow or fat *(adipocere)* was found, weighing 27 lbs.

"In 1819, Mr. Newall found in the clay which adhered to the end of a tree buried in the bank of the river, with at least 12 feet of clay above it, a horn 34 inches long and 12 inches round immediately below its division into 5 antlers. This was sent by Mr. Joseph Train to Sir Walter Scott, and was examined by Barclay and pronounced to be the horn of a deer 'of the largest possible size.'

"Several heads of the extinct urus are said to have been found in the moss and bed of the Cree. Mr. Stewart, of Cairnsmuir, has one which is tolerably perfect. The horns are 29 inches long, and 14 inches in circumference at the root, with a frontal space of 10 inches between them. The same gentleman has also the fragment of another.

"It thus appears that very interesting remains are found in close association with the vestiges of Cree forest. The country appears to have been peopled when these trees were living. On the margins of this forest man paddled in his canoe, and under the shade of these mighty trees he pursued the red deer and the urus. He cultivated corn in the neighbourhood, and ground it. He was of goodly stature, and carried formidable weapons of war. These things at least are possible, if not probable inferences from the facts I have detailed."

And let me also read his conclusions:—

"Where wood thrives well now, wood throve well in ancient Scotland, and *vice versa*, woodless districts now, were woodless then; that there were many large tracts of low natural wood; that here and there something like a forest existed, with trees of a size which we seldom see equalled now; and that there is reason to believe that Scotland never had a much larger acreage under wood than it has at present."

It is not only in searching out and describing such remains that our rural friends can help us, and find infinite pleasure for them-

selves in the occupation. In many country families there are records more or less old of planting and wood culture, which would be most interesting and valuable if given to the public. Many of you are acquainted with the account published by Lord Haddington of his planting of that noble wood of Tyninghame, when all men laughed at his attempt. The north country has a similar chapter of forestry, as interesting, though not so detailed. On a beautiful haugh of the Don, close beside the old Culdee Monastery of Monymusk, the Grants of Monymusk detected the fitness of the soil, and made a "Paradise" (as they called it) there, where they planted with other trees all the *conifers* then known in Scotland, and they have all thriven; insomuch that the late Lord Forbes told me he had measured the larches there and found them larger than those at Dunkeld. Well, of that planting we have an account preserved. It is even now valuable, and in a few years it will be more valuable as the only record of "Paradise," when all the trees it records are dead and gone like their neighbours the Culdees.

There are other families who have noted down their operations in planting and forest culture, and whose descendants have not yet given the world the benefit of these notes of ancestral experience. One gentleman of my acquaintance has very precise records of planting by his grandfather, great-grandfather, great-great-grandfather, taking him back to the period before the Revolution of 1688 and the introduction of beech in our Scotch woods. On the eastern side of the country beech was first planted in some quantity at Yester (Lord Tweeddale's), and at Panmure, the seat of the noble family of Maule in Angus. The gentleman to whom I allude finds it recorded of his remote ancestor, that he brought the first plants of beech from Lord Tweeddale's in a portmanteau or *valise*, behind his servant's saddle; and those trees are still extant, by no means however, the finest of the wood. That gentleman has the happiness to live under the shade of his ancestral trees, which no doubt he enjoys the more from knowing their history. Some of the tallest larches we have in Scotland are there, and a noble silver-fir, though shattered by the storms of centuries, still overtopping all the wood—the landmark of the valley. I hope the gentleman I allude to will be prevailed upon to publish the memoirs of that very interesting woodland tract; and there are many others who have similar records of the wood-culture of generations, the publication of which would be very useful to their neighbours and the country.

We know, too, of some mosses in Renfrewshire and Ayrshire, and no doubt elsewhere, containing logs and remains of oak of good size. One tree dug out of the Cart has been set up in the garden at Poloc. It is of great dimensions, hollow from age before it fell. The gardener assured me that twenty people (I may not be correct in the number, for I speak from memory, but it is easy to ascertain) could sit within the trunk. I wish the gentlemen of that country would give us a detailed account of those forests under the mosses. We hear every now and then of single trees of enormous size, but the actual measurement is not given. They speak, too, of great numbers, but that is too indefinite. I do not mean that they should count the trees in the moss, that might be difficult, but let them at least imitate Dr. Arthur Mitchell, and give us some idea of the extent—in yards or in miles—over which the trees have been found. But above all give us accurate mensuration, for a fallen tree, or the root from which a tree has been cut, seems larger than the tree when alive.

I hear of some remarkable remains of this nature in Loch Doon, and it would be very desirable to have the facts precisely ascertained.

NO. XXIII.

ON THE GEOLOGICAL BEARINGS OF THE QUESTION AS TO THE ANTIQUITY OF THE HUMAN RACE:

BY

JAMES SMITH, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 15th February*, 1864.]

My present purpose regards a question which it is the object of archæology not less than geology to elucidate, namely, How long has man been an inhabitant of this world? Hitherto, in that voluminous history of the earth which geology unfolds, that of the human race has been supposed to occupy not more than the last chapter of the last volume, or, rather, the last page of the last chapter. Has this portion of geological history been extended by the late researches into the antiquity of the human race, and what is the extent?

Now I think that there is little doubt but that to a certain extent it has, that we can synchronise the human race with the remains of animals that are now unknown to exist, and which we may safely conclude are extinct; this, however, proves no more than that the period of their extinction is less remote than has hitherto been supposed, but throws no additional light on the absolute lapse of time which has intervened between the creation of man and the historic period. One of these extinct species, the Irish elk, we have every reason to believe was co-existent with man; another, the dodo, we know existed within the last four centuries. In Great Britain, the bear, the wolf, the beaver, and bustard have become extinct during the human period, and other species are to all appearance wearing out; and in any case, however remote the period when the elk and other animals which we have reason to suppose lived during the human period existed, they all belong to the most modern geological epoch. We must also remember that geological changes, such as those I am about to mention, necessarily produce geographical changes which must influence the fauna of the countries which have been subjected

to them. When at Malta, I procured from a Maltese geologist—Mr. St. George—the fang of a molar tooth of an elephant, which he found attached by stalagmite to a rock in the island of Gozo. Now it is perfectly clear that so small an island could not have afforded sustenance to a race of elephants. It must to have done so, have formed part of a larger country, but we have the clearest and most unequivocal evidence that the Maltese group has during the human period formed part of a more extensive region. The island is composed of flat beds of soft tertiary rock, which is traversed by wheel tracks more than a foot deep, that have no connection with the present towns or villages of the island, and about which there is no tradition. These tracks pass under the sea as far as they can be seen in the clearest weather, and reappear in the adjoining islands of Gozo and Filfolo; the latter a rocky islet surrounded by mural precipices, whilst the south side of Malta, which is also "iron bound," that is, girt with mural precipices, lies opposite to it at the distance of about a mile. Here, then, we have evidence that during the human period geographical changes, the result of geological changes, have taken place which must have affected the fauna.

Ancient discoveries shew that the remains of cave animals occur in Malta, and should human remains be found associated with them, we see in the changes which we know to belong to the human period sufficient cause for their having become extinct.

Of late years human remains, or at least works of art, have been found imbedded in gravel, under circumstances which I think prove that they are older than the beds which contain them. Some of them no doubt are fictitious, but still I think we have sufficient evidence to warrant the admission that works of art have been found in beds of gravel which in their present position are no longer subject to geological changes, and therefore of greater age.

It will probably be in the recollection of some of the members, that two or three years ago I exhibited two extremely interesting relics of the stone period, one of them a highly polished celt, or stone hatchet, found in one of the Glasgow canoes, the other an unfinished ornament of cannel coal, which was found in undisturbed gravel, according to the account of the person who found it, fifty feet above the present level of the sea. Inferences drawn from the observations of others are of little value: I am satisfied, however, that the gravel beds were marine, and although the height at which the object in question was said to be found is probably not very exact, we may

safely conclude that it was deposited at the bottom of the sea, inferring no doubt a change of the sea level of at least fifty feet. To shew that such changes imply no very remote antiquity, I will now with the permission of the meeting read an extract from a paper of mine to prove that much greater changes than are sufficient to account for the phenomena in question have taken place within the historical era.

I do so with less scruple because I arrive at my conclusions from principles that are quite as archæological as they are geological :—

"The phenomenon of submerged forests is nowhere more largely developed than on the coasts of Brittany, Normandy, and the Channel Islands. The great rise of tide, amounting in some places to nearly fifty feet, and the flatness of the shores over which it ebbs and flows, in some places not less than seven miles, afford opportunities for observation probably nowhere else to be found.

"The chief peculiarities which distinguish this forest are, first,—

"The freshness of the wood. When exposed, the wood does not differ from that of other submerged forests in respect of decay. Such was the case with what I observed in the bay of St. Ouen, in Jersey, but Colonel Le Couteur, who lives in that neighbourhood, shewed me the stem of an oak which had been laid bare by a heavy gale, in the most perfect state of preservation. In a communication to the Agricultural Society of Jersey, he thus describes it :—'After the gale, which had greatly denuded the sands, I had the good fortune to see the stem of one of these ancient oaks. The trunk stood four feet above the peaty soil in which it was firmly rooted; its diameter was about three feet. . . . It was still heart of oak.'

"I observed at low water on the shore betwen Granville and Avranches, stems of oak in the attitude of growth in a similar state of preservation, and in the same locality the stem of a large tree standing upright. Being surrounded by water I could not approach it sufficiently near to ascertain the species, but it is known to form part of the original forest.

"According to the Abbé Manet, these ancient stems are locally termed *coerons*, and in some places *canaillons*. The wood is used for economical purposes, such as beams in the roofs of houses, furniture, in which its hardness and dark colour give it the polish of ebony, and for espaliers, 'qui resistent long temps aux injures de l'air et qui portent avec eux leur peinture.'—(p. 63.)

"The next peculiarity which distinguishes these forests is, that

they contain the ruins of ancient buildings and works of art. I cannot speak as to this from my own observation, but the Abbé Manet has brought forward a great mass of evidence proving their occurrence on the French coast; and Falle, the historian of Jersey, states that there are buildings in the submerged forest of St. Ouen. I can, however, give the authority of Captain (now Admiral) Martin White, R.N., who has executed under the directions of the Admiralty an elaborate survey of this part of the French coast. He informs me that on a shoal which is named in the French charts *La Parisienne*, he has brought up with the lead, fragments of brick and tile, and is quite satisfied that it has been formed by the ruins of an ancient building. He has also seen under water, lines running along the bottom, evidently artificial, and which are probably the same as those mentioned by Borlase in his account of the Scilly Isles, which are locally called "hedges," *i.e.*, ancient stone walls, which, he says, 'are frequently seen upon the shifting of the sands in the friths between the islands.' The same author also mentions a straight-lined ridge, like a causeway, running across the old town creek in St. Mary's, which is now never above water.

"Another peculiarity of this forest is the great vertical range through which it can be observed. The tide rises and falls, as already noticed, in the Bay of Cancale nearly 50 feet, and Admiral White informs me he has seen, as far as the eye can penetrate below the surface at low water, stumps of trees *in situ* beneath the sea, with roots shooting out in every direction. He has observed this phenomenon both on the coasts of France and Jersey. These trees could not be less than 60 feet below high water.

"The most important point connected with this forest, however, is the precision with which the date of the submergence can be ascertained.

"The account given by ecclesiastical historians and metrical chroniclers is as follows:—

"About the beginning of the eighth century, St. Aubert, Bishop of Avranches, founded a church in honour of the Archangel Michael upon the mount which now bears his name, which was then surrounded by a forest, and was more than two leagues distant from the sea. Being anxious to procure some relics of the patron saint, he sent two priests to Mount Garganus, in the south of Italy, for a portion of the red altar cloth which the Archangel had left when he visited that place, and of the marble of the altar upon which he

stood. During their absence, according to the Père de Moustier, in his *Neustria pia*, 'Deo permittente mare sylvam quantumque esset superavit et prostravit repleviique arena locos Monti Tombelino adjacentes; nuntii autem reversi 16 Octobris saltus arena refertos adeo mirati sunt ut novum orbem se ingressos putaverunt.' The Abbé de la Rue, in his *Essai Historique sur les Bardes*, vol ii. p. 363, quotes an ancient poem by Guillaume de St. Pair, a monk in the monastery of Mont St. Michel, who flourished in the twelfth century, who says that what was then sand was formerly a forest :—

> 'Ceu que or est mer et areine
> En icels tems est forest pleine
> De mainte riche venaison
> Mais or il noet le poisson . . . .
> En le forest avait un Mont,' &c.

"But in monkish historians and metrical chroniclers we are naturally apprehensive of finding legends for history, in explanation of appearances the origin of which is unknown. Professor de Hericher of Avranches, in his work entitled *Avranchin Monumentale et Historique*, quotes certain ancient MSS. preserved in the public library in that town which belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of Mont St. Michel, but were dispersed at the Revolution, which give an account of the sudden eruption of the sea, by which the ancient forest was submerged. I availed myself of the opportunity which a visit to that place afforded me of examining them.

"The volume No. 34 contains several works in different hands, but all of great antiquity. The one alluded to by M. de Hericher, which he considers from its palæography to have been written in the ninth century, has for its title, '*Incipit Revelatio Ecclesiæ sancti Michælis in Monte qui dicitur Tumba in occiduis partibus sub Childeberto Rege Francorum, Auberte Episcopo.*' The account contained in it is as follows: 'Qui primum locus sicut a veracibus cognoscere potuimus narratoribus, opacissima claudebatur silva longe ab oceano ut estimata æstu millibus distans sex abditissima præbens latibula ferarum . . . . Mare quod longe distabat paulatim assurgens omnem silvæ illius magnitudinem virtute complanavit et in arenæ suæ formam cuncta redegit . . . . Quasi novum ingressi sunt orbem quam primum veprium densitate reliquerunt.' M. de Hericher, unwilling to admit an actual change of level, supposes that the distance 'ab oceano æstu' refers to low water, and as Mont St. Michel is six miles distant from it, concludes that no change has taken place;

but the account of its having been surrounded by wood leaves no room for such a supposition.

"According to Père de Moustier, the return of the messengers took place the 16th of October, 709. This date agrees with that assigned to the event by the metrical chronicle quoted by the Abbé de la Rue, who observes, 'Ces revolutions durent avoir lieu suivant la poëte sous l'episcopat de St. Auberte et sous le règne de Childeberte.'—(Vol. ii. p. 303.)

"The Abbé Manet states that during the great gale of the 9th of January, 1735, the violence of the sea 'sur les gréves de Mont St. Michel fit sortir des sables une quantité prodigieuse de ces billes qu'on y trouva *presque toutes conchées du Nord au Sud.*'—(p. 53.) This is exactly the position in which the sea, rushing in to fill up a sudden depression, would lay the stems, as the Bay of St. Michel, or Cancale, is open to the north." So far the extracts from my paper. The Abbé Manet attributes the circumstance of the direction in which the buried trees of this vast forest are laid to a violent gale of northerly wind; but, as I learned upon the spot, many of the trees are of vast size, and of oak. Such was that which I examined in the sands near Avranches—the stump of a large tree, with the roots shooting out in every direction. It and many similar examples must have been broken over near the roots. Such effects appear to me to require an agent more powerful than a gale of wind, however violent. This event must have entirely changed the geography of the adjoining regions. The trees seen by Admiral White must have been at least ten fathoms below high water; but luxuriant forests, such as this was, do not grow down to the water's edge of a stormy sea. Ten fathoms is but a part, perhaps a small part, of the actual change of level which took place in October, A.D. 709; but there is no part of the sea between the Channel Islands, St. Maloes, and St. Michel so deep; hence, anterior to the event in question, they formed part of the continent. I think it extremely probable that the Cassiterides, or tin islands of the ancients, placed by them to the north of Spain, were either entirely or partially submerged. In the latter case, the Scilly Islands are the only ones which agree in geographical position, though not in geographical description. According to Strabo they consisted of ten islands, thickly inhabited, and supplying the ancient world with tin. Now there are no mines to be seen in the islands; but only one lode, and the workings are very inconsiderable. Borlase, in his account of the islands, as well as in his paper on the

subject in the "Philosophical Transactions," produces evidence of a change of level of at least sixteen feet, and adds, "See how the sea has multiplied these islands; they are now reckoned 140. . . . But no circumstance can shew the great alterations which have happened in the number and extent of these islands more than this, viz., that the Isle of Scilly, from which the little cluster of these Cyclades take the name, is no more at present than a high rock of about a furlong over."—(Phil. Trans., vol. xlviii., p. 55.)

With such proofs of change of the sea level during the historic period, no safe inference can be drawn with regard to duration from the occurrence of marine remains at a different level from the present. Neither can we reason on the length of time necessary to effect changes by the levels of a river in a settled country; the rights of property prevent the deviations which constantly take place before the banks are taken possession of. I do not think, therefore, that any new light has been thrown upon the antiquity of the human race from the occurrence of works of art in fluviatile or marine gravel at a different level from that of the adjoining rivers or seas.

Although, however, these recent discoveries throw no new light on the actual length of time when they were deposited, yet when we consider the extreme rarity of human remains when compared with those of the other cave animals, or the rudeness of the stone implements compared with those of the valley of the Clyde, it appears to me that they belong to the earliest portion of the stone period, that which first followed the appearance of man in the earth, or to use the somewhat old-fashioned, but I consider true language, "the creation of man."

NO. XXIV.

ON THE ORIGIN AND INFLUENCE OF BURGHS IN SCOTLAND:

BY

JOSEPH IRVING, Esq., F.S.A., Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 15th February*, 1864.]

The inquiry into the origin and influence of Burghs in Scotland carries us back to the very sources of our national life. It embraces, indeed, so far as time is concerned, the entire period of our well-ascertained history. It touches the daily current of our lives now, and it goes back to a time when charters and deeds were just coming into use among us. "The stream of history" is a phrase with which use has made us so familiar that we are apt sometimes to overlook the springs from which it flows. In speaking of the history of burghs it is particularly necessary to keep their origin in view, for many of the peculiarities they present find an explanation in the period or circumstance in which they were created. I may explain at the outset, that it is no part of my plan to trace the ideal burgh beyond Scotland. As to the analogies and affinities it presents to the Roman "Municipia," the Saxon "Burg," or the German "Free Town," I must leave these to be described by others. It is sufficient for me that there was a time within the range of authentic history when burghs had no existence in Scotland—a time when there was in the land neither the walled town of the vassal, nor the protecting castle of the noble—a time when war was the natural condition of life, and slavery the ordinary state of the craftsman. In the erection of burghs two parties were specially benefitted,—the sovereign, by rent and service; and the trader, by peace and security. Their first appearance in our history is pretty well marked. The Pictish kingdom—laws, language, and customs—had just passed away in that confused mysterious manner which is still a puzzle to all students of our national history. The sovereignty of the country, though virtually controlled by two or three of the great earls, was nominally wielded by the heir of the Scottish Mal-

colm and the Saxon Margaret. The kingdom was resting awhile from the bloodshed and turmoil which had distracted it for centuries. The Church was beginning to arise in her majesty, and the people following her in grateful obedience had begun to know something of knowledge and freedom when the first David made the influence of burghs to be felt in Scottish life in a certain well-defined manner. He was the first of our sovereigns who is known to have recognised the importance of this new element in the body politic, though probably not the very first under whose auspices burghs were erected in Scotland.

For about a century before his accession the burgher feeling was making great strides in Europe. There were numerous successful examples in the south of the island, with some of which the sons of Malcolm III. and Margaret must have been familiar, and it is quite likely there may have been in Scotland four, or probably half-a-dozen communities enjoying burghal privileges under the reign of David's predecessor, Alexander I. The introduction of the system here is known to have been gradual, and its growth the result of many different causes. The surmise as to the existence of burghs under Alexander finds corroboration in that unique collection of laws and regulations known as the "Leges Burgorum," now generally received as of the age of David, but providing for the government of communities created possibly before his time, and with which his people were certainly familiar. Edinburgh, Berwick, Stirling, and Roxburgh, composing the Court of the Four Burghs, seem to have exercised a kind of authority before David's time; and from a fragmentary collection attached to the early Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, there is some ground for believing that Aberdeen, Lanark, and Perth also enjoyed special privileges.[1] Edinburgh, indeed, may reasonably claim an antiquity reaching far into the dim Anglo-Saxon period of history. It was the "burg" or walled residence of Edwin of Northumbria, when Northumbria extended from the Humber to the Forth. In one of the oldest existing charters of David, granted to the abbot and convent of Holyrood, the capital is spoken of as "meo burgo de Edwynesburg."[2] Stirling claims to have been founded by Alexander I., in terms of a charter dated at Kincardine,

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[1] See Acts Parliament of Scotland, vol. i. p. 359, where an opinion (afterwards embodied in the Burgh Law, c. 101) is given by the three burghs mentioned, touching the power of alienating property on deathbed.

[2] *Municipal Reports*, pt. i., p. 281.

in the twelfth year of his reign (1119).[1] It militates nothing against this charter to allege that it was not one of erection; for, as will be shown hereafter, formal charters of erection providing for municipal government were not common, indeed not known, till nearly a century later. All the early charters were simple grants of lands or privileges, and provided in no case for local government. Of charters of Alexander I. it is doubtful if there is one in existence now, and any knowledge we possess touching them must be derived from subsequent charters of confirmation, in which the alleged grants are recapitulated. The absence of charters regarding this early period need excite no surprise, for, until the Book of Deir was discovered at Cambridge the other year, it was doubted whether there was any Scotch writing whatever extant so old as the commencement of Alexander's reign. The nature and number of even David's charters can only be established by secondary evidence, but it is the best of its kind—references in contemporary charters granted to religious houses. In the Cartulary of Dunfermline reference is made throughout David's grants to his burghs of Elgin, Haddington, and Perth. In the "Black Book of St. Andrews" is a copy of his charter of erection of that church burgh, and mention is repeatedly made of his acts in the earliest existing charters of Aberdeen, Inverness, and Rutherglen, granted by William the Lion. Besides these burghs I have mentioned, Montrose, Forfar, Jedburgh, and Selkirk, are each heard of for the first time in David's reign. And he did more than merely increase their number. It is one of the glories of the reign of our Scottish Justinian that he gathered together and consolidated the different fragmentary laws touching burgh government, and threw around the new estate that protecting power which made it civilize the people while it enriched the Crown.

Next to David, the most important promoter of burghs in their old and simpler form was his grandson, William the Lion, who ascended the throne in 1165. Troubled as he was throughout the most of his long reign with English claims, ending often in English wars, he seems to have been fully alive to the importance of the new burghal element in the constitution. It was in his reign that Ayr at the one end, and Dumfries at the other, were planted as outposts of civilization to the wild men of Galloway, while Dundee and Banff, Elgin and Inverness, became each little centres of peaceful industry among the turbulent chiefs of the north.

[1] *Nimmo's Stirlingshire*, vol. i., p. 327.

In a sketch of this kind, and in immediate connection with the influence of burghs, it is proper I should place before you some of the more prominent features of Scottish life at the time, that you may see how society was held together when the new burghal element was being introduced. You will thus understand more clearly the nature and extent of the influence exercised by burghs, and how they in turn were modified by the constitution under which they sprung up. First, as to property. All land belonged to the king as feudal superior. If ever there was an allodial or independent tenure in Scotland, every trace of it had disappeared by the beginning of the twelfth century. The relation between the sovereign and his immediate noble retainers as to suit and service represented the connection existing between all the other grades of society. As the knight was to the baron, so was the squire to the knight, and the yeoman to the squire. Each in his station, as a feudal tenant, was bound to serve his superior in the field when need was, or send others to the array. The Court attended by its great officers of state—the Stewart, Chamberlain, Constable, and Justiciar, made frequent progresses throughout the country, bringing justice as near as possible to every man's door, and controlling the lesser courts of regality and burgh. To keep up the royal state and carry on the public business of the country, there was a revenue derived from the crown lands, farmed by Thanes, who accounted to the Chamberlain; from burgh trade and rents, and from the feudal casualties known as marchet, relief, wardship, and maritage. The Parliament, or Great Council of the nation, undefined as yet in either its constitution or duties, sometimes legislated, and sometimes advised. The Church, endowed by the pious munificence of David with a splendour rivalling even the splendour of Italy, was independent without being rebellious—zealous, without being intolerant—the guide and home of the scholar—the patron and instructor of the craftsman.

Such commerce as existed at this early time was mainly carried on by the aid of the little mercantile communities whose history we are tracing. At their ports the produce of a country by no means barren or uncivilized found a safe and ready outlet, and their fairs and markets were in some instances of such importance as almost to reach the dignity of national institutions. In exchange for the soft wool of our flocks, the hides of our cattle, and the fish of our rivers, the industrious burghers brought in wine from Gascony and Bordeaux, cloth and tapestry from Flanders, fruits from Cyprus, and

armour bought by agents at the distant marts of Toledo and Milan. Through their agency the baron kept up the magnificent pomp of the castle, and the churchman the abundant hospitality of the abbey. They gathered together the trappings of war and the fruits of peace —the harness of battle and the good cheer of the refectory. Seeking thus to promote a home as well as a foreign trade, the little peaceful communities were permitted to take kindly root throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. Probably the most numerous group was planted along the fine natural harbours of the east coast, but there were several on sweetly sheltered bends of navigable rivers in the west, and I have already mentioned how early one at least was to be found among the sylvan glades of Ettrick. The burgh itself has already been drawn by an experienced hand. There are the rude fishing boats run up on the beach—the larger sea-going craft waiting for the tide to start for Bruges or Antwerp—the little straggling street leading from the haven to the castle, built by the king for the protection of the traders, whom he greatly cherishes—the homes of the burghers, thatched and clean, and the small squat church built of stone after the new fashion. There is a town-hall for council, and a cross for proclamations—a tron for weighing and measuring—a tollbooth where custom is taken,—and a jail, or, perchance, the stocks and jouggs, for the unruly.[1] Secure in the protection afforded by the burgh, merchant and craftsman ply their vocations and wax rich. That grave old man stepping down to the harbour in his furred gown and cap is one of the bailies of the place, and has a deep interest in these vessels now about to start; another, who has just parted on the street from one of the new order of preaching friars, looks after the wool sent in from the wide pastures belonging to the abbey near by. They are both elected by the Crown, and responsible to the court of the Lord Chamberlain for their management of affairs.

The craftsmen are of many kinds. There are, of course, smiths, for I do not believe there was ever a burgh without one at least; and if it is holiday time the chances are that "Burn the wind" will be found not far from the modest hostel known as "The Traveller's Rest," which even at this early time offers good entertainment for man and beast. There are tailors, and dyers, and shoemakers; all becoming so numerous that they will by and by require a special statute to prevent their exercising undue weight in the merchant

[1] *Mr. Innes on Scotch Surnames*, p. 12.

guild. There is a tanner and a saddler, though it is but just to say that the finest knightly housings came from Venice or Cordova. There is a bowyer or bow maker, cunning in the make of "deadly shafts, a cloth yard long," and a weaver, strongly suspected at the last "chalmerlane air" of making "owre lang thrwyms in skaith of the people." Possibly there may be a goldsmith, a Lombard or Fleming, and who acts at once as the banker and money lender of the community. Pleased with the success of the little trading colony, the king honours the craftsmen and enriches the state by making them the subject of a royal charter. He declares therein to all concerned that the place has been raised to the dignity of a burgh, possessing all the liberties and customs enjoyed by the king's other burghs; the burgesses are freed from tolls throughout the kingdom, and a certain cohesion is given to their corporate existence by an extensive grant of lands contiguous to the town. Stated fairs are also to be held in the course of the year, and toll and customs due to the burgh are to be collected at places duly set forth in the charter. This was all the earlier royal charters provided for, and in some cases the same form continued to be observed till the reign of Alexander II.[1] There was nothing of the nature of a formal incorpora-

[1] The Charter to Ayr, granted by William the Lion, and to Dumbarton by Alexander II., may be taken as specimens of many others:—

Ayr.—Willielmus, Dei gratia, Rex Scottorum, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, praepositis, ministris, et omnibus probis hominibus totius terrae suae, clericis et laicis, salutem; Sciant presentes et futuri me, ad novum castellum meum super Are, burgum fecisse, et eidem burgo, et burgensibus meis in eo manentibus, omnes libertates, et omnes liberas consuetudines concessisse, quas alii burgi mei, et mei burgenses in eisdem manentes, per regnum meum habent: Assedi etiam in eo quolibet die Sabbati diem fori: Concessi etiam burgensibus qui illuc venerint ad burgum meum inhabitandum, et ibi sedentes et manentes erunt, ut quieti sint a tolneo, et omni alia consuetudine, per totam terram meam, de dominicis catallis suis: Prohibeo itaque firmiter, ne quis in regno meo ab aliquo illorum tolneum, aut aliquam aliam consuetudinem de dominicis cattallis suis exigat, super meam plenariam forisfacturam: Concessi etiam eidem burgo meo, et burgensibus meis, qui in burgo illo sedentes et manentes erunt, quinque nummatas terrae, quae pertinent ad villam de Are, per divisas inferius scriptas, scilicet de Inverdon, sursum usque in Innerpolecurteran, et de Innerpolecurteran, sursum usque ad Crottun, et sic per Curcetan usque ad caput Curcetan, et sic a capite Curcetan ascendendo per Bogheskin, usque ad Monedamdereg, et sic a Monedamdereg per sicum, usque in Monemethonac, et a Monemethonac per sicum, usque in Polecleuan, et sic per Polecleuan usque in Lochfergus, et a Lochfergus descendendo usque in Doufhat, et a Doufhat descendendo per sicum usque ad rivulum ex orientali parte Drumnesaneill, et a rivulo Drumnesaneill descendendo usque in sicum ex occidentali parte rivuli illius, et sic per sicum illum usque in Polecloncoranguli, et sic per Polecloncoranguli usque in Douffloch, et inde usque in Pollemulin, et sic per Pollemulin descendendo, usque in Are, et sic per Are descendendo, usque in mare: Concessi, etiam burgensibus meis ibidem manentibus, ut cum quolibet plaenario tofto suo habeant sex acras terrae, quas de boscho exterpaverint infra predictas quinque nummatas terrae, ad faciendum inde commodum suum: Redendo annuatim mihi, pro quolibet tofto, et sex acris terrae illi adjacentibus xii denarios: Mando itaque, et firmiter precipio, ut omnes homines qui cum mercantiis suis, ad vendendum et emen-

tion, such as was afterwards found necessary; and there was no mention of the machinery by which local government was to be carried on. The burgesses had a mutual interest in the management of the land parcelled out among them in separate tofts or tenements, and in return for which a small rental was paid to the king; but, unless the phrase referring to the customs of other burghs is interpreted in a very wide and general way, it is not apparent that burghs were in the first instance called into existence in that artificial and complex state which they afterwards assumed.[1] This was the work of time, and may be presumed to have arisen from the manifest requirements of the burgh to maintain its distinctive privileges, just as craftsmen from a similar cause came to create the different guildries within the jurisdiction of the burgh. Besides the small tenements actually parcelled out among the burgesses, and which could be neither encumbered nor alienated, the most of the

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dum ad illum praedictum burgum meum venerint, firmam pacem meam habeant, et forum exerceant, et inde bene et in pace redeant. Precipio etiam firmiter, ut apud Mach et Kairnbught, et Loudun, et Crossanctoun, et Lachcalpine, tolneum, et aliae consuetudines que burgo debentur, dentur, et recipiantur: Prohibeo itaque firmiter, ne quis tolneum, aut aliquam aliam consuetudinem, quas predicto burgo meo de ratione facere debet, ultra predictas divisas asportare presumat, super meam plenariam forisfacturam. Si quis vero tolneum, vel aliquam aliam consuetudinem praedicti burgi mei, ultra praedictas divisas, asportare praesumpserit, precipio firmiter, ut omnes homines infra praedictas divisas manentes, sint auxiliantes servientibus meis, ad adquirendum jus meum, et ad capiendum et attachiandum illum qui tolnea, aut aliquam aliam consuetudinem ad praedictum burgum meum pertinentem, ultra praedictas divisas asportaverit, vel asportare contenderet. Testibus Florentio electo Glasguen, cancellario meo, Waltero et Will° capellanis meis, Philippo de Valen, camerario meo, Roberto de Lundon filio meo, Will° de Bosch, et Hugone clericis meis, Will° de Valin, Thoma de Colvil, Reginaldo de Crawford, apud Lanarc xxi die Maii.

Dumbarton.—Alexander, Dei gracia, Rex Scotorum, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus baronibus, justiciaris, vice-comitibus, prepositis ministris, et omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue, clericis et laicis, salutem: Sciant presentes et futuri me, ad novum castellum meum apud Dunbritan, burgum fecisse; et, eidem burgo et burgensibus meis in eo manentibus, omnes libertates et omnes liberas consuetudines concessisse, quas burgenses mei de Edinburgh et in eo manentes habent: Concedo eciam in predicto burgo meo, in qualibet septimana unum diem fori, scilicet diem Mercurii: Concessi eciam burgensibus qui illuc venient ad predictum burgum meum inhabitandum, et ibi sedentes et manentes erunt kersecum a Pentecoste, anno gracie millesimo ducentessimo vicesimo primo usque ad terminum quinque annorum completorum; Et, ut quieti sunt de tolneo et omni alia consuetudine per totam terram meam, de dominicis catallis suis imperpetuum: Prohibeo, itaque, firmiter ne quis in regno meo ab aliquo illorum tolneum aut aliquam aliam consuetudinem de dominicis catallis suis exigat, super meam plenariam forisfacturam: Concessi eciam, firmam pacem meam omnibus illis, qui venient ad predictum burgum meum inhabitandum: Precipio, eciam, ut omnes, qui, cum mercancis suis ad vendendum vel emendum ad predictum burgum meum venient, firmam pacem meam habeant; et ibi forum exerceant, et bene et in pace inde redeant, saluis rectitudinibus predicti burgi mei: Testibus, Willelmo de Boscho, cancellario; Waltero Olifant, justiciario Laodonie; Philippo de Mowbraye; Ingeramo de Ballioll; Henrico de Ballioll; Johanne Maxwell; Roberto, filio Roberto de Ross; Johanne de Haye; Henrico Merschell: Apud Jedvord viij° die Julij anno regni nostri octavo.

[1] *General Report on Municipal Corporations in Scotland*, p. 10-12.

burghs acquired by gift from the Crown extensive tracts of property, which served the double purpose of maintaining the cause of peace and order at home, and securing a clearly defined amount of service in the armies of the king.[1] Nothing daunted by what seems to us the vagueness of their charter of erection, our little imaginary Newburgh soon comes to regulate its trade and government by the practice of other towns similarly honoured. On the first court day after the Feast of St. Michael the good men of the place—the "probi homines villæ fideles et bonæ famæ" of the charter—meet to elect magistrates and swear fealty to their lord the king. Those so elected "suer to keep the customys of the toune, and that they sal nocht halde lauch on ony man or woman for wrath, nor for haterent, nor for drede, or for luve of ony man, bot throw ordinans, consaile, and dome of gud men of the toune; also, they swear "that nather for radness, nor for luve, nor for haterent, nor for cosynage, nor for tynsale of their silver they sal nocht spare to do richt till all men.[2] Who the burgesses were that in process of time came to be known as the Council, or by whom they were elected, cannot now be indicated with certainty. That they latterly usurped a power belonging to the entire community is plain enough; and it is likely the usurpation took place early. In the "Statuta Gilde," framed mainly for Berwick, about the time of Alexander II., it is provided that, in addition to the Aldermen and Bailies, there shall be twenty-four "probi homines de melioribus et discretioribus et fide dignioribus ejusdem burgi ad hoc electi." In the event of any controversy these twenty-four decided who were to be magistrates. So the encroachment may have begun. The important step of election over, the daily life of the community is found to be regulated in a great measure by the Laws of the Four Burghs.

Jealous enough of their privileges, and not without suspicion in their dealings with upland men, their exclusive policy is not without its redeeming features. If any man's thryll, baron's or knight's, comes to the burgh and buys a borowage, and dwells therein a twelvemonth and a day, without challenge of his lord or of his bailie, he shall be evermore free, as a burgess within the king's burgh, and rejoice in the freedom of the same.[3] They did not disturb themselves more than was necessary with the settlement of nice points of law that sometimes arose in connection with private wrongs. In the case of strife between seamen of strange countries

[1] *General Report on Municipal Corporations in Scotland*, p. 10-12.
[2] Leg. Bur., cap. 70. [3] Leg. Bur., 15.

in burgh, the bailies were to see in the first place that the king's toll had been duly paid, and then see that they were each sent to their ships that "the tane of the tothir" might "get his rycht quhar he best may."[1] If any man from the castle injured a burgess the latter sought law at the castle gates, the castellane in turn coming to the bailie to complain of a burgess.[2] Baxters baked their bread, white and gray, "efter the consideracion and prize of the gud men;" and whoever baked to sell were not to hide it any time, but set it in the window or market that it might be openly sold; this provision against any artificial scarcity being accompanied with forfeiture of the bread, "to be delt to the pure folk."[3] If any woman brewster made evil ale, and went again the customs of the town, she was fined eight shillings or put on the Kirkstule, whichever she preferred, the ale in either case being divided between the poor of the town and the brethren of the hospital. The "alewand" was to be exposed in the window that all might see it.[4] No burgess was at liberty to forestall the market by buying beyond the gates of the town; hucksters could not purchase before nine o'clock in winter, and midmorn in summer.[5] Dealers in meat and drink were bound to sell to all men to within fourpence of their whole stock, which amount might be kept for their own households.[6] Fleshers were bound to kill "gude fleshe," and expose the same, helping the burgesses also in slaughtering time, from Martinmas to Yule.[7] The peace of the burgh at night was protected by burgess watchmen, bound to come forth in turn, about the ringing of curfew, when the "wakstaff" knocked at their door, and, armed with two weapons, watched "wysly and besily till the dawyng of the day."[8] Nor was the health of the town neglected. Harbour, without inquiry, could not be given to a stranger for more than one night.[9] Lepers were sent to one end of the town,[10] and profligate women to another, where there was the least danger of fire. Few were dealt with so hard as the poor Kemstar. If he left the burgh with upland men while there was work to be done, he might be at once taken and imprisoned.[11] On the death of a burgess a third of his effects fell to be divided among his children, sons and daughters;[12] the heir, however, having certain plenishing pertaining to the tenement, and also, all that had been built, set, or sown in the same.[13] After the peace of the fair was proclaimed it was not lawful to capture or attach any

[1] Leg. Bur., 26, [2] 46, [3] 60, [4] 63, [5] 66, [6] 67, [7] 78, [8] 81, [9] 85, [10] 58. [11] 103, [12] 115, [13] 116.

wrongdoer within burgh unless he had broken the peace of the fair or was a traitor to the king, or had been guilty of some misdeed for which Holy Church itself could not give sanctuary.[1] I have not noticed the "Pied Poudre" Court, so well known in early English burghs at fair time, referred to in any Scotch document; but from the readiness with which appeals could be made to the "bailies of the fair," in the case of articles stolen or found, I infer they were a ready court of reference in the case of all disputes between the burgesses and the "dustyfoot," or travelling merchant.[2] Sterling weights, and dry and wet measures, were fixed generally with reference to what they had been in King David's time. The toll on goods and cattle was based on the practice of Newcastle or Winchester. The dignity and usefulness of the magistracy was provided for by excluding from the merchant guild certain craftsmen who wrought with their own hands. The Burgh Laws make special reference to fleshers and shoemakers,[3] the Charter by William the Lion to Perth to fullers and tailors—"Concedo etiam burgensibus eisdem meis de Perth ut habeant gildam suam mercatoriam exceptis fullonibus et telariis." These guild-merchants and craftsmen alike became the source of much trouble and ill feeling in burghs, and long militated against the usefulness of the new estate.

Traders, as distinguished from artificers, seem to have enjoyed in the North a kind of freedom and protection not unlike that prevailing among the German towns, which came to form the well known Hanseatic League. Privileged leagues of traders dated at least from the days of King David, and extended over a far wider district of country than could possibly be included in any single burgh. William the Lion granted his burgesses of Aberdeen, Moray, and all dwelling north of the Munth, liberty to hold their House where they chose, and as freely as their ancestors had held it in David's time. The charter gives "omnibus burgensibus meis de Aberdoen et omnibus burgensibus de Moravia, et omnibus burgensibus ex aquilonali parte de Munth manentibus liberum Ansum suum, tenendum ubi voluerint, et quando voluerint, ita libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut antecessores eorum tempore Regis David avi mei Ansum suum liberius et honorificeneius habuerunt." It cannot be doubted that the league here referred to was in imitation of those just then being recognised in England by Henry II. He took the people of Cologne and their Guildhall in London under his

[1] Leg. Bur., 86, [2] 87, [3] 94.

protection, and permitted them to sell their Rhenish wine at the price for which French wines were sold. Craft guilds were of later growth—probably not earlier than Alexander II.—and they were for centuries an object of jealousy and alarm to king and people. This will be made apparent when we come to treat of burghs of more recent origin than those we are presently concerned with. In the meantime we must leave our Newburgh, formed and governed as has been explained, and show how such communities came to exercise direct power in the affairs of the State. They increased in number from various causes. The baron, elevating himself by the elevation of his vassals, sought and obtained protection for them, as traders depending upon himself. The Church, learned, as well as powerful, threw its protecting arms over the small lay community gathered round the monastery, and laid the foundation of some of the greatest trading corporations of the age. The first class are neither so numerous nor so ancient as the second. Glasgow, St. Andrews, Kelso, Paisley, Dunfermline, and Brechin, all owe their origin to the Church, and much of their early importance to the manner in which she protected them. You have been told, I daresay, till you are wearied, how the Bishop's little burgh of Glasgow, clustered on the banks of the silvery Molendinar, was beset and tormented by Rutherglen and Dumbarton; the former comprehending the entire of Glasgow within its original charter, the latter stretching along the Clyde from the Kelvin to Lochlong. The grievance, as you know, was so intolerable that, in 1226, Alexander II. granted a charter prohibiting the people of Rutherglen from taking toll or custom in the town of Glasgow, or nearer than the Cross of Schetleston—"Domino et Ecclesiæ Sancti Kentigerni de Glasgu, et Waltero episcopo ejusdem loci, et successoribus suis episcopis: Ne præpositi, vel ballivi, vel servientes nostri de Rutherglen, tolneum aut consuetudinem capiant in villa de Glasgu; sed illa capiant ad crucem de Schedeniston sicut illa antiquitus capi solebant. Quare prohibemus firmiter ne præpositi, vel ballivi, vel servientes nostri de Rutherglen, tolneum aut consuetudinem capiant in villa de Glasgu." The grievance of the Bishop's burgh regarding the trade to Argyll was met by another charter from the same sovereign, Alexander II. In 1242, twenty years after he had erected Dumbarton into a royal burgh, he granted a charter declaring that the burgesses of Glasgow, Argyll, and Levanax, and throughout the whole kingdom, may go and bye

or sell, all kinds of merchindise which they wish, as freely, quietly, fully, and honourably, and without any impediment from the bailie of Dumbarton, or any other of our bailies whomsoever, as the burgesses and men of Glasgow were formerly able to do more freely, quietly, fully, and honourably before we granted any town and burgh at Dumbarton—"Et burgenses, et homines sui de Glasgu in Ergadia et in Levinax, et per totum regnum nostrum, ire possunt ad emendum et vendendum, et omnimodis mercaturas exercendas cum voluerint, ita libere, et quiete, plenarie, et honorifice, et sine aliquo impedimento ballivorum nostrorum de Dunbreton seu quorumcunque aliorum ballivorum nostrorum, sicut dicti burgenses et homines de Glasgu antiquitus liberius, quietius, plenius, et honorificencius facere potuerunt antequam aliquem burgum apud Dunbreton fundari fecimus," &c. Limited in area, however, and inferior in privilege, the church burghs do not seem to have ever ranked equal in importance with those holding directly from the Crown, though at least two of them—Glasgow and Brechin—presented the anomaly of sending representatives to Parliament. Burghs in no instance seem to have been mixed up with the other estates in Parliament before the reign of Bruce. Up to his time they met in their own Parliament and voted such voluntary aids to the Crown as they thought proper.[1] In 1295, when the treaty between Baliol and Philip of France was ratified at Dunfermline, the six burghs of Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick, signed, along with the bishops, earls, and barons, as consenting parties. It is doubtful if they were even then in Parliament assembled. Five years later, when Edward I. ordered a General Council of the Scottish nation to be held at Perth, of the ten Commissioners appointed two were for the commons, "deux pour la commune." Representatives from burghs had been introduced into the English Parliament before this period, and it was natural for Edward to adopt the same policy in Scotland; but whether the practice was continued from this time without interruption is far from being clear.[2]

In 1326, when Bruce claimed from the nation a revenue to meet the expense of the war of independence, the earls, barons, burgesses, and free tenants, met in full parliament, and entered into an agreement with the sovereign, which may be described as the "Scottish

[1] Act Par. Scot. p. 7, Extract from Lord Hailes, and Fordun.
[2] *Wight on Elections*, p. 45.

Claim of Right." A supply was granted; but there was to be a redress of grievances, and a strict limitation of the grant. The king was to impose no more "collectas," and to mitigate his legal exactions, burdensome to the people. It is not certain whether the burghs after this time sought to maintain their independence by meeting in a separate place from the other more powerful estate, but in many parliaments of Bruce's latter days their existence and influence is distinctly referred to; and during the impolitic career of his son David II. they helped, with the barons and churchmen, to control even the high functions of the Executive. The earlier parliamentary records give little information either as to the burghs represented, or the manner in which the representatives were elected. It was not till the middle of the fifteenth century that the names of the nobles, barons, and burgesses were entered on the rolls.[1] The principle of appearance by representation or delegate was but imperfectly understood, and the attendance of the Third Estate, therefore, varied with the importance or urgency of the occasion calling the parliament together. The burgesses as well as the smaller freeholders felt repeated attendance during the year an irksome duty, and sought from time to time to obtain relief. In 1405 two or three was the number condescended on by the Court of the Four Burghs as proper to be sent from each of the king's burghs south of the Spey. Not less than two were demanded by parliament, till so late as 1619, when with the exception of Edinburgh, the number was modified to one. Bruce, as might have been expected, did not allow the burghal element to slumber during his reign. At least four burghs owe their charter of erection to him—Cullen, Irvine, Lanark, and Whithorn—and probably, also, Crail, and Lochmaben; the latter, unimportant enough now, but interesting as furnishing in our own day almost the only example left of the "kindly tenantry" placed near his castles by the good King Robert.

The Convention of Burghs, gradually shaping itself out of the original Court of Four Burghs, took a definite form in 1487, when it was ordered that yearly in time to come, certain commissioners of all burghs, north and south, convene together in the burgh of Inverkeithing on the morrow after St. James' day, and there commune and treat on the welfare of merchandise, the profit of burghs, and the skaith and injuries to which they were subjected. They met afterwards four times yearly, but this was more than could be borne

[1] *Wight on Elections*, p. 46.

by the commissioners, and they fell into the old practice of meeting annually, which has continued ever since.

The era of the Stuarts in Scotland was mainly remarkable, so far as burghs are concerned, by the development of the guildry element before alluded to. Jealous, no doubt, of the influence exercised by the merchant traders in town affairs, the different crafts as they increased in numbers and wealth sought to share in the management of public business. Their first step was to have freedom to meet and discuss affairs touching their own craft, and elect, if they pleased, deacons and office-bearers. With the view, as it was phrased, of "checking the frauds of untrew men of crafts," James I. passed an act in 1424, ordaining that in every town, "of ilk sindry craft usyt tharin, thar be chosyn a wise man of thar craft, be the layff of that craft, and be the counsel of the officiaris of the towne, the quhilk sall be haldyn Dekyn or Maister man owre the layff, for the tyme till hym assignyt, till assay and govern all werkis that beis made be the werkmen of his craft, sua that the kingis lieges be nocht defraudyt and scathyt in tyme to cum, as thai have bene in tyme bygane, through untrew men of craftis."[1] This act led to such scenes of turbulence that it was repealed in a year or two, and the craftsmen characterised as dangerous to the public safety.[2] But they were not to be put down in this way. Their power and wealth were sufficient not only to influence but absolutely overawe the Crown; and the struggle between them in the fifteenth century was somewhat bitter. In 1493 a statute was passed declaring that it was well known "to the kingis Hienis and his thrie estates that the using of dekynnis of men of craft in burrowis is richt dangerous," and "als belangand masonis, wrichtis, and uthir men of craft, that statutis that they sall have fee alswell for the holy day as for the werk day," they "sall be inditit as common oppressouris of the kingis liegis." During the reign of James V. there were various acts passed denouncing "cordonaris, smiths, baxters, and brewsters," for compelling the lieges to pay exorbitant prices for stuff and workmanship, and complaining not only of the inefficiency of deacons, but of the gross negligence of provosts and bailies, in permitting the oppression within their bounds. Before the death of that sovereign the various orders of craftsmen were recognised as distinct but inferior incorporations existing within burgh. The magistrates were at first to choose certain honest men of each craft, of good conscience, to oversee their

[1] Act Par., vol. ii. p. 8. [2] Ibid, p. 14.

work; but as the danger from making leagues and bonds among themselves became less imminent, the Crown relaxed so far as to permit them to choose deacons for themselves. "Seals of Cause," as they were called, were issued under the superior authority of the Council to such crafts as sought them, and by advances almost imperceptible they acquired the power of controlling not only their own internal affairs, but the entire system of trading between burgesses and unfreemen. Indeed, in process of time they came to usurp privileges pertaining of old to the whole body of burgesses, and by their exclusive intolerant policy, brought great discredit on the municipal system of Scotland. Conveneries was another development of the same principle. A kind of court composed of deacon representatives of all the trades, it embodied the exclusive spirit of the age in its most concentrated form; but it did not flourish in more than a dozen towns—though they were of the largest—and cannot be said to have been an essential part of the guildry system. The form is still maintained in Edinburgh and Glasgow under the name of Trades' Houses.

While craft burgesses were thus encroaching on rights belonging of old to the general body, it is proper to state that the Crown itself had some time previously set an evil example in this respect. With the view of changing magistrates more frequently than was the practice, King James III., in 1469, thought it expedient that the choosing of the new officers be in this wise—"the auld Counsail of the Toune sall cheise the new Counsail in sic nowmyr as accordis to the Toune, and the new Counsail and the auld of the yeir befoir sall cheise all officiaris pertenying to the Toune, as Alderman, Bailyis, Dene of Gild, and utheris officiaris; and that ilka craft sall cheise a persone of the samyn craft, that sall have voce in the said electioune of the officiaris, for that tyme; in like wise yeir be yeir."[1] This was certainly an odd kind of way to meet the evil; but burghs soon fell into the habit of observing it, and, as you know, the practice continued down to quite recent times. It was under this system that burghs brought their influence to bear on the Reformation, and on the many questions affecting the public weal, to which the Reformation gave birth.

In point of numbers the burghal estate did not increase much from the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century. Robert III. erected North Berwick, Renfrew, and Rothesay;

[1] Act Par. Scot. 1469, c. 5.

James II., Kirkcudbright; James V., Annan and Burntisland; and Queen Mary, Inverury and Hamilton. James VI. was a great burgh-monger. Besides erecting East and West Anstruther, Culross, Dunfermline, Sanquhar, Stranraer, and Wick, he confirmed almost all the charters that had ever been granted to Scottish burghs. It is to be regretted that he did not avail himself of the opportunity to make their constitutions more in accordance with the requirements of the age. Many of them had existed for four or five hundred years, and might be presumed to need a little mending and expansion. The king himself was not blind to their imperfections. In the "Basilikon Doron," or instructions to his son Prince Henry, the King writes, "The merchants think the whole common weale ordeined for making them up; and, accounting it their lawful gaine and trade to enrich themselves upon the loss of all the rest of the people, they transport from us things necessarie, bringing back sometimes unnecessary things, and at other times nothing at all. They buy for us the worst wares, and sell them at the dearest prices; and albeit the victuals fall or rise of their prices, according to the aboundance or skantenesse thereof, yet the prices of their wares ever rise but never fall; being as constant in that their evil custom as if it were a settled law for them. They are also the special cause of the corruption of the coin, transporting all our owne, and bringing in foreign upon what price they please to set on it. For order putting to them, put the good laws in execution that are already made anent these abuses; but especially doe three things: Establish honest, diligent, but few Searchers, for many hands make slight warke; and have an honest diligent Treasurer to take count of them. Permit and allure forraine Merchants to trade here, so shall ye have best and cheape wares, not buying them at the third hand; and set every year downe a certain price of all things, considering first how it is in other countries, and the price being reasonably set down, if the merchants will not bring them home on the price, cry forrainers frie to bring them." And then there is the craftsmen who think "we should be content with their wark how bad and deare soever it be, and if they in anything be controlled, up goeth the blew blanket. But for their part take example by England how it hath flourished both in wealth and policie since the stranger craftsmen came in among them. Therefore, not only permit, but allure strangers to come here also, taking as strait order for repressing the mutining of anie of them, as was done in England at their first inbringing

there."[1] Kept thus in check by that symbol of rebellion as he thought it, the Blue Blanket of the Edinburgh trades, King James did not venture on doing for the burghs what the burghs themselves needed, and what the state would have profited by. In an age of free thought and free enterprise like the present, it is hardly possible to imagine the intolerable restrictions imposed upon the trader of the seventeenth century. A council, elected as we have described, was the tribunal which regulated how goods were to be manufactured and used; the prices at which they were to be sold; the parties who might traffic in them; and the bounds within which the traffic was to be restricted. Aqua vitæ and ale were to be of a given strength and a given price; tallow could only be made into candle upon the conditions fixed by the council; nay, the very wick was measured and weighed according to its regulations. Nothing was too great or too trifling to escape the control of the burgh magistracy. They tried to regulate by the most absurd standards the fundamental principles of commerce, and when they had settled these, they turned for recreation to regulate the domestic duties of the unfortunate citizens. There was no end to their capacity for work—there was no end to the duties they exacted from the people; over-legislation was the fashion, the failing of the time. It was not sufficient that every trader should be a burgess—that, considering all things, was probably rather a redeeming feature than a defect; but the most minute details of his business were subject to the control of a body which had no special knowledge of its requirements, and could bestow no greater benefit than to refrain from meddling with what it was in every way ill-fitted to direct.

Had the council which exercised so despotic a power over the inhabitants been elected in the old popular way, the burgesses might have had a feeble consolation, and probably found some relief; but this was not the case. The craft cry was continually for more law and more restriction. Year after year local ruling bodies seem to have become exclusive and intolerant, till a point was reached which human patience could not endure, and no industry surmount. All trade was to be done by the king's burghs alone. In the first parliament of James IV. it was ordained, "that in all tyme to cum, all manner of schippis, strangeoris, and utheris cum to his fre burrowis, and thar mak thar merchandise;" and that "nane take schippis to frought under colour to defraud our Sovereign Lord nor his lieges,

[1] King James' Works, p. 163-64.

under the pain of tinsel of their lives and gudes." The spirit of this act was repeated in many succeeding ones, though it is not difficult to see that they were opposed to the feelings of many in the community.

The precise and artificial manner in which the guildries were latterly called into existence made the entire social life of burgh towns consist in an observance of complex laws, which brought towns and craftsmen into frequent conflict with each other, and led to all the other evils which over-legislation invariably produces. It was not so much the mischievous minuteness of the system that made it objectionable, for when an impost is to be levied on an article of trade it is generally advisable to have it done with exactness. But the meddlesome burgh legislation of the seventeenth century was defective in the very place where strictness was requisite. It crippled the merchant who was disposed to protect the law, but it was powerless in restraining the fraudulent practices of those who were neither citizens nor burgesses. Hence, there are no class of entries in the burgh records of the time so numerous as those which relate to "forestalling," "regratting," and "trading with unfreemen." No offences were so common—few were dealt with so unsatisfactorily. The duties which fell naturally within the sphere of a local magistracy were discharged promptly and uprightly; not that they were always successful in keeping the peace, but they discreetly used such power as they possessed for that end. In a state of society which compelled every man to have a halbert in his booth, it need excite no surprise that acts of turbulence were frequent and serious. It was the case throughout most of the burghs in Scotland, and neither swift nor heavy punishment seemed at one time to avail. A portion of the time which magistrates could spare from the more important work of regulating trade would appear to have been spent in the equally unprofitable task of trying witches. The initiatory proceedings against these unfortunate creatures were generally taken by the council, and if they found the "common bruit" established, a commission was appointed to try the verity thereof, with the almost invariable result of a conviction, and an execution.

Probably the most trying period in the history of the Royal Burghs of Scotland was embraced by the century extending from the Union of the Crowns to the Union of the Parliaments. Legislation like that we have sketched gradually diverted any little foreign trade the country had to more genial and open southern

ports. The internal trade was not only small, but there was a civil war raging that made it uncertain. No class in the social scale had as yet filled up the places made vacant by the destruction of the old Church and the removal of the Court. Burghs of regality began to encroach on the old monopolies, and by 1672 their pretensions to share in the trade of the country were formally recognised by an act of parliament.[1] Availing themselves of the imperfect control of the Crown, and with the not unnatural desire of freeing themselves as much as possible from individual taxation, the royal burghs had now recourse to a disastrous system of alienating the common good, or letting it out on long leases, at sums much below the proper value. "Special grants or licenses of subinfeudation," says Mr. Thomson, in his General Report, "were obtained by some; and emboldened by such precedents the magistrates of other burghs would appear to have acted at last on the supposition that the former restraints of the common law were relaxed, if not entirely abrogated, and that the alienation in feu-farm of the common property of burghs had become a part of their ordinary administration."[2] So far was this

[1] Act Par. Scot. vol. viii., p. 63.

[2] In regard to the actual state of the real property conferred on or intrusted to the royal burghs of Scotland, ample illustration will be found in the Reports of the Commission presented to Parliament in 1835. In the general report it is stated that with comparatively few exceptions the administration of the property had been most unfortunate and even ruinous; and what was originally bestowed by the Crown, for public purposes, and inalienably devoted to the support of municipal establishments, has, in the greater number of cases, been lost by management the most reckless and shortsighted. Prior to the beginning of the sixteenth century, there is no trace of any dilapidation of the property of burghs. If waste of any kind existed, it must have been confined to the annual produce of the common property; and the property itself would appear to have been sufficiently protected by the inalienable quality of the original gift. In the larger burghs, at least, the ordinary system of management was by leases of short endurance, sometimes from year to year, and not of more than five years. Leases for longer periods were considered as alienations, and as such were liable to challenge; and of this some instances are to be found in the judicial proceedings of the supreme civil courts, in the latter part of the fifteenth century. On this ground, for example, a lease of one of the salmon fisheries, belonging to the burgh of Aberdeen, granted for a period of 19 years, was reduced and set aside. Such attempts to violate the strict obligations under which burghal property was to be administered, appear, however, to have then been rare. In tracing the origin and progress of a different system, in reference to burgh property, it is easy to perceive that it was very similar to what had begun to prevail in the management of the property of the Crown and of the Church; which, being also strictly inalienable, could not be made further available to the wants of the immediate holders but by an increase of its annual produce. As the accomplishment of this object, by any real improvement in the productive powers of the soil, was not then contemplated as a possible event, the more obvious expedient was resorted to of obtaining an increase of rental, in return for a more secure and permanent title of possession; and, for that purpose, the plan of converting temporary leases into perpetual and real rights of feu-farm tenure, in return for a feu-duty exceeding the amount of an ordinary rent, very readily presented itself. Neither in the case of ecclesiastical property, holden in mortmain, nor in that of burgage property, would this have been considered as a legitimate exercise of the powers of administration; but the immediate acquisition of an increased revenue, unacccom-

carried, that during the reign of Charles II. it became doubtful whether the burghs would ever again be able to bear their share of public burdens. In 1691, even Glasgow supplicated the Convention that it had "become altogether incapable of subsistence in regard to those heavy burdens that lie thereupon, occasioned by the vast sums that have been borrowed by the late magistrates, and the misapplying and dilapidation of the town's patrimony in suffering their debts to swell, and employing the common store for their own sinstrous ends and uses." A few years earlier, Cromarty, once possessed of wide properties, petitioned Parliament to be relieved from the dignity of a royal burgh, because it had become "depopulate and dispeopled." The Parliament granted the prayer of the petition, and ordered the name of Cromarty to be erased from the rolls of Parliament.[1] West Anstruther was in a similar state, but happened to retain its dignity as the other burghs would not take upon themselves its share of the land tax. Auchtermuchty, Earlsferry, Falkland and Newburgh—all in Fife—were so far the same that they had ceased before the Union to send any member to parliament, and were in consequence excluded from the scheme of representation then framed. Roxburgh, too, "the curb and guardian of this border land," a burgh famous from the times that burghs were known—a royal residence with its mint, and goldsmiths, and markets, and churches—not only disappears from the rolls of Parliament, but absolutely ceases to exist. Were it not, as has been remarked, for the evidence derived from history, charters, and other documents, it might be doubted whether a powerful city ever flourished on the fields now occupied by the grazier and the husbandman.[2] The fact of its being the battle ground of Scotch and English for many centuries, accounts sufficiently for the decay of Roxburgh; but with the others mentioned there could be no such defence. They were created to promote trade, and destroyed it. Inverbervie, to be sure, had been founded by David II. more out of pious gratitude for deliverance from shipwreck than any other feeling; but as a local rhyme, more remarkable for its plainness than anything else, puts it, the place never succeeded, and it was

panied, as it should seem, with any suspicions of its permanent value, appears to have been regarded as a sufficient reason for granting to royal burghs the power of dealing with their common property much in the same manner as, for reasons no better founded, the Crown had already begun to administer its own.—*General Report*, p. 13.

[1] *Municipal Reports*, pt. i., p. 162.

[2] *Jeffrey's Roxburghshire*, p. 59.

certainly not the usual motive with which burghs were erected. This was trade. They had in a general way failed to accommodate themselves to the requirements of the time, and were now suffering the natural result. The Union, to which many of them were opposed, came in time to save them. The sum paid by England under the name of an "Equivalent," helped at once to restore our drooping trade, which trade in its turn again made the burghs once more a power in the state. Our importance as a trading people may be said to date from that time; and as our commerce year after year gradually increased, new towns sprung up, which at once rivalled in greatness, and tended to keep in check the exclusive spirit of the older burghs.

The history of these burghs from the Union to the Reform Bill, though not without interest—particularly in electioneering episodes—does not fall within the scope of this paper, and might not be thought suitable for an archæological society. I have sought more particularly to indicate the origin, and trace the early effect of a system of local self-government, existing to our own day, and existing with a power which makes one disposed now and then to wish it rather lessened than increased. It is to this independent local self-control that we must attribute a great part of our national prosperity. While it is a standing example to foreign countries of the results of freedom, it tends to form and control public sentiment at home, in a manner at once acceptable to the people and serviceable to the state.

NO. XXV.

THE HISTORY AND PROGRESS OF THE FOUR LEADING ARTICLES OF FOREIGN ORIGIN; WHICH WERE FIRST IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN ABOUT TWO CENTURIES AGO, VIZ.: SUGAR, TEA, COFFEE, AND POTATOES:

BY

ANDREW SCOTT, ESQ., LATE OF H.M. CUSTOMS.

Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 14th March, 1864,

BY MICHAEL CONNAL, ESQ.

LITTLE more than two centuries ago none of these articles were in use in the United Kingdom, but since which date their consumption in this country has been progressively on the increase to an amazing degree, and has long rendered them indispensable necessaries of life; being in general use by all classes of the community. They have also led to the most wonderful change that ever took place in the diet of modern civilized nations—a change highly important both in a moral and physical point of view;—the beverage produced from tea and coffee having the admirable advantage of affording stimulus, without producing intoxication or any of its evil consequences.

However, the Annual Committee of the Convention of Royal Burghs, in an "Address to the several Burghs in Scotland," of date 3rd September, 1736, represented "that smuggling was carried on to an alarming extent in the country, to the extreme impoverishment thereof, as well as loss to the public revenue; that *run* tea is sold so cheap that it becomes a regular part of the diet of those who could not think of purchasing it if the duty were added to the price, and that if no tea was imported, *people would return to the diet of their ancestors.* The chief temptation to the use of it, is the notorious lowness of the price, which is so small that men hardly let it into their heads that it is in any degree a national consideration, nor do they reflect that the price of *run* tea is the smallest part of the expense when they entertain themselves or their friends with that *drug*, seeing the sugar drops totally out of the account."

Sugar is first mentioned by Paul Eginetta, a physician, in 625, and was brought originally from China and the East. It was produced in Sicily in 1148; in Madeira, in 1419; and in the Canary Islands in 1503. Attempts were also made to cultivate it in Italy in 1659, but did not succeed. It was first introduced into the West Indies by the Portuguese and Spaniards, in 1510, and successfully cultivated in Barbadoes, the first British settlement there; from whence importations took place into the mother country about 1605.[1]

Sugar refining was first discovered by a Venetian about the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. In Cromwell's time it was almost exclusively in the hands of the Dutch, and was first practised in England in 1659; in Glasgow in 1667; in Greenock in 1765; and in Port-Glasgow in 1777.

The earliest sugarhouse in Glasgow was known as the "Wester Sugarhouse." It was erected in 1667, at the south-west corner of Bell's Wynd (now called Bell Street) and Candleriggs Street, and was begun by four of our merchants, viz., Peter Gemmill, Frederick Hamilton, John Caldwell, and Robert Cummings, who put in a joint stock for carrying it on; and M'Ure, the historian, says, "that they having got a little apartment for boiling sugar, and a Dutchman as master-boiler, the undertaking proved very effectual, and their endeavours were," he adds, "wonderful successful, so that they left this little apartment and built a great stone tenement with convenient office houses for their work,[2] within a great court, with a

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[1] Slavery was began by the English in 1562; and prior to 1660 Barbadoes had been cultivated and enriched by slaves from Scotland as well as England, "who had been exiled for their non-conformity."

[2] ADDENDA, 1865.—SENEX, in *Old Glasgow and its Environs*, just published, mentions another refinery, called the "North Sugarhouse," which had a dead stone wall fronting Bell Street, the entry thereto being from the Candleriggs, through the great back court of the Wester Sugarhouse, and both works formed one concern in his (Senex's) day. These works were advertised for sale thus, in the *Mercury* of 1st August, 1787,—"The 'West Sugarhouse Buildings,' having a front of 104 feet to the Candleriggs Street, and 126 feet to Bell's Wynd Street. The grounds are well situated for building shops and warehouses on. Until sold, the business will be carried on as usual. For particulars, apply to Alexr. Schevis." In the *Glasgow Journal* of 7th November, 1782,—"The sugarhouse lying on the south side of Bell's Wynd, and fronting the same, known by the name of the 'North Sugarhouse,' with all the utensils belonging thereto, employed in the manufacturing raw sugars, with vacant ground or yard behind, on which is also built a new house. These buildings are all calculated in such a manner that they can be easily turned into good dwelling-houses and shops at a small expense, if not continued as a sugarhouse; and the ground behind is of such extent as to afford sufficient room for building a regular square. Apply to Robert Barbour and George Household."* The latter premises were again advertised in the *Mercury* of 23rd January, 1788; apply to Robert Barbour.

* Mr. Household had the charge of the sugar sample-room which was shortly after fitted up in the Tontine back buildings.

pleasant garden belonging thereto; the partners of this latter house were John Graham of Dougalston, Richard Graham, William Anderson, John Stark (late Provost), William Craig (Bailie), and James Craig, merchant." On the death of Peter Gemmill (one of the four original partners), in 1683, his widow refused to advance her share of what was necessary for carrying on of the work. The materials, utensils, and men, to the extent of £16 sterling of wages, monthly, were thus thrown idle—a general calamity. The Privy Council took up the case, and on the 20th December, same year, "enjoined the Magistrates of Glasgow to use their endeavours to get the difference composed, and the work kept up."

The "Eastern Sugarhouse" was erected in 1669, on the south side of the Gallowgate nearly opposite to the Spoutmouth, by five of our merchants, viz., John Cross, James Peddie, John Luke, George Bogle, and Robert Cross, who put in a joint stock for carrying it on, and built large buildings for boiling their sugars, and employed a German to be master-boiler;" this project he (M'Ure) adds, "likewise proved effectual, so that their stock wonderfully increased." The representors of four of these partners in 1736, when M'Ure published his *View of the City*, enjoyed the same; namely, John Graham of Dugalston, the heirs of Provost Peddie, Robert Bogle, and Robert Cross, merchants.

A Seisine, recorded the 26th March, 1709, describes this property as "the Easter Sugarie beyond the Gallowgate Bridge." Zechariah Zebs, sugar-boiler in this work, died in the year 1679, aged 36, and left £2,779 9s. 6d. Scots money, "to the Hospital for the use of the poor members of the merchant rank in Glasgow, and none else."

The "South Sugarhouse," was erected sometime thereafter, but prior to 1736, on the west side of Stockwell Street (the site of which is now Stockwell Place), and, according to M'Ure, "consisted of a large court, high and low apartments, cellars, store-houses, and boiling-houses, with distillery apartments, pleasant gardens, and all conveniences whatsomever. This work belonged to Colonel William M'Dowall, Major James Milliken,[1] and James Anderson, merchant in Glasgow.

The "King Street Sugarhouse," also erected prior to 1736, was situated upon the east side of King Street, south of Gibson's Wynd, now called Prince's Street, and consisted likewise, according to M'Ure, "of a large Court, high and low apartments, Cellars, Store-

[1] *Vide* page 369.

houses, Distillery houses, and all other conveniences. This work belonged to Peter Murdoch late Provost, Peter Murdoch his son James Montgomerie of Pearston,—Montgomerie his son, Andrew Buchanan late Dean of Guild, and John Coulter late Bailie."

The "Little Sugarhouse in King Street" was also erected before 1736, by William Gordon late Bailie, and Haick Bettiken, Boiler.

An additional sugar-work was designed to be set up in February, 1701, by Matthew and Daniel Campbell, merchants in Glasgow, and, in connection therewith, there was to be a work, "for distilling Brandy and other spirits from all manner of Grain of the growth of the Kingdom." And these parties further represented that "with this view they had conduced and engaged several Foreigners and other persons eminently skilled in making of Sugar and distilling of Brandy, &c., whom, with great travel, changes, and expense, they had prevailed with, to come to Glasgow," all which was, they stated, that "the nation may be more plentifully and easily provided with the said Commodities, as good as any that have been in use to be imported from abroad," adding "the distillery will both be profitable for consumption of the product of the kingdom, and for trade for the Coast of Guinea and America, seeing that no trade can be managed to the places foresaid, or the East Indies, without great quantities of the foresaid Liquors." This privilege was granted, but no erection appears to have taken place by said parties.

For a long time, even before the Restoration of Charles II., the inhabitants of Glasgow had been in possession of the sale of both raw and refined sugars for the greater part of Scotland; they had also the privilege of distilling spirits from their molasses *free of all duty, and Excise.* In 1715, however, the Crown raised a process against the sugar bakers in Glasgow and Leith, in which it was urged that they had not only enjoyed the exemption from the duties of Customs on the import of materials for a great number of years, but also the duties of Excise upon the spirits and other commodities manufactured by them, and therefore claiming the bygone Excise duties. In 1719 the Court of Exchequer found them liable in the sum of forty thousand pounds sterling. As the Trade could not pay any such sum a compromise was suggested, and an Act of 1st George I. empowered the Lords of the Treasury "to treat with the proprietors of sugarhouses in Scotland, for such reasonable satisfaction for private rights of exemption from Custom and Excise to which the proprietors were entitled;" and the preamble of another

Act of 8th Geo. I., narrates that, "whereas the proprietors of the four sugarhouses in Scotland called the Easter, Wester, and South Sugarhouses of Glasgow, and the sugarhouse at Leith, in pursuance of the said Act, and in consideration of their being discharged from all demand which the Crown might have upon them for Custom and Excise, have proposed to disclaim and surrender all right to any exemption from Custom and Excise, which proposition appearing to be just and reasonable, and tending to settle the trade upon the same foot in Scotland as in England." It is therefore accordingly enacted that, "after the 25th of March, 1722, the said proprietors shall be subject and liable to pay for their sugar and other commodities such duties of Customs and Excise as any other of His Majesty's subjects are liable to pay by the Acts of Parliament now in force, any right in the said proprietors to the contrary notwithstanding." It was also further enacted that, "all conditional bonds which, on or before the 25th March, 1722, were entered into by the said proprietors for payment of Customs or Excise, are hereby declared to be void, and the proper officer in whose custody such bonds shall be, is hereby required to deliver up the same to be cancelled; and the said proprietors, their executors, and administrators, are hereby discharged from the payment of Custom or Excise due from them as proprietors of the said sugarhouses, and from which they claimed exemption before the 25th March, 1722."[1]

An agreement was entered into between the magistrates of Glasgow and the proprietors of sugar refineries, as appears by the Town Council minute of 25th September, 1725, that the latter "should regularly send their workpeople provided with buckets, to aid in the extinction of fires, on condition that the men should be relieved from the responsibility of serving in the City Guard."

The "Western Sugarhouse" premises, already described, were advertised for sale in 1787, and towards the close of last century Mr. Hamilton, the then proprietor, decided on taking down the building, with the view of erecting the large block of shops and dwelling-houses now on the site; the arched entrance for carts from Candleriggs Street to the back premises, with the "great Court" described by M'Ure, however, was common to both his property and that of the front and back erections to the south, the then proprietor of which,

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[1] In 1771 about 2000 hogsheads of raw sugar was refined in Glasgow, and 7,400 hogsheads in 1791.

Mr. John Phillips of Stobcross,[1] also a sugar refiner, who had his refinery in the same court, as after-mentioned, was not then disposed to take down his buildings, or to allow the court entry to be rendered useless by the half of it being included in Mr. Hamilton's intended erection; so the case was taken into Court, and it was decided that the space then occupied as the entrance should remain so. Both parties by this time became so keen that, on the north half of the arch being removed, it had to be so minutely done, that a sugarloaf which formed the keystone of the arch was sawn accurately through the middle. The southern half of the arch, with the tenement south of it, so remained for many years, but the portion of the building over the remaining part of the arch had to be taken down, such having become insecure by the removal of the north half; and, in consequence, Mr. Hamilton had to reimburse Mr. Phillips for the loss of rent he sustained thereby, while he (Mr. Hamilton) had no use of the space over his portion of the arch. The warehouse of Messrs. James and William Campbell now occupies the site.

The partners in the sugarhouses hitherto had consisted, each of them, of five or six of our aristocratical gentlemen, and it was with no little astonishment, therefore, that the public heard about 1750 of plain Robert M'Nair, Jean Holmes, *in* Company, buying up the great concern of the "East Sugarhouse," which had previously required the joint stock of five of our wealthiest merchants to carry on. Robert M'Nair and Jean Holmes were husband and wife. From being a small huckster he became an extensive merchant, as well as sugar-baker, and died the 7th June, 1779. The *Caledonian Mercury*, of the 10th following, in announcing his death, added, "his application to business was crowned with so great success that he raised himself to be the greatest proprietor of houses in the City." Mr. M'Nair was also a grocer, and had his shop in King Street, carrying on under the same co-partnership of Robert M'Nair, Jean Holmes, *in* Company. He was a man of eccentric manners[2] but of considerable abilities, and to him the public of Scotland are indebted for obtaining the abolition of a shameful custom which then existed in our Ex-

[1] This estate, consisting of about 63 Scotch, or about 80 imperial acres, was sold by the trustees of Mr. Phillips, in July, 1844, at upwards of £60,000. It is understood that these lands were purchased by Mr. Phillips, in 1786, for about £3,700, making a rise in value of upwards of £56,000. This estate previously belonged to the father of the late James, Robert, and Gilbert Watson, bankers. The northmost portion of the estate now forms St. Vincent Crescent, while the southern part belongs to the Harbour Trustees, being bought by them for the construction of a wet dock.

[2] *Vide* Appendix No. 1.

chequer Court; it being at that time the practice in all Exchequer trials for the Crown, when successful, to pay each juryman one guinea, and to give the whole of them their supper. It so happened that Mr. M'Nair had got into some scrape with the Excise, and an action was raised against him in said Court. When the case came to be called, the Crown Advocate, after narrating all the facts and commenting on them, concluded his address to the Jury by reminding them that, if they brought in a verdict for the Crown, they would receive a guinea each and their supper; upon hearing which, Mr. M'Nair rose up and asked the Judges if he might be allowed the liberty of speaking one word to the Jury, to which request the Judges readily assented. Mr. M'Nair then turned round to the Jury and thus addressed them,—"Gentlemen of the Jury, you have heard what the learned Advocate for the Crown has said, viz., "that he will give you a guinea each and your supper if you bring in a verdict in favour of the Crown; now, here am I, Robert M'Nair, merchant in Glasgow, standing before you, and I promise you two guineas each and your dinner to boot, with as much wine as you can drink, if you bring in a verdict in my favour," and here Mr. M'Nair sat down. The trial went on, and Mr. M'Nair obtained a verdict in his favour. After this trial the Crown never made any attempt at influencing the Jury by this species of bribery.

The "Easter Sugarhouse" was advertised for sale in November, 1799, Messrs. M'Nair & Company having removed to premises in Queen Street, south-west corner of Ingram Street; and the Easter house was purchased by James Paterson (formerly connected with the work), who had as co-partners, Messrs. Samuel Wilson, grocer, Gallowgate, directly in front of the refinery; John Strang, of Dowanhill, wine merchant, in Stockwell Street (north-east corner of Jackson Street);[1] and John M'Leroy, manufacturer, Craignestock. This work was carried on by the surviving partners for a number of years.

Mr. John Phillips, afterwards the proprietor of Stobcross, already mentioned, came from London in 1774, and commenced business as a grocer in King Street. His sales of refined sugar soon became extensive, and, in consequence, he joined the King Street refinery, and remained a partner for two or three years.

This Sugarhouse was advertised for sale the 29th June, 1790, and

[1] Mr. Strang died about the year 1810; he was the father of the deceased Dr. Strang, our late much respected City Chamberlain.

the reminder added, "that every part of this subject must *ever* be valuable, as the city markets are in the same street." These markets, erected in 1754, of elegant elevations, very spacious, and conveniently fitted up with numerous stalls, were occupied by the freemen members of the Incorporation of Fleshers in the city. They long remained a pride of the city; that on the east side was confined to the sale of beef, and measured 112 feet long by 67 feet broad; while the one directly opposite, on the west side, was 173 feet by 46 feet, and used for the sale of mutton and lamb. (The market previously in use stood on the west side of Candleriggs Street, near Trongate.)

Alas! how short-sighted were these advertisers; as, although even as late as 1810, there were 42 fleshers who occupied stalls therein, rent free, and which were generally frequented by both the rich and the poor, the wealthiest gentlemen in the city going there in the morning and making their purchases before proceeding to their places of business; now (1864) these markets are deserted as such, and converted into shops for the sale of various commodities. The fleshers began about 50 years ago, to relinquish the markets and open shops in various quarters of the city, at high rents; and as years rolled on and the city extended, butchers' shops increased, and there are now no public flesh markets in the city, if we except the few stalls in the Bazaar, in Candleriggs Street.

The "Southern Sugarhouse" was occupied about the commencement of the present century, by Richard and William Bell, under the firm of Richard Bell and Company, and it continued as a sugar refinery[1] till the buildings were removed in order to open up, on its site, Stockwell Place.

There appears to have been no additional sugarhouses formed in Glasgow till 1787 or 1788, when Mr. John Phillips retired from the King Street refinery and converted to that use premises in Candleriggs, immediately south of Mr. Hamilton's refinery, already described as the "Wester Sugarhouse," and to which access was had by the same arched closs, the centre of the closs being the boundary of each property, already referred to. Here Mr. Phillips continued to carry on sugar refining till 1799, after which the property was applied to other purposes.

[1] It was in a small corner of these refinery buildings, fronting Stockwell Street, that the world-known house of Pollok, Gilmour & Company laid the foundation of their immense fortunes, which at one time rendered them the largest shipowners in the country, and has since made them among the most important landowners in Scotland and Ireland.

Mr. Phillips, about 1800, acquired a property at the head of, and on the west side of High John Street, and south corner of Lover's Loan,[1] which had formerly been used as a cotton mill, by Mr. —— Allan, Greenhead. This property he converted into a sugar refinery, removing thereto the various utensils which he had used in the Candleriggs premises. He carried on this work till about 1804, when he let it to Mr. Hugh Love, grocer, who had a shop on the east side of King Street. He (Love) occupied the same only for about a year, when it was let to Messrs. Wilson, Strang & M'Leroy, before-mentioned, who carried on such refinery, under the firm of Wilson, Strang, & Company, till 1809, after which Mr. Phillips resumed refining till 1811, when his son Thomas, along with John Spalding (who had long been in the employ of Mr. David Sim of Coultermains), commenced the refining under the firm of Thomas Phillips and Company. They ceased working in 1816, and were succeeded by some members of a family of the name of Bell (believed to have been from either London or Leith). They occupied the work for about two years, since which, no refining operations took place here—the tenement still stands in 1864.

The sugarhouse at the south-west corner of Ingram Street and Queen Street—then directly opposite the Gaelic Chapel, the last incumbent in which was the late Dr. Norman M'Leod, now the site of the British Linen Co.'s Bank—already referred to, erected towards the close of last century, was occupied by two nephews of the before-mentioned Robert M'Nair, named Robert and James, who traded for a number of years under the firm of Robert and James M'Nair. Robert retired from the concern, and commenced as sugar broker about 1808, while James continued the refinery on his own account. Robert became unfortunate in business, and conveyed his landed estate of Little Newlands and others, to Mr. Richard Dennistoun, West India merchant, and others, in security for advances to meet his engagements. He was a chief promoter of our first Lunatic Asylum, and Dean of Guild in 1810; he was, in 1812, appointed to the office of Collector of His Majesty's Customs at Leith, which office he occupied till his death. James also, after being many years in business,

[1] It was at this refinery that the young madcaps, returning about midnight from a supper party, alluded to in *Strang's Glasgow and its Clubs*, page 399, most mischievously put some stones into about a dozen empty hogsheads, which they found about the outside of the work, and ranging them one at the back of the other on the street, they then removed the cog from the lowest, when all went down the steep incline towards Ingram Street, rumbling and rattling like thunder, causing great consternation to the police, as well as the peaceful inhabitants, many of whom were thereby wakened out of sleep.

likewise became unfortunate; and some years thereafter he again commenced refining in a new building in Washington Street, hereafter mentioned.

Messrs. Wilson, Strang, & Company built premises on the west side of Alston Street, (long known as the Playhouse Closs), and fitted up the same with all recent improvements for carrying on the refining of sugar, on an extensive scale. They commenced operations in 1809. Mr. Strang's interest ceased at his death, about 1810, and Mr. M'Leroy's some year's after, on his retirement, leaving Mr. Wilson as the sole partner—the latter continued the refinery till his death, when his surviving sons continued the work. The tenement was burnt down and a new one erected on its site in 1849, and is now occupied by Mr. Wilson's only surviving son, James, as a refinery. Howard's patent principle of refining was adopted by these parties about 1822.

James M'Nair, before-mentioned, erected a tenement on the west side of Washington Street, some time before 1830, and occupied it in refining sugar for several years.

John Kirkland & Son occupied premises behind M'Nair's in Washington Street, about 1830, for sugar refining, and carried on the same for some years. It was in the occupation of Wanwright, when it was burnt down in 1849.

Reid & Pearston built a back tenement on the east side of Washington Street, about 1830, in which they carried on sugar refining for several years. The work was subsequently carried on by several parties, and now (1864) by William Johnston.

William M'Ewan, Sons, & Company erected extensive premises at the south-west corner of Ann and Oswald Streets, in 1832, and fitted such up with all the modern improvements for the refining of sugar on an extensive scale;[1] they carried such on for many years. This work was sometime licensed for the refining of sugar on which no duty had been paid, under bond, that the whole proceeds of refinement should be exported, and under the constant superintendence

[1] For the supply of a steam engine erected at this refinery, a well was sunk within the premises with the view of procuring water from springs which were long known to run in that immediate locality towards the harbour. The consequence was that the stream which previously emptied itself into the harbour, directly opposite the refinery, ceased to flow, the water having in its course been previously absorbed by the well. M'Ure, in 1736, describes this spring at the "Bremmy-Law harbour," as a "fine fountain which furnishes all the Boats, Bargess, and Lighter's crew, that arrives at this harbour from Port-Glasgow with water, and all other vessels which comes from the Highlands and far off Isles of Scotland, besides other places." And he adds, "there is not such a fresh water harbour to be seen in any place in Britain."

of Customhouse officers—such continued till the privilege was withdrawn in 1854. Subsequently the work was carried on by John Kirkland & Son; afterwards by others; and now (1864) by Baird, Paterson, & Baird.

Murdoch & Doddrell occupy extensive premises at Speirs' Reach, Port-Dundas, which were erected, in 1851, by Patrick Robertson, and are worked on the centrifugal system of refining.

Steam engines were employed in sugarhouses in Glasgow, in 1825, to the extent of 18 horse power.

There are thus four sugarhouses in operation in Glasgow, in 1864, namely, 1st, the one in Alston Street, occupied by James Wilson; 2nd, in Washington Street, by William Johnston; 3rd, in Oswald Street, by Baird, Paterson & Baird; and 4th, at Port-Dundas, by Murdoch & Doddrell.[1]

GREENOCK.

The refining of sugar commenced here in 1765 (a century after Glasgow), by the erection of a house in Sugarhouse Lane, the original partners of which were Alexr. Wilson of Glardestone, Thomas Hopkirk, Claud Alexander of Newton, and Arthur Connell, merchants in Glasgow, and Thomas Dunlop, Archibald White, and William M'Cunn, merchants in Greenock. In same year they assumed as a partner Mark Kuhl, whose share in the concern was one-eighth. The premises were subsequently enlarged, and are now worked by Hoyle, Martin, & Company.

That some idea may be formed of the mystery in which sugar refining was held in this quarter about a century ago, it may be mentioned that Mr. Kuhl had an apprentice bound to him for the amazingly long period of twenty-one years, but ran away after having served fourteen years, and Mr. Kuhl used to say notwithstanding such a servitude that he (the apprentice), knew nothing of the business. The apprentice, however, some time after became sugar sampler.

The next sugarhouse was a good substantial dwelling-house, at the head of Sugarhouse Lane, converted into a sugarhouse in 1788, and was greatly enlarged after being burnt in 1793, and 1795. The original partners were James Hunter, George Robertson, John Wilson, William M'Cunn, junior, and Robert M'Fie, merchants in Greenock, and Nicholas Witt, sugar-baker; Thomas Ramsay, and Walter Ritchie, eventually joined the co-partnery—the work was

[1] *Vide* Appendix, Nos. 2 and 3.

the property of M'Leish, Koyser, & Company in 1829, and is now in the occupation of Hoyle, Martin, & Company.

The third sugarhouse was built in Bogle Street, in 1803, by Robert M'Fie & Sons, for two pans, but enlarged to three pans in 1810; this house has not been occupied since said firm transferred their business to Liverpool some years ago.

The fourth refinery was built at Crawfordsdyke Bridge, in 1809, by James Ferrie & Company, and was greatly enlarged before 1829. This company altered their house to work on Howard's steam principle in 1819, and was the first in Scotland, and the second patent sugarhouse out of London. Other refineries in Greenock afterwards adopted the same process. The premises were burnt down many years ago.

The fifth refinery was built in Glebe Street, in 1811 or 1812, by William Leitch & Company, and was subsequently enlarged. It was still in the occupancy of that firm in 1829, but burnt down prior to 1852, and afterwards converted into a bonded warehouse.

The sixth refinery was built in 1826, near the High Bridge, by Angus Balderston & Company; was after repeated fires re-built, and is now in the occupancy of John Walker & Company.

The seventh refinery was built in 1829, by Tasker, Young, & Company, and situated on the last fall of the Shaws Water, east; destroyed by fire about 1860, re-built in 1862, and now in the occupation of Crawhalls & Company.[1]

The eighth refinery was built in 1831, by Thomas Young & Company, in Ker Street, was repeatedly enlarged, and now worked by the Greenock Sugar Refining Company.

The ninth refinery was also built in 1831, in Baker Street, by A. & J. Anderson; it was burnt about twelve years ago and a bonded warehouse erected on its site.

The tenth refinery was built in 1832, in Roxburgh Street, by Hugh Morton, and now occupied by the Roxburgh Street Sugar Refining Co.

The eleventh refinery was built in 1833, in East Hamilton Street, by Speirs & Wrede, burnt down, and re-built about twenty years ago, by James Speirs, and now occupied by Alexander Anderson & Son, and known as the Cappielow Sugar House.

The twelfth refinery was built in 1846 or 1847, in Inverkip Street, by Ferguson & Company, and has been in ruins for several years.

[1] *Vide* appendix No. 6.

The thirteenth refinery was built in 1847, in Main Street, by Matthew Parker, and burnt down about fifteen years ago.

The fourteenth refinery was built in 1847, at Ingleston (Shaws Water), by Blair, Reid, & Steel, and still in their occupation.

The fifteenth refinery was built in 1848, by Pattens & Company, in Baker Street, and still in full operation.

The sixteenth refinery was built in 1851, by Wrede & Company, at Under Crescent, and is now worked by the Cartsburn Sugar Refining Company.

The seventeenth refinery was built in 1852, in Lynedoch Street, by Anderson, Orr, & Company, and is still in operation by that firm.

The eighteenth refinery was built in 1853, at Dellingburn Reservoir, by Neill & Dempster, now occupied by Neill, Dempster, & Neill.

The nineteenth refinery was so converted from an old mill at Baker Street, in 1858, by Duncan & Scott, and now worked by Bell, Duncan, & Scott.

The twentieth refinery was built, in 1858, at Dellingburn Reservoir, by Ballantine, Adam, & Rowan, and still in their occupation.

The twenty-first sugarhouse is now in course of completion, by Paul, Sword, & Co., near Ingleston Bridge.[1]

Port-Glasgow.

The refining of sugar began here in 1777, by the erection of the sugarhouse in Balfour Street, by George Crawford, William Cunninghame, Andrew Buchanan, William Crawford, and Robert Dunsmore, all merchants in Glasgow; James King, sen., John Dunlop, James Ramsay, and James Aitken, merchants in Port-Glasgow; Samuel Crawford, John Buchanan, jun., and Robert Gregory, merchants in Greenock; carrying on business under the firm of Crawford, King, & Company. This house was sold in 1789 to A. M'Pherson & Co., who ceased working, probably about forty years ago. The property is now in the use of the Gourock Ropework Company. Mr. Angus of Port-Glasgow, and Mr. Smith of Boyston, had at one time an interest in this refinery.

The second refinery was projected in 1800, by Peter M'Farlane, merchant in Port-Glasgow, and Jacob Batieman, sugar-boiler, there; the partners were the said Peter M'Farlane, Archibald Falconer,

[1] For a detailed account of the sugarhouses in Greenock, *vide Nicol's Essay on Sugar*, page 21.

sen., Joseph Dougall, and James M'Lean, merchants in Port-Glasgow, William Ewing, shipmaster there, and John Taylor, merchant in Glasgow; John Christopher Kayser, sugar-boiler, was eventually assumed as a partner; the style of the firm was Peter M'Farlane & Company. The premises were afterwards in the occupation of James M'Lean & Company, and were known forty years ago as a manufactory of candy. They are now used as a store, and the property of James Richardson & Company.

The third refinery was built in 1805, in Prince's Street by said Peter M'Farlane & Company; the partners were said Peter M'Farlane, Archibald Falconer, sen., Joseph Dougall, and William Ewing, of Port-Glasgow, and John Taylor of Glasgow. This house is now converted into a warehouse.

The fourth refinery, known as the Newark Sugar Refinery, was built in 1809, and William Hood, tanner, of the firm of Hood, Henderson, & Company, tanners, Ladyburn, on behalf of that company, entered into the sugar refinery concern, with Alexander M'Lachlan, and Alexander M'Lachlan, jun., merchants in Port-Glasgow, Alexander Leslie, merchant in Glasgow, for, and on behalf of Leslie, M'Naught, & Company, merchants in Glasgow, James Burnett, merchant in Greenock, and James Watt, brewer, Crawfordsdyke, under the style of M'Lachlan, Watt, & Company. These parties eventually disposed of the refinery to Robert Dennistoun, merchant in Glasgow, Alexander Campbell of Hallyards, (father of Mungo Campbell, junior), and James Campbell, of Newton Lodge, his brother; and they so traded under the firm of the Newark Sugar Refining Co., in 1814. This refinery is now carried on by James Richardson & Company, but was previously known as Matthew Brown & Co's.

This house is the only existing refinery in Port-Glasgow. A manufacturing company in Glasgow, about 30 years ago, attempted to carry on a weaving factory in one of the unoccupied sugar houses. This might have proved useful, particularly in giving employment to the younger portion of the population, but it did not succeed, probably owing to the maritime propensities of the people.

The early supplies of sugar to Glasgow were principally from Bristol, then the next largest port in England to London.

There was an amusing and very interesting report, made in 1656, by Mr. Thomas Tucker, appointed during the Commonwealth to supervise the Customs and Excise in Scotland, and who also was

one of the Commissioners of the Customs, wherein it is stated, in reference to Glasgow, "That the inhabitants,[1] all but the students of the college which is here, are traders and dealers." And he also mentions, "Here hath likewise been some who have ventured as far as the Barbadoes, but the loss they sustained by reason of their going out and coming home late every year, have made them discontinue going thither any more." This stoppage of the West India trade must, however, have been of very short duration, as M'Ure, aforesaid, writing in 1736, gives, in his *View of the City*, a list of the sea adventurers trading therefrom to sundry places in Europe, Africa, and America, since the year 1668; and, likewise, the names of the individual partners of "another great company undertaking the trade to Virginia, Caribbee Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St. Christopher's, Monserat, and other Colonies in America;" amongst which partners he enumerates Walter Gibson, late Provost, John Walkinshaw, younger, of Barrowfield, James Walkinshaw of that ilk, William Walkinshaw of Scotston, James, William, and Robert Bogle, James Corbett, John Spreull, Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, John Luke of Claythorn, William Fogo of Killorn, and Thomas Yuill of Darleith.[2]

The difficulties which these early Glasgow traders had to contend against may be judged of, when it is mentioned that in 1853 they had their shipping harbour at the Bailiary of Cunningham, in the Shire of Ayr, to and from whence goods were principally carried on horseback; and Tucker states in his said report of 1656 that, from the shallowness of the Clyde, no vessel could come nearer to Glasgow than within 14 miles, where they must unlade and send up their cargoes in small cobles or boats, of three, four, five, and none above six tons burden; and at this time Port-Glasgow (then called Newark), is described as "a small place where, besides the Laird's house, are some four or five houses," and Greenock as "such another place, only the inhabitants were more."[3] The jurisdiction of the

[1] The population at the Revolution in 1688 was 11,948, and by the census of 1861, 446,639.

[2] M'Ure also states that before 1668, John Anderson, the elder and younger, of Dowhill, James Peddie, John Luke, Ninian Anderson, and Captain John Anderson, owners of the ship "Providence," first imported Cherry Sack into Glasgow, our retailers before that time having bought their supplies from the merchants of Edinburgh at Leith. It is likewise mentioned that Walter Gibson, eldest son of the deceased John Gibson of Overnewton, merchant, and late Provost of Glasgow, was the first that brought iron to Glasgow. The shopkeepers previously bought such, with dyeing stuffs, at Stirling and Borrowstonness. Little did these early traders know the boundless stores of iron ore in the bowels of the earth in the immediate vicinity of the city.

[3] The population of Greenock in 1695 was 746, and by the census of 1861, 42,097.

Glasgow Customhouse then extended southward to, and included Irvine,[1] and the commissioner likewise mentions that some time previous it had also included the town of Ayr. Another disadvantage that Glasgow then laboured under was, that goods could not be brought from or sent to the East Coast of Scotland or England, except by sea round the north of Scotland, or by land carriage.

Colonel William M'Dowall and Major James Milliken[2] were the first importers of sugar and rum into Port-Glasgow; they were also the founders of the house of Alexander Houston & Company, Glasgow. The Colonel's grandson, James M'Dowall, was Lord Provost of the city in 1790, and again in 1796.

Immediately after the union with England in 1707, the shrewd willed people of Glasgow saw the opportunity which was afforded them of making profitable trade with America and the West Indies. They, however, had as yet no suitable vessels of their own and little means of purchasing cargoes; but diligence, frugality, and patience, made up for all deficiencies. There is scarcely anything in our national history, says Robert Chambers, in his *Domestic Annals*, more truly interesting than the early efforts of Glasgow commerce.[3]

Her first ventures to Maryland and Virginia, were in vessels chartered from Whitehaven. In each vessel filled with goods there was a supercargo, whose simple instructions were to sell as many as he could for tobacco, and return home as soon as he had sold all, or

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[1] The Customhouse Officers then stationed at Glasgow, consisted of Richard Perry, the collector, Josiah Downeing, the cheque, and four waiters. The revenue of customs, with the import duties of excise, collected in the whole district from Glasgow to Irvine, in year ended 30th September 1656, was £1,429 15s. 5d., while the Inland Excise on Beer, Ale, and Aquavitæ in the Shire of Lanark, (Glasgow included), was let to farm from 19th January, 1655, to 31st January, 1656, to James Stirling and Walter Nealson, at £3,470 10s. Now, at the distance of two centuries, the Custom duties alone, collected at Glasgow, Greenock, and Port-Glasgow, reached £2,358,394 11s. 7d. in 1863, while the Excise in Glasgow exclusively, was little less than £1,000,000, making together nearly three millions and a-half pounds stg. *N.B.*—James Mushet, collector of the King's Customs at Glasgow, who died in 1693, "mortified for the use of the poor members of the Merchant Rank, and none else," the sum of £100 Scots.

[2] The Colonel while commanding a regiment stationed at the Island of St. Kitts, married a rich heiress, and the Major married her mother, who also had large estates in her own right. These gentlemen brought home their wives. The former acquired the estate of Castlesemple, and the latter that of Johnston, which he named "Milliken;" all this took place prior to the year 1736.

[3] Woodrow states in *Analecta* the fact of a loss made by the Glasgow merchants, thus,—"In the beginning of the month of November, 1709, Borrowstonness and Glasgow have suffered very much by the fleet going to Holland, its being taken by the French. It's said that in all there is about eighty thousand pounds sterling lost there, *whereof Glasgow has lost ten thousand pounds;*" and then adds, "I wish trading persons may see the language of such a providence, I am sure the Lord is remarkably frowning upon our trade, in more respects than one, since it was put in the room of religion in the late alteration of our constitution."

had got enough of the plant to fill his vessel, whether the goods were all sold or not; bringing home with him any that remained unsold. In this curious way were the foundations of the wondrous wealth of Glasgow laid. Sir John Dalrymple, writing shortly before 1788, says, "I once asked the late Provost Cochrane of Glasgow, who was eminently wise, and who has been a merchant there for seventy years, to what cause he imputed the sudden rise of Glasgow? He said, it was all owing to four young men of talents and spirit, who started at one time in business, and whose success gave example to the rest—*the four had not ten thousand pounds amongst them when they began.*" Dr. Strang in his work, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, states that these four gentlemen were, Mr. Cunninghame of Lainshaw, Mr. Speirs of Elderslie, Mr. Glassford of Dougalston, and Mr. Ritchie of Busbie. The estates here enumerated were all purchased out of their acquired wealth.

In 1735 there traded from the Clyde the following ships belonging to Glasgow merchants, thus—

To Jamaica, the "Neptune," owned by James Corbett & Co.
"Amity," and the "Speedwell," by Oswald & Co.
"Prince William," by Buchanan & Co.
To Antigua, the "Argyle," by Buchanan & Co.
"Bee" (sloop), by John Watt & Co.
To St. Kitts, the "Industry," by James Milliken & Co.
"John and Robert," by Scott & Co.
To Barbadoes, the "Triton," by John Stirling & Co.

Besides these, there were also nineteen ships belonging to the Clyde trading to Virginia, and three to Boston; as, likewise, forty others plying to various European ports.

In 1771 the imports of sugar into the Clyde were 2,511 cwt. from Antigua; 4,072 cwt. from Grenada; 27,835 cwt. from Jamaica; 1,733 cwt. from Nevis; 9,187 cwt. from St. Christophers; and 2,014 from St. Vincent; making a total of 47,352 cwt.

In 1775 there were landed in the Clyde 4621 hogsheads, 691 tierces, and 462 barrels of sugar; and in 1791, about 7743 tons.

	Hhds.	Tierces.	Barrels.	Boxes, &c.	Bags.
In 1810,	36,667	3,280	4,691	4,275	
1820,	22,568	1,982	946	49	5,274
1830,	27,982	2,411	2,284	6,074	
1840,	16,049	1,511	3,954	62,866	1,677

	Hhds.	Tierces.	Barrels.	Boxes, &c.	Bags.
In 1850,	19,606	2,300	4,377	201,641	6,691
1860,	38,863	3,794	7,275	208,806	53,365
1863,	78,537	5,663	10,196	384,768	126,075

Deliveries of sugar in the Clyde for home consumption in the years following, viz. :—

In 1810,	17,159	tons.	In 1850,	35,007	tons.
1820,	13,969	„	1860,	75,087	„
1830,	19,978	„	1863,	121,044	„
1840,	10,656	„			

Although sugar forms one of the most important items of taxation, whether we regard it in reference to the vast amount of revenue levied by the State—£4,500,000 being raised therefrom in 1832, and £6,640,000 in 1862; to the immense extent of British capital employed in its cultivation, manufacture, transport, and sale; or to the beneficial effects which its consumption produces from its wholesome and nutritious qualities; or the wealth and comfort of the whole mass of the population; its consumption is materially affected by various changes which have from time to time taken place in the rates of duty exigible. Sugar commenced to be taxed in the reign of Charles II., at the moderate sum of 3s. $3\frac{9}{10}$d. per cwt.

At the Revolution the duty was gradually raised to 6s. 8d. per cwt., and thereafter as under:—

Year 1776,	6s. 3d.	per cwt.	Year 1816,	27s. 0d.	per cwt.
1779,	6s. 7d.	„	1818,	30s. 0d.	„
1781,	11s. 8d.	„	1820,	27s. 0d.	„
1782,	12s. 3d.	„	1830,	24s. 0d.	„
1787,	12s. 4d.	„	1840,	25s. 2d.	„
1791,	15s. 0d.	„	1845,	14s. 0d.	„
1796,	17s. 6d.	„	1848,	13s. 0d.	„
1798,	19s. 4d.	„	1849,	12s. 0d.	„
1799,	20s. 0d.	„	1850,	11s. 0d.	„
1803,	24s. 0d.	„	1851,	10s. 0d.	„
1804,	26s. 6d.	„	1854,	11s. 0d.	„
1805,	27s. 0d.	„	1855,	13s. 9d.	„
1810,	29s. 0d.	„	1860,	12s. 8d.	„
1813,	30s. 0d.	„			

and still continues the same in 1863.

The above rates were those upon Muscovado sugar of the British West Indies, and at which rates sugar the produce of the Island of Mauritius was placed since 1825; it having previously been subjected to the like rates as that of East India produce.

The inequality of the rates of duty on sugar from the East Indies, compared with West India, will be seen by comparing the above with the following:—

Year 1803,	26s. 4¾d.	per cwt.	Year 1813,	33s. 0d.	per cwt.
1804,	29s. 1¾d.	„	1816,	38s. 0d.	„
1805,	29s. 8½d.	„	1818,	40s. 0d.	„
1810,	31s. 6d.	„	1819,	37s. 0d.	„
1811,	30s. 0d.	„	1831,	32s. 0d.	„

but it must be also observed that, *in addition* to these last-mentioned rates, there was likewise an *ad valorem* duty till the year 1814, which averaged £37 16s. 3d. per cent. from 1789 to 1797; £42 16s. 3d. per cent. from 1798 to 1802; and £1 per cent. from 1808 to 1813; and all this, notwithstanding the disadvantage that East India sugar laboured under, owing to increased freights, insurance, and interest, which is unavoidable on a voyage from the East, occupying nearly six months, contrasted with the shortness of the trip from the West, the duration of which is seldom six weeks. The rates on East and West India sugar were not equalized till 1836.

From 1800 to 1821 the quantity of sugar imported from the British West Indies into Britain scarcely underwent any increase, and the price was kept up to the greatest height by the merchant, who knew he had a monopoly of the home market; while the placing of the Mauritius sugar at the West Indian rate of duty raised such importations amazingly, thus—

	In 1825	1827	1829	1830	1831
Tons,	4,630	10,220	14,580	23,740	25,100

that is an increase of upwards of twenty thousand tons in five years.

In 1700, when the tax was 6s. 8d. per cwt., the consumption of the kingdom was 10,000 tons; the duty continued stationary till 1775, and the consumption progressively increased to 72,500 tons, but in 1787 the rate on British West India sugar was raised to 12s. 4d. per cwt., and on East India to £37 16s. 3d. per cent. *ad valorem on the value at the port of discharge;* hence duty was levied on the freight, insurance, and *landing* charges, as well as on the original cost. The consumption then only reached 77,355 tons, while ten years before, at the previous rate of duty, the consumption had been 81,000 tons.

Again, in 1791, the duty was raised to 15s. per cwt. on British West India sugar, and, to the previous *ad valorem* duty on East India there was an *addition* made of 2s. 8d per cwt., upon which the consumption rapidly decreased. In 1790 it was 76,811 tons; in

1791 it fell to 70,160 tons; and in 1792 to 68,000 tons. A further rise in the duty took place in 1796, when British West India rose to 17s. 6d. per cwt., and East India 5s. 2d. per cwt., in addition to the previous *ad valorem* rate of £37 16s. 3d. per cent.; the consumption thereupon fell off to 63,680 tons. The duty went on augmenting until, in 1805, it reached 27s. per cwt. on British West India; and while the *ad valorem* duty on East India was reduced to £1 7s. per cent., the rated duty thereon was raised to 29s. 8½d. per cwt.

From 1804 to 1828 the duty was never less, frequently greater; for instance, in 1813 British West India was 30s. per cwt., and East India 33s. per cwt., with an *ad valorem* duty of £1 per cent.

In 1814 the *ad valorem* duty on East India sugar terminated, and such sugar was thereafter only subjected to a *rated* duty same as West India.

In 1818 the rates were, on British West India, 30s. per cwt., and East India, 40s.

In 1785 and 1818 the consumption of sugar in Great Britain stood thus—

1785,	. . . . .	87,950 tons.
1818,	. . . . .	72,885 „
	Diminution, .	15,065 „

Again, in 1799 and 1820, thus—

1799,	. . . . .	138,621 tons.
1820,	. . . . .	129,062 „
	Diminution, .	9,559 „

Likewise, in 1806 and 1825, thus—

1806,	. . . . .	140,087 „
1825,	. . . . .	132,797 „
	Diminution, .	7,290 „

By this latter comparison it appears that after twenty years interval, and with an increasing population, the like rate of duty, viz., 27s. per cwt., is felt more by the people in the time of peace than it was in 1806, during war, with a high income and property tax. Probably, however, the resumption of cash payments in 1817 and

1821 having increased the value of money, may have acted also as a *virtual* increase in the rate of duty.[1]

The total quantities of sugar consumed in the United Kingdom for the twenty years from 1804 to 1823 stood thus—

From 1804 to 1813, ...	1,494,925	tons.
From 1814 to 1823, ...	1,353,942	,,
Decreased Consumption, .	140,983	,,

Again, in years 1810 and 1832—

1810, ...	174,465	,,
1832, ...	165,791	,,
Decrease, .	8,674	,,

A great modification of the law took place as regarded sugar in 1846, when *Free labour* Foreign sugar became admissable at a lower rate of duty than formerly; and a further boon was granted in 1848, when *Slave labour* sugar was placed on a like footing; while the duties upon the various classes were, at same time, reduced and equalized. Such, however, did not come into full operation until 1854, when the duty on all sugar, as well British Colonial as others, was equalized. The consumpt rose in 1846 to 261,932 tons,—in 1848 to 309,424 tons,—in 1852 to 358,642 tons,—in 1858 to 457,309 tons,—in 1860 to 434,980 tons,—and in 1862 it rose to the amazing amount of 467,374 tons.

The consumption of sugar per head of the population stood thus—in 1791, 290 oz.; 1801, 409 oz.; 1811, 429 oz.; 1821, 333 oz.; 1831, 358 oz.; 1841, 272 oz.; 1851, 428 oz.; 1861, 564 oz.; and in 1863, 572 oz.

The *Economist*, of 15th January, 1859, gives the estimated consumption of sugar by the different classes of society, being the result

[1] The value of money being also affected by the rate of interest authorized to be paid on loans, the following particulars may not be uninteresting:—The interest on borrowed money was fixed by statute in 1260 at 2s. per week for every 20s.; this limit was restricted in 1275, and usury was forbidden by law in 1341. The rate of interest was fixed at 10 per cent. in 1545 and 1570, and reduced to 8 per cent. in 1623, by Act 21st James I., when the word "Interest" was used in place of "Usury;" and this Act drolly adds the proviso, "that no words in this Law contained shall be construed to allow the practice of Usury in point of Religion or Commerce." The rate was reduced to 6 per cent. in 1651, by the Rump Parliament, and confirmed after the Restoration, by Act 12th Char. II., cap. 13, entituled "An Act for reducing the taking of excessive Usury." This reduction, however, did not take place in Scotland till 1672. The rate was further reduced in 1714 to 5 per cent., at which rate it remained till the usury laws were wholly abolished from and after 10th August, 1854, by Act 17th and 18th Vict., cap. 90.

of careful official investigations made by the Board of Inland Revenue for the information of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and which is as follows:—

	England.	Scotland.	Great Britain.
Upper classes consume,	23 per cent.	22 per cent.	22½ per cent.
Middle classes "	37 "	40 "	38 "
Poorer or Working classes,	40 "	38 "	39½ "

Thus it appears that, of the entire quantity consumed in England, the upper classes use only 23 per cent., while 37 per cent. is used by the middle classes, and no less than 40 per cent. by the lower classes; so that the middle and lower classes together consume 77 per cent. of the whole quantity. This important fact, for the first time brought to light with the stamp of official authority, shows how true was the view taken by those who struggled for many years, and at last successfully, to remedy the glaring evils of the law, in regarding, as they did, the question of the sugar duties as essentially one in which the masses of the nation were interested, and also brings out in a striking light the bearing which the Revenue upon sugar has upon the working classes, compared with the upper class.

The highest revenue received on sugar in any one year under the old rates of duty was about £5,114,390 in 1841, while that collected since the reduced rates were introduced amounted in 1851 to £3,979,141, and in 1862 £6,448,415.

The rates of duty exigible at the present time on the qualities of sugar chiefly imported stand thus—

	PER CWT.
Yellow Muscovado and Brown Clayed, or of quality equal thereto, and not equal to White Clayed, . .	13s. 10d.
Brown Muscovado or any other sugar not equal in quality to Yellow Muscovado or Brown Clayed, . .	12s. 8d.
Candy and refined sugar, or sugar of equal quality thereto,[1]	18s. 4d.

[1] The Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 7th April, 1864, on introducing the "Annual Budget" to the House of Commons proposed, at a yearly loss to the Revenue of £1,358,000, the reduction of the sugar duties after 16th of that month, to the rates following, viz:—

	PER. CWT.
Yellow Muscovado sugar, and Brown Clayed, or of quality equal thereto, and not equal to White Clayed, ...	10s. 6d.
Brown Muscovado, or rendered equal thereto, and not equal to Yellow Muscovado or Brown Clayed, ...	9s. 4d.
Any other sugar not equal in quality to Brown Muscovado, . .	8s. 2d.
Candy and refined sugar, or sugar of equal quality thereto, .	12s. 10d.

The House agreed to these reduced rates on the 14th April, and they came into operation, as proposed, on the 16th following.

Tea was hardly known in England till after 1650. In 1660, however, it began to be used in coffee-houses, for in an Act of Parliament passed in that year a duty is imposed of eightpence on every gallon of "Coffee, Chocolate, Sherbit, and Tea" made and sold; from which description it may naturally be inferred that none of these beverages were then made by private families, but that they were purchased ready prepared from the compounders, and which circumstance may account for the Article of "Tea" not being then specifically enumerated in the then "tariff" of duties as an article liable to duty on importation.

The virtues and excellencies of the drink so produced were then represented to be many and great, and which was evidenced by the high esteem and use of it among the physicians and knowing men of various countries in Christendom. The following entry appears in the diary of the then Secretary to the Admiralty:—"September 25th, 1661,—I sent for a cup of tea (a China drink), of which I had never drank before." In 1664 the East India Company bought two pounds two ounces of tea as a present to his Majesty. In 1667 they issued the first order to import tea, directed to their agent at Bantam, to the effect that he would send home one hundred pounds of the best tea he could get.

About 1657 tea was sold in the leaf for £6, and sometimes as high as £10 the pound weight. A party named "Hanway" is quoted as an authority for stating that in 1660 it was sold at 60s. per lb., and it continued to maintain a high price for many years.

The system of charging the duty on the decoction made from the tea leaf being found uncertain as well as vexatious, a rated duty was substituted in 1689 of 5s. per lb., with the addition of 5 per cent. on the value. The duty from this period was fluctuating. In 1746 it was reduced from 4s. per lb. to 1s., at other times it rose as high as 200 per cent. on the sale price.

Smuggling, in consequence, was carried on to an enormous extent, as already mentioned at page 354; and after every other means of checking it had been tried to no purpose, Parliament, in 1784, on the motion of Mr. Pitt, reduced the rate of duty from 119 to 12½ per cent., making up for any deficiency of revenue likely to arise thereby by taxing windows.

This reduction proved signally successful; smuggling, as well as the pernicious practice then prevailing of adulteration, were immediately put an end to, and then was the only time when tea was really

cheap. The imports became trebled. From the year 1717 to 1726 there were annually sold in England (from whence Scotland and Ireland had to get their supplies of what was legally imported), 700,000 lbs. In less than 60 years the quantity had increased eight-fold. The *average* quantities for one year of each sort of tea sold by the East India Company in *ten* years from March sale 1773, to September sale 1782 inclusive, were—Bohea, 3,075,307 lbs.; Congou, 523,272 lbs.; Souchong and Pekoe, 92,572 lbs.; Singlo, 1,832,472 lbs.; and Hyson, 218,839 lbs.; making a total of 5,742,000 lbs.

In 1787 twenty-seven ships arrived in England with tea from China, and imported the quantities following:—

Bohea, ...	6,493,816 lbs.
Congou, ...	4,266,136 „
Souchong, ...	1,113,900 „
Singlo, ...	5,355,251 „
Hyson, ...	1,623,572 „
	18,852,675 „

In 1794 the quantity imported was from 16 to 20 millions of pounds.

The tea sold at the East India Company's sales in 1773 amounted to 4,584,169 lbs., in 1777 to 5,659,476 lbs., in 1783 to 5,877,340 lbs. After the reduction of the duty in 1784, the quantity sold in the following year was 14,921,803 lbs., in 1790 16,694,798 lbs., and in 1795 21,354,071 lbs. The beneficial results flowing from the large reduction of duty in 1784 are forcibly demonstrated by the fact that, while 64,382,338 lbs. were sold at the India House sales in the *eleven* years preceding such reduction, there were 188,775,875 lbs. sold in the *eleven* years succeeding, at a gain of Revenue to the Crown in *excess* of the first eleven years of £1,075,943. In 1795, however, the duty was again raised to 25 per cent., and after successive augmentations in 1797, 1800, and 1803, it was raised in 1806 to 96 per cent. *ad valorem* on the sale price at the India House, at which rate it continued till 1819, when it was raised to 100 per cent. on all teas that brought above 2s. a lb. at such sales.

In 1814 the quantity delivered for home consumption reached 24,640,000 lbs., and produced a revenue of £4,130,000. But that of 1816 did not amount to more than 20,480,000 lbs., and a revenue of somewhat less than £3,000,000; arising, it was thought, from the smuggling which the peace had created, and the growing nefarious

and still more fraudulent practice of making imitation tea. In 1820 it reached 22,452,050 lbs., and in 1830 to 30,047,079 lbs. A new era opened up in 1834 on the abolition of the East India Company's trading privileges, and granting a Free Trade with China, and also in tea;[1] on which occasion the *ad valorem* duties were abolished, and new-rated duties *per lb.* substituted; thus—Bohea, 1s. 6d.; Campoi, Congou, Hyson-skin, Orange Pekoe, and Twankey, 2s. 2d.; Young Hyson, Flowery Pekoe, Gunpowder, Hyson, Imperial, Souchong, and all other sorts not enumerated, 3s. The classing of importations according to each of these various qualities, however, led to endless disputes, as well as delay and trouble; therefore, these distinctions were abandoned in 1836, and a uniform rate of 2s. 1d. per lb. was substituted; which sum was reduced to 1s. 9d. in 1854, 1s. 5d. in 1856, and to 1s. a lb. in 1862. The deliveries for home consumption in 1840 were 32,262,905 lbs.; in 1850, 51,172,302 lbs.; in 1860, 76,859,428 lbs.; and in 1862 to the large quantity of 78,817,060 lbs.

Glasgow was constituted in 1834 as one of the enumerated ports into which tea was permitted to be imported, and it so happened that the first arrival into the United Kingdom of tea under the *Free Trade Act*, was the ship "Camden," direct from Canton, which reached the Tail of the Bank, off Greenock, in October of that year, with a full cargo, consisting of 7,921 packages, consigned to Messrs. James Ewing & Co., of this city. The qualities of the teas comprised—Bohea, Congou, Caper Congou, Campoi, Souchong, Pekoe, Twankey, Hyson, Hyson-skin, Imperial, and Gunpowder. The entire cargo was brought to public sale on the 24th of the following month (November), and was extensively patronised by the traders and dealers in the town, as well as others from a distance.

Many of our junior Glasgow traders may not be fully alive to the advantages they enjoy in regard to the trade in tea, over those of the last generation, in having the tea lying in bonded warehouses in Glasgow *for sale*, whereby they have the opportunity of personally selecting their purchases on the spot, as well as arranging about the price, and not requiring to advance the duty till the day they are in want of the article; whereas, prior to the opening up of the trade in 1834, it was compulsory that all importations of tea took place into London alone, where it was deposited in warehouses belonging to the East India Company, which Company fixed certain periodical

[1] *Vide* Appendix No. 4.

public sales every year, as well as the extent of the quantity to be exposed at each, and from having always several years' consumption on hand, the oldest parcels were generally only brought forward to the sales, while no private sales were allowed; neither, even after sales, were the purchases permitted to be removed to any other ports in the kingdom under bond (as now allowed). The consequence was that the traders in Glasgow and all other towns, except London, had to employ a broker in London to make purchases, pay the price, as also the duty; get delivery from the India Company's warehouses, and procure a permit from the proper Officer of Excise for its removal;[1] thus entailing expense of brokerage and numerous other items of charges, besides requiring to remit all demands prior to delivery, generally by Bank bill, at 20 days date at the least; and the tea could not, generally, be calculated to arrive in Glasgow for at least a month after the bill was transmitted.

It is therefore no wonder that the *free trade* boon was largely and promptly availed of in Glasgow, where bonded warehouses for the deposit of tea under bond were forthwith opened, and shortly afterwards extensive and spacious warehouses were specially built for the purpose. The deliveries therefrom for home consumption amounted in 1836 to 804,000 lbs., in 1840 to 1,051,231 lbs., in 1850 to 2,322,735 lbs., in 1860 to 4,071,328 lbs., and in 1863 to the amazing extent of 4,634,370 lbs., being equal to about 51,550 ordinary chests.

Coffee is first mentioned as being passed by Egypt and Syria to Constantinople in the year 1511. The coffee plant was conveyed from Mocha to Holland in 1616. It was cultivated by the Dutch in Surinam in 1718, and in the West Indies in 1726; where its production was encouraged in the British plantations in 1732.

Coffee-houses were opened at Constantinople in 1554. The first importation into England was in 1641, by Nathaniel Canopius, a Creton, "who used it at Baliol College, Oxford."

A coffee-house was opened in London for the first time in 1652, which was thronged by visitors to see and taste this new sort of liquor. Glasgow, also, was not far behind in this respect, for our Town Council, by their minute of 11th October, 1673, "granted libertie to Walter Whytefoord, to sett up, sell, top, and vend coffee

[1] No tea could then, and for some years after, be removed or conveyed from place to place, or even from one merchant's premises to another, although in the same town, without an Excise Permit.

within the burgh of Glasgow, for the space of nyneteen years next after the date hereof."

Coffee-houses were suppressed by Proclamation of Charles II. in 1675, but which proclamation was suspended some time afterwards.

On every gallon of coffee made and sold in 1660 there was a duty of eightpence a gallon, in the same manner as tea, from which it is probable that neither were then made by private families, but were purchased ready prepared by the compounder. This duty was, however, some time after changed to a rated duty per lb. on the coffee berries.

From 1689 to 1732 the duty was raised from 1s. to 2s. the lb.: in the latter year it was again lowered to 1s. 6d. a lb., at which rate it remained for several years. In 1784 the duty was reduced from 2s. 3d. to 10d. a lb. on British West Indian, and to 3s. 2d. on East Indian. In 1795 it was raised to 1s. 5d. on British West Indian, and at same time lowered on East Indian to 2s. 6d. a lb., and the latter was still further lowered in 1803 to 1s. 10d.

In 1809 another change took place, by lowering the British West India rate to 7d. a lb., and East Indian to 10d.

Again a rise took place in 1819, by making British West Indian 1s. a lb., and East Indian 1s. 6d. In 1825 the rate was reduced to 6d. on the former, and 9d. on the latter: in 1843 to 4d. and 6d. respectively; and since 1856 the duty has been 3d. per lb. on all descriptions.

The quantities entered for home consumption in the United Kingdom in 1800 were 826,590 lbs.; in 1830, 21,840,520 lbs.; in 1850, 50,803,152 lbs.; and in 1862, 34,664,135 lbs.; thus showing that the large reductions made in the duty on tea have very materially affected the consumpt of coffee.

The imports of coffee into the Clyde, and deliveries there for home consumption, were—

IMPORTS.

	Tierces.	Barrels.	Bags, Barrels, &c.
In 1810,	8918	3043	43,593
1830,	1151	——	2178
1850,	——	82,880 lbs.	——
1863,	——	8,960 „	——

DELIVERIES FOR HOME CONSUMPTION.

In 1810, ...	163,632 lbs.
1830, ...	979,328 „
1850, ...	522,032 „
1863, ...	390,656 „

The Potato *in use in this country* is generally thought to have come originally from North America,[1] and to have been imported into England from Virginia, by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1586, and which belief is supported by an old English botanist, who mentions in his Herbal, published in 1597, "that he had planted the potato in his garden, at London, about 1590, and that it succeeded there as well as in its native soil (Virginia), whence he had received it."[2] Sir Walter also introduced the potato into Ireland, though perhaps through another person, as, in 1693, Sir Robert Southwell informed the Royal Society that his grandfather first brought potatoes into Ireland, having received them of Sir Walter Raleigh.[3] They were first heard of in Scotland in 1701.[4]

Potatoes were at first cultivated in this country by very few, and were looked upon as a great delicacy. In a manuscript account of the household expenses of Queen Anne, wife of James I. (who died in 1618), and which is supposed to have been written in 1613, the purchase of a very small quantity of potatoes is mentioned at the price of 2s. a lb. The Royal Society in 1663 recommended the extension of their cultivation as a means of preventing famine. Previously, however, to 1684, they were raised only in the gardens of the nobility and gentry; but in that year they were planted, for the first time, in the open fields in Lancashire.

Potatoes were not raised in Scotland, except in gardens, till 1728, when they were first planted in the open fields by an individual named Prentice, a day labourer at Kilsyth; and about 1740, at Neilston, in Kilsyth parish, by Robert Graham, who had long resided in England, and saw their successful cultivation in Lancashire. He laid great stress on the secret of cutting a root from every eye. He took a number of young labourers into his employ under indenture for five years, and in which they were bound to secrecy. However, after making out their time, some of them went to Dundee and Banff, while another began operations on a farm of the estate of Elderslie, the patrimonial inheritance of Sir William Wallace; the soil favoured his exertions, and the town of Paisley became a market for his potatoes which he could never overstock.

Thus the culture of this root, which was begun on a plan in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, was subsequently diffused over the East

[1] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 4th Ed., vol. 17, page 248.
[2] *M'Culloch's Dictionary of Commerce*, 2nd Ed., page 938.
[3] *Tegg's Dictionary of Commerce*, 5th Ed., page 526. *Vide* Appendix No. 5.
[4] *Chambers's Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. 3rd, page 604.

and North, as well as the West of Scotland, to the great benefit of the farmer, the enjoyment of the rich, as also the subsistence of the mechanic, the labourer, and the poor.

The duty chargeable on potatoes imported was, in 1787, 3s. 8d. per cwt. This rate was reduced in 1809 to 1s. 8d., but raised in 1819 to 2s., and in 1840 made 1d. per cwt. on importations of and from British possessions, and 2d. on foreign; all descriptions, however, were made free of all duties in 1846, and so continue.

I have not been able to discover any return of the importation of potatoes. Possibly the prolific qualities of the root, and it being so extensively cultivated in this country, with the moderate prices at which sold, may have rendered importations both unprofitable and unnecessary.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Mr. M'Nair purchased a property near Camlachie, which he named Jeanfield, after his wife, and while living there Parliament imposed a tax upon two-*wheeled* carriages, to the great annoyance of Mr. M'Nair, and in order to evade it, he caused the wheels to be taken off his phæton, and placed the body upon two long wooden spars, as substitutes for wheels, and in the carriage so altered he continued to visit his country house, and to carry his wife and daughters to church. To prevent his unmarried children from making foolish marriages, the following advertisement was inserted in the *Edinburgh Courant* of 28th October, 1758 :—

"Glasgow, 23*rd October*, 1758.—We, Robert M'Nair and Jean Holmes, having taken into our consideration the way and manner our daughter Jean acted in her marriage, that she took none of our advice, nor advised us before she married, for which reason we discharged her from our family for more than twelve months; and being afraid that some or other of our family may also presume to marry without duly advising us thereof; we, taking the affair into our serious consideration, hereby discharge all and every one of our children from offering to marry without our special advice and consent, first asked and obtained; and if any of our children should propose or pretend to offer marriage to any without, as aforesaid, our advice and consent, they, in that case, shall be banished from our family twelve months; and if they should go so far as to marry without our advice and consent, in that case they are to be banished

from the family seven years; but whoever advises us of their intention to marry, and obtains our consent, shall not only remain children of the family, but also shall have due proportion of our goods, gear, and estate, as we shall think convenient, and as the bargain requires. And further, if any of our children shall marry clandestinely, they, by so doing, shall lose all claims or title to our effects, goods, gear, or estate, and we intimate this to all concerned that none may pretend ignorance."

No. II.

The following were the leading co-partneries in Glasgow in 1810 which traded with the West Indies from the Clyde, viz.:—Robert Bogle & Co., office in Queen Street; Campbell, Rivers & Co., Tontine Back Buildings; John Campbell, Sen. & Co., Buchanan Street; David & James Connell, Virginia Street; James Croil & Co., St. Andrew's Street; George & Robert Dennistoun & Co., Tontine Back Buildings; John, Thos., and Archd. Douglas & Co., Virginia Street; Robert Eccles & Co., South Albion Street; James Ewing & Co., Ingram Street; Francis Garden & Sons, Ingram Street; Leitch & Smith, George Street; M'Inroy, Parker & Co., Candleriggs; Patrick Playfair & Co., Tontine Buildings; Stirling, Gordon & Co., Miller Street.

No. III.

Miscellaneous items as to sugar, chiefly connected with the Clyde:—

In 1803 an Act was passed allowing sugar and other articles to be deposited in approved warehouses at London without payment of duty at time of importation on bond being entered into for the same; this was known by the name of the "General Warehousing Act." The like privileges were extended to Greenock and Port-Glasgow in 1805, but not to Glasgow (owing to the then comparative shallowness of the Clyde up to the city) till 1818.

The bounty on British refined sugar exported, hitherto confined to such as was produced from British Colonial West India sugar, was extended in 1809 to such as was made from sugar imported by the East India Co. Loaf and lump sugar, British refined, were in 1809 allowed to be crushed or broken in approved warehouses for exportation, on bounty, under official inspection.

The system of boiling sugar in vacuum pans patented by Howard in 1812, followed by his patent in the use of steam, and by other

patentees as to the use of charcoal, as applicable to sugar refining, in 1815, was availed of in the Clyde in 1822, and nearly all the sugarhouses were working on this system in 1823.

A West India fleet under convoy of ships of war arrived in the month of March 1813, twelve of which ships arrived in the Clyde; of the Leeward Island fleet in June 1814 71 ships came to the Clyde; of the Jamaica fleet in July following 21 ships; of the Leeward Island fleet of the following August 26 ships; and of the Jamaica fleet in September 14 ships.

Foreign sugar was admitted for home consumption at the British Colonial rate of duty in 1813, 1814, and 1815, in consequence of a deficient supply, and the very high price of the latter; but such was not to extend to supplies for distillation, Acts 53rd Geo. III., cap. 62, 54th Geo. III., cap. 57, and 55th Geo. III., cap. 31.

There was not one sugar refinery in the whole of Ireland in 1824, although twenty years previously there were twenty, these having all yielded to the superior industry of the Scotch and English refiners. The exports of the Clyde to Ireland stood thus—

	Refined Sugar.	Raw Sugar.
In 1827,	4001 hhds.	3300 hhds.
1830,	1995 tons.	2126 „
1835,	1643 „	3390 tons.

Large quantities of crushed sugar are still sent from the Clyde.

The first importation of sugar into the Clyde from the Mauritius took place in 1828.

East India and foreign sugar were allowed to be taken out of the bonded warehouses in 1828 to be refined for exportation in refineries at Glasgow and certain other ports, in which there were at least two pans, and in quantities not exceeding 1000 cwt. for each pan actually at work upon the premises; paying thereon on such brown muscovado or clayed sugar so used, not being of greater value than the average price of that the produce of the British plantations in America, 27s. per cwt., and a further duty of 9d. in respect of every shilling by which such sugar was of greater value. In this case it was not incumbent to export the *identical* refined sugar produced from the sugar so admitted, and the bounty allowed on exportation was extended to *all* shipments of refined sugar, without regard to the produce of the sugar from which it was made, by Act 9th Geo. IV., cap. 93. The duty in such cases was afterwards reduced to the

respective rates of 24s. per cwt., and an additional 6d. in place of the 9d. on each shilling by Act 1st William IV., cap. 50. This privilege was however repealed by the Act 3d and 4th William IV., cap. 50.

The scarcity of raw sugar of good quality in 1829, caused a great demand in Glasgow for patent crushed sugar, and led to its manufacture on an extensive scale—this article is not previously quoted in Glasgow prices current, and in 1830 it was represented as being generally sold by the grocers, as a substitute for the fine qualities of muscovado. Foreign molasses were much made use of in 1832 in the manufacture of patent crushed sugar. In 1864, and for a considerable time previously, muscovado sugar was rarely to be met with in the hands of the grocers.

In the month of March 1832 the unusual circumstance took place of 1200 hogsheads of raw sugar being brought coastwise to the Clyde from Liverpool.

In 1833 1880 bags of Manilla sugar were for sale in the Clyde. It is supposed that this was the first importation there of this description.

In 1833 the refiners in the Clyde turned much of their attention to the use of molasses in the manufacture of patent crushed sugar for the home market. This description of sugar was very soft, and of inferior quality to the crushed sugar which has been selling for some years past (1864).

In 1834 3500 bags of Bengal sugar arrived in the Clyde, and is believed to be the first importation from that province.

The exports of refined sugar from the Clyde amounted to 3390 tons in 1834, and to 2920 tons in 1835.

Evidence was led before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1839, on the Import duties, that loaf sugar used to be bought a few years previous at 72s. per cwt., but such was, in 1839, as high as 114s. a cwt., and moist sugar, which used to be bought at 52s. a cwt., was then 84s. to 86s. a cwt.

The prices of sugar in 1840 were very nearly what they were in 1815.

Raw sugar was, in 1845, allowed to be delivered from the bonded warehouses in order to be refined, under the supervision of custom-house officers, in approved refineries, for exportation.

Messrs William M'Ewan, Sons, & Company, were the only refiners in Glasgow who availed themselves of the privilege, by fitting up their refinery, situated at the south-west corner of Ann Street and

Oswald Street, *exclusively* for that purpose. The privilege was wholly withdrawn in 1854.

Foreign sugar was admitted to entry for home consumption in 1848 at the like rate of duty as that of the British West India plantations, but this permission lasted only three years.

No. IV.

Prior to 1813 all trade with places eastward of the Cape of Good Hope was confined to that carried on by the East India Company, and restricted to London only. In that year the trade was opened to traders generally at such ports as the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury might approve, but still the trade with China, and in tea, was reserved to the East India Company, and with London alone, as heretofore. In 1834 the commercial privileges of the East India Company were abolished, and the trade with China, and in tea, and all other articles, was thrown open to certain enumerated ports in the United Kingdom, of which number Glasgow, Greenock, and Port-Glasgow formed part. The first ship despatched from Clyde to India was the "Earl of Buckinghamshire," by James Finlay & Company, in the spring of 1816,—the ship was 600 tons burden, and bound for Calcutta. Since that period a number of our enterprising merchants gradually embarked in this trade, and which is now carried on to a great extent. One of our city "firms" *alone* owns twenty-four first-class ships, of the aggregate tonnage of 20,149 register tons, exclusively engaged in that trade.

No. V.

Since the Paper was read I have fallen in with the following extract from the *Glasgow Mercury*, dated 27th June, 1787 :—

"It is now 222 years since potatoes were first known in Europe. They were first imported into Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1567. The importer was John Hawkins. He brought them from Santa Fa in Spanish America. They were planted for the first time in Ireland, it is said, by no less a man than Sir Walter Raleigh. He had an estate in that kingdom;[1] but the natural history of the potato was so little understood at that time that Sir Walter resolved to renounce the expectation he had formed

[1] Queen Elizabeth, upon the suppression of the Munster Rebellion, bestowed upon Sir Walter 12,000 acres of the plantation of Munster, part of the forfeited principality of the Earl of Dermond. With his characteristic energy, Sir Walter immediately adopted measures for cultivating the same, but which, instead of yielding any profit, caused him a loss, so that he was readily induced to sell it to Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork.

of bringing this exotic to perfection in Ireland. When in due time, after he had planted the first potatoes, the stalks grew up, and he perceived upon the stem a green apple, he thought that was the fruit, which he had no idea of being concealed under the earth. He caused some of these apples to be boiled, but finding them nauseous to the taste, he concluded that he had lost his labour, and for some time thought no more of potatoes. However, having some time after given directions that the ground should be dug up or ploughed, to his very great surprise he found a plentiful crop of fruit which proved most grateful to the taste. They soon got into general use, and became the principal food of the Irish peasantry. From Ireland they spread into England, where it has generally and erroneously been believed that potatoes were natives of Ireland."

No. VI.

The seventh refinery at Greenock, occupied by Crawhalls & Company, the main building of which was eight stories in height, re-built in the summer of 1862 in the most substantial and improved manner, being entirely of stone, was completely destroyed by fire on the night of the 22nd March, 1864. This sugarhouse was destroyed by fire exactly two years ago, and the new works were not more than twelve months in operation.—*Glasgow Herald*, 24th March, 1864.

NO. XXVI.

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE GEOLOGICAL QUESTION BEARING ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CANOES FOUND ON THE BANKS OF THE CLYDE.

BY

DR. SCOULAR.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 2nd May*, 1864.]

THE history of canoes found on the banks of the Clyde has been so fully detailed by Mr. Buchanan that it is unnecessary in the present communication to repeat what he has stated. The object of the present Paper is rather to investigate the geological question in so far as it bears on their antiquity, and to illustrate an interesting archæological investigation by the aid of natural history. These canoes, as is well known, have been found at various distances from the river banks, and also at different elevations above the present limits of the highest tides. The first circumstance which attracts attention is that all of them were found at a depth of about twenty feet from the surface, in the channel of the river; but at the same time they are at very different elevations when we refer to the present level of the waters at the highest tides. In those which have been found at Springfield and Clydeheugh, we must infer that they were foundered at a period when the sea reached the same level as at present. The depth at which they are found is that of the present channel of the river, and cresting waves were quite competent to have carried down all the beds of sand and gravel by which they were covered; here then we may therefore infer that no geological change of any importance has taken place in this part of the valley of the Clyde. Besides the canoes we have mentioned there are others which indicate geological changes, that is changes in the relative position of the sea and land from elevation. Thus, in the case of the canoes found near London Street and the Tontine, although they were buried at the same depth from the surface, they are more than twenty feet above tide mark, or in other words, what was once the channel of the river has been elevated by that amount, and consequently these last-mentioned canoes must be of a greater antiquity than these found at the lower levels of Springfield and Clydeheugh. The history of canoes found at such elevations as

Drygate would carry us back to a much higher antiquity; but, unfortunately, beyond the undoubted fact of canoes having been found in those places we have scarcely any farther information. If they were found embedded under transported sand and clay, this would point to a very great antiquity; but it is possible the aborigines may have left them in such places for concealment and security. The result, however, of what we have on undoubted evidence, is that no elevation of the land amounting to more than twenty feet has taken place since the estuary of the Clyde was navigated by these ancient canoes.

We may now enquire if, in addition to the proofs of elevation afforded by the canoes, we have any other and independent evidence derived from purely geological sources, and here we find the investigation of the recent changes which have taken place in the vicinity of Glasgow affords very curious results. If we remove the loose soil and glacial beds we find that the solid strata on which Glasgow is situated are what is called the carboniferous rocks, consisting of sand, shale, and coal, which are intersected and disturbed by trap dikes. At a period anterior to the deposition of the glacial beds and loose sand we find that the strata on which our city is built were submerged and exposed to a great amount of denudation, by which a vast quantity of the stratified rocks have been borne down and transported to the sea. When the sea bears away the rocky stones, the rapidity of its action is determined by the hardness and tenacity of the rocks. Thus when sandstone is intersected by lines of trap it is often worn away with more rapidity than the harder trap which remains at the Island of Cumbrae in the form of walls, proving at the same time the power of denudation and also the elevation of the land. Of this we have a very instructive but not very obvious example in the site on which Glasgow is built. While digging for the purpose of sewerage in various places in the streets, the very curious fact has been remarked that trap dykes intersect the beds of sand which have been deposited by the river.

Part of Glasgow is traversed by two dykes of this kind; one of them cuts across the middle of Virginia Street, the other has been traced from the west end of College Street, whence it runs to Ingram Street, and has been seen in Miller Street. In all this course the dyke intersects the alluvial river deposit, and the explanation of this strange position of a trap dyke involves a curious geological problem, having an important bearing in the history of the canoes. To account for these dykes we have to assume a gradual subsidence of the land

on which Glasgow is situated, during which the carboniferous strata were worn away by the action of the sea until the land as high as College Street and the site of the University was submerged. This may have taken place during the glacial epoch, which also of itself involves a subsidence. When the subsidence had reached its term the process was inverted and an elevation took place during which the estuary of the Clyde was formed and gradually silted up, so as to produce the alluvial lands on both sides of the river. It was towards the conclusion of this period and long after the glacial formations had been brought to a close that the canoe period is to be dated. As to the canoe period itself it again may, in a geological point of view, be divided into two, the more ancient before the period of elevation had ceased, and the more modern when the present equilibrium was attained.

If such is the theory of the geological relations of the canoes, we have to enquire what were the conditions of the organic world at that period? We may infer that the climate was not very different from what it is at present. As the canoes were constructed from oak we may infer that a vegetation similar to the present characterised the country. With regard to the animal kingdom the facts are more interesting, for while no change has taken place as to the land or fresh water mollusca, there was some difference with respect to mammiferous animals. In this respect I have to state the fact which has not hitherto been noticed, that the builders of the canoes were contemporary with two animals of which we have no historical record. This rests upon the fact that the remains of the reindeer and *Bos primigenius* have been found in the Clyde and brought up by the dredge near White Inch, and the specimens are still to be seen in the Andersonian Museum. Although the reindeer still abounds in the north of Europe, it is an interesting fact to know that they were coeval with man when the Clyde was navigated by the canoes of the early inhabitants of our country.

From these brief remarks we may infer that since man inhabited the country a change of level has taken place in the vicinity of Glasgow; that he was the companion of the reindeer, which he could hunt with no other implements than those of stone or bone, and in a state of barbarism similar to that of the Fins, so emphatically described by Tacitus; and further, that they proceeded from the Aryan, who seem from the earliest ages of their history to have been acquainted with the use of metals.

NO. XXVII.

ON SOME POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS COMMON IN PARTICK FORTY YEARS AGO:

BY

JAMES NAPIER, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 2nd May*, 1864.]

THE superstitious practices forming the subject of this paper are by no means peculiar to Partick, but with slight variations, modified by their traditionary transmission, have existed, and do exist, in almost every civilised nation in the world, and many of them may be traced to a common origin in times far remote. There are a few however which I have seen practised in Partick that I have not seen noticed by any person. The first I have named,—

Turning the Coal. When any person, more particularly a young person, sat in a musing posture, with their eyes fixed upon the fire, it was believed they were then under some fascinating influence or spell; that evil thoughts were being suggested and represented to the mind by some evil disposed person or spirit having the power of leading the mind to evil. If any individual observing this took the tongs, without speaking, and lifted the piece of coal or wood that generally filled the centre of the fireplace, and turned it right over, saying at the same time, "gude preserve us frae a' skaith," this not only broke the spell, but caused all the evil machinations to revert upon the party who were exercising their wicked arts. I have seen this repeatedly done when a boy, and if anything befell any person, such as a neighbour, at the time this operation had been performed, it gave rise to grave suspicions in the minds of the parties who had thus reverted the evil.

Charm for an Evil Eye. When any person took a lingering illness, which is common with children, losing appetite and strength, not ill enough to be in bed, but, if a grown up person, not fit to work, called a "dwineing," such illness was often ascribed to an "evil eye" having been cast upon the party, and it was thought could not

yield to common medicine. To take away this influence a sixpence was borrowed from some neighbour, without telling the object for doing so. If the coin happened to have a crook it was considered more effective, though this was not essential. The sixpence, with as much salt as could be lifted upon it, were put into a tablespoonful of water and stirred with the forefinger of the operator, who was to be the same person throughout. The patient being seated before the fire, the operator bathed or wet the soles of the feet and palms of the hands of the patient three times; the spoon was then held to the patient's mouth to be tasted three times; the wet forefinger of the operator was then drawn along the brow of the patient, called "scoring aboon the breath." The remaining salt water and sixpence were thrown right over and behind the fire, repeating as in the former case while emptying the spoon, "gude preserve us frae a' skaith." This is the first time the operator should speak during the whole of these occurrences. The patient is then put to bed, and if effective, recovery should begin immediately. The coin should not be looked for nor taken possession of by the party throwing it away, but generally a sharp eye is kept upon it by others. This was considered a very certain cure for an evil eye. I remember being put through the operation when very young, and I recovered after.

Ordeal of the Key. This was an operation requiring some degree of moral courage on the part of those interested, and it was therefore not very often resorted to, it being generally believed to be an appeal to the Devil. It was performed for the purpose either of finding out a suspected thief, or of ascertaining if a lover was in real earnest, and was the ordained future husband. The formulæ were as follow:—A key and a bible were produced, the key to be so much longer than the bible that when put into it the head and handle should project. When the enquiry was that of the faithfulness of a lover the key was placed in the bible at Ruth i. 16, on the words "Entreat me not to leave thee; where thou goest I will go," &c., which was closed and tied by a piece of tape. Two persons sitting opposite each other held out the finger of their right hand, and the person consulting the oracle suspended the bible between the two hands, the key resting on the points of the two fingers. No one was to speak except the young sweetheart, who in a trembling voice repeated the verses just referred to, naming her lover, thus—"Entreat me not to leave thee (John); for where thou goest," &c. If the answer was favourable, in less than five minutes the key began to move off the fingers of the

parties holding it, and fell to the ground. If the parties holding the key and the bible are steady, this trial seldom fails, and that is probably the reason it is seldom resorted to, as there is a belief and an apparent evidence of the presence of some unseen power causing the movement of the key and bible. Hence there is great fear, and occasionally some of the parties engaged in or witnessing the operations faint. For the detection of a thief I do not know whether the key was put into the same part of the bible, and what words were repeated, but the same formulæ were practised. I never saw this operation performed, but heard it described by those who had seen it repeatedly.

The Coal Prognostication. In burning caking coal in a grate there sometimes occurred a slight explosion, blowing out a small cinder of the apparently fused coal upon the hearth or floor. When this occurred the cinder was carefully searched for and examined, and its shape noted, and according to the shape so did it bode good or bad to the party sitting in the direction in which it was expelled. If it struck any one the signal was certain. It might be considered to represent a coffin, which was a very bad omen, or a cradle, which was a good omen. Whatever the mood and imagination of the party fancied its shape, so was the coming evil or good indicated. I have seen one of these cinders cause much depression of spirits in a family, when any of its members were unwell, and the shape of the cinder was considered to be that of a coffin. It was looked upon as a sure warning of the approaching dissolution of the sick one.

Milk transferred from Cows. There was a belief entertained by many old people that certain individuals could by "black art" cause the milk in cows in possession of one person to be transferred to cows belonging to another. Highlanders were often considered to be in possession of this art; and I have heard of several instances where the power was exerted to the great loss of some honest and good man. My grandfather, who considered it sinful to believe in witches and fairies, gravely related a case that came under his own knowledge when a boy, and in which he verily believed. There was in the service of a farmer where he lived a Highland boy as a herd, who had been in the service for upwards of two years. It had been observed that since the boy had come into their service everything seemed to go well with the farmer, and that this prosperity was in a great measure brought about by the boy was made probable by him telling the fortunes of the servants by cards, &c. However one

winter the cows on the farm became "yell," and there was great scarcity of milk about the farm, and the servants were all less or more complaining. In this emergency the boy proposed to his mistress to bring the milk from the cows of a neighbour farmer, which proposition was received by her with fear, and by her solicitation that evening the master gave the boy his wages in full, besides a present, to leave his service and go home, which he did, to the relief of all the servants. Such is a sample of the sort of evidence given of this power, certainly believed in by many throughout Scotland. This operation, I believe, was termed "milking the tether."

Baptisms. Forty years ago there were no such things as cabs to convey the baptismal party to the church. The baby was carried thither generally by an unmarried woman, and it being considered very unlucky for the mother to go out of the house or to visit a neighbour till the child was christened, this ceremony was generally performed upon the first or second Sabbath after the birth. The person who carried the child took with her bread and cheese, which were given to the first person she met. If the person receiving the gift did not turn and walk a short distance with the party, the child was not likely to live long. I have known people, who did not know this previously, being begged by the party carrying the child to convoy them a short distance. Even the person carrying the child had some little influence on its after welfare, in being lucky or unlucky; and if the person meeting her were known to be lucky, plain-soled, &c., all indicated good or bad fortune to the child in its after life.

Trees. The bourtree was found at the entrance to every garden, or as near the entrance as could be. This is a very common practice still in the old country towns in Scotland. The rowan tree was also a favourite for its influence in preventing evil, but not so common in Partick as it is in many other parts of the country. But one thing I remember, all along the old town either before or behind the house or hut was a small open square of trees: they were tall trees when I remember them. I see the same thing in many parts of the west highlands. Whether this is related to any superstitious idea I do not know; but its almost universality in Partick makes me think it was.

Birds. Certain birds had great respect paid to them. The robin was a great favourite, and no boy would harry a robin's nest. The swallow was looked upon as belonging to evil; at the same time a

swallow's nest upon a house was held as an omen of good fortune to the house. The common expression about the robin and swallow was that the robin had a drop of God's blood in it, and the swallow had a drop of the devil's blood.

Wraiths. It was believed that at or near the time of any person's death his wraith or apparition often showed itself to some friend or neighbour. One instance out of many will illustrate this. A woman living near to us one day saw her sister pass the window apparently coming towards her house. She was aware that her sister was lying ill in another part of the town, and she hastened to open the door, but on doing so found no person near it. In a short time afterwards she received notice her sister was dead. Several persons lived in the village who had seen the wraiths of friends who had died at a great distance off, and had found afterwards that the time of the death agreed with the time at which the apparition had appeared. There was also a strong belief in death warnings, such as hearing a ticking sound like a watch in some part of the house before a death; at other times it was a loud knock at the door, on going to which no person was near. The sound was sometimes at other parts of the house. I was myself a witness to a sudden and sharp knock on the middle of a floor in a room where several were sitting. No one was near the spot, and nothing was observed to have fallen to produce the sound. There was a slight surprise at the time, but in a few minutes it was forgot; however it was fully accounted for next day, when the mistress of the house received notice of the death of a brother. It was a warning; however, I remember that the brother had died some months before in India, so that the knock could only be a warning for a letter. These warnings or "faedums" as they were sometimes called, varied considerably both in character and import, but the phenomenon in some form was all but universally believed in.

Brownies. It was believed in by many, that brownies, a sort of kindly disposed beings, frequented houses, and helped the virtuous or ill-used people during the night, and would never accept any remuneration. One old woman told me she had occasionally left her *Rock* full of lint of an evening, and in the morning found it all spun into beautiful yarn; and a neighbouring servant of hers in a farmhouse, whose daily work was more than she could well get through, often found when she rose in the morning her house all cleaned, and everything like a new *preen*. Feeling desirous to show gratitude for such

kindness, she one night left for the brownies a basin of sowens and milk. but neither were touched, and the brownies never again returned.

Fortune Telling. This was very common, especially amongst young girls, but I remember a deaf and dumb person who visited the village regularly, who was believed, both by old and young, to possess the gift of foresight. This man carried a slate with him, on which he wrote his answers. On entering a house he would write down the initials, and sometimes the whole name of everyone in the house; also, write the name of any friends at a distance, and, also, when word would come from them, and whether that would be good or bad,—of absent lovers,—of thefts, and a host of other things,—all which were not only believed in, but affirmed by those who consulted him. It was only certain houses the "dummy" went to, and none of those would ever think of allowing him to go unserved, and his blessing written upon the slate was considered of great value. When any person ventured to doubt his power of foresight, the general reply was—"When God withholds one gift he generally gives other gifts higher than we can understand."

Wishes. To wish any evil upon any person was considered to be a desire to compact with the devil, and where this was not successful the wish in some shape reverted upon the ill-disposed person. This was supported by many traditions, such as the pig-faced lady, &c. A case occurred in Partick of a woman who was in the family-way, and who falling out with her husband, wished she would never bear the child. She was taken at her word—she lived several years in very delicate health, but no child was born.

Things lucky or unlucky. To be in possession of a hen that crowed like a cock was very unlucky, and such were generally dispatched or disposed of as soon as possible. Going away on any business and turning on the way is a sign that the person will be unsuccessful. To let the fire out on a new-year's-day is unlucky, and to get a light from a neighbour on that day is to take the luck away from them for the year. To see one or two magpies in the morning before breakfast was unlucky, to see more was the reverse, expressed in the following couplet—

> "One bodes grief, two's death,
> Three's a wedding, four's a birth."

The first plough seen in the season, or the first met when going

upon any business, if the horses' heads are turned towards you, it is lucky; if going from you, is ill luck. If the first person met in the morning is plain-soled, it is unlucky. A hare crossing the road before any one in the morning, is ill luck. A dog howling with his head towards any particular house forebodes death to some member of the family of that house. To pare the nails and put the cuttings into the fire was considered very wrong, I never could learn why. In cutting the hair, especially of children, the hair is carefully collected and burned. We have even seen the house swept and the sweepings put into the fire. In Dr. Livingstone's Travels he refers to a similar practice amongst some African tribes on the Zambesi. They carefully collect, and either burn or bury the hair cut from the heads of children, lest any of it fall into the hands of a witch. Whether this was the fear of those who practised the same thing in Partick, I cannot say. Killing a spider was considered unlucky; we have seen them swept out the house pretty roughly, while they would not kill them. This superstition is probably from an old legend that a spider wove its web over the place where the baby Christ was hid, who was thus saved from murderers. *Clocks* or black beetles in a house were considered lucky; we have seen them carefully lifted by tongs or shovel and put out, because to kill them took away the luck. A flake of soot hanging on the grate bars indicated an approaching stranger. A cock crowing with his head in at the door indicates the visit of a stranger that day, and the house was often *rede* in preparation, the sign being considered so certain. A small stem of tea-leaf floating on the tea-cup is the sign of a visitor coming. To be in possession of money when we first see the new moon is considered very lucky. If at the first sight of the new moon the person stands still and bows to it three times, he or she is sure either to receive a gift or find something good before that moon expires. When a baby is first brought into the house of a neighbour or friend something should be given to it, such as a little sugar put into its mouth; this insures it against an "evil eye" in that house. An omission of this has often given great offence, and if the child took ill shortly after, grave suspicions were held as to the cause.

Cure for Warts. When the person troubled with warts first sees the new moon, he is to take a small portion of the earth from under the right foot and make a paste of it, and lay it upon the wart, and tie a cloth over it, which is not to be removed till the change of the moon, when the wart will be completely removed.

Suicides. The body of a person committing suicide will not undergo decomposition until the time the person would have died from natural causes. I have heard several illustrations of this strange belief.

Divine Warning. Before any church was built in Partick, there was occasionally an evening sermon preached in a small school-room in the village. One Sabbath evening in winter a very popular preacher was expected—the school-room was filled nearly to suffocation. As the expected preacher did not come, a weaver belonging to the village stepped up to the desk, and, after devotional exercise, gave out a text, and divided it in the usual conventional style, but by this time the light from the candles, which were suspended from the low ceiling, became very dim, which snuffing did not improve; then two or three females fainted, and the confusion and alarm became such that the proceedings were brought to a close. It was remarked that when the preacher stopped, and the females were being carried out, the candles burned as bright and clear as at the beginning. This was considered by many as an evident proof of God's righteous displeasure at an ordinary and uneducated man assuming the office of an ordained minister, and so strong was this belief in the minds of some that they would not again go to any more sermons in the school-room, except they were sure that the preacher was an ordained man. A little knowledge of chemistry would have explained the phenomena differently.

Such are a few of the popular superstitions common in Partick, I will say about forty or fifty years back, and which may be called the belief of the uneducated working classes, which let us hope the school, the pulpit, and the press have in a great measure dispelled from the minds of that class.

NO. XXVIII.

REMARKS ON ANCIENT AGRICULTURE, AND ON THE AGRICULTURAL CONDITION OF CLYDESDALE DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD AND SUBSEQUENTLY:

BY

ALEXANDER GALLOWAY, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 5th December*, 1864.]

By reverting shortly to a portion of what is known regarding the practice of agriculture in other countries and more ancient times, I wish to fortify the inference I draw from investigations of early writings bearing upon the state of Clydesdale during the dark and middle ages, that it can hardly have been so "stern and wild" as popular writers of the last three centuries have represented, and that its inhabitants have not been so rude and low in the scale of civilization as is commonly supposed.

On the subject before us, our very earliest information, familiar although it be to everybody, is still perhaps the most interesting, as it is the most sublime of written archives. "Let there be light; let there be a firmament; let the earth appear with its waters, and bring forth plants and living creatures; let man, in the image of his Maker, people the earth and subdue it, and have for his use all that it contains; but of the sweat of his brow shall he eat bread." Next we learn that the first-born son of the first man was "a tiller of the ground," and the second "a keeper of sheep." How many thousands of years have rolled past since then is a question for which, perhaps, there will never be means of satisfactory solution. We turn thankfully to the scanty and scattered records which tell us of man's occupations at certain periods during this great unmeasured space of time, and we find, as a rule, that whenever and wherever many of the human family had congregated, and the earth's surface around them was capable of being cultivated, or of supporting the animals most available for their wants, the majority were still tillers of the ground

and keepers of sheep. Farther, we find that whenever and wherever a country was peaceful, populous, and prosperous, the husbandmen and the shepherds were the most skilful as such.

When we have pondered over the many interesting passages in the books of Moses, Ruth, Chronicles, Nehemiah, Isaiah, Amos, and others, which relate to agricultural matters chiefly in Palestine, we search in the volumes of Herodotus, who wrote three-and-twenty centuries ago, and in those of later ancient writers for information given about the agriculture of other peoples in Asia, as the Assyrians and Persians, and of the Egyptians in Africa, who carried the art to the highest perfection, and employed many ingenious mechanical contrivances. Next we study, with equal delight and wonder, the writings of Greek authors, as to agriculture in their country long before the Christian era. Hesiod, Homer, Aristotle, Xenophon, Democritus, Theocritus, and Theophrastus, have left us more or less valuable matter on the subject; and the famous Roman agricultural author, Marcus Terentius Varro, who died 28 B.C., refers to more than fifty other Greek writers as extant in his time. Hesiod's book on farming and economics was written nearly 1,000 years before Christ. His details about summer fallowing, manuring, sowing, and reaping, and the like, are just such as are thought sensible at the present time.

The Carthaginians were great in agriculture, as in commerce, for several centuries. Perhaps the most remarkable of ancient writers on the subject was of their country, namely, Mago, who wrote about 600 years before Christ. He displays a thorough knowledge of cattle breeding, rearing, feeding, and farriery, and describes the points for judgment in awarding prizes. His twenty-eight books were translated into Greek by Dionysius for the use of students, and long afterwards into Latin by Syllanus, under instructions from the Roman Senate, as a class-book for the use of their nation.

The Romans were, probably, from the beginning of their history, skilled in agriculture; and there is enough known about Italy continuously to justify a belief that the farming in that country at various localities has always been, as it still is in respect of science applied to the raising of crops, the best in Europe. Several of the old Roman writers on farming are commonly read by advanced students still—as Cato, Varro, Virgil, Cicero, Pliny, Columella, and Palladius; and many other classical authors contain incidental notices of relative nature.

We learn, among other things, from these Roman writers, the

following facts:—Before the Romans entered Britain as its invaders, the lands of Italy, Gaul, Germany, Spain, and of their other colonies in Europe, Asia, and Africa, were for the most part held in property by landlords, and in occupation either by the owners or by tenants for payment of rent in money, or kind, or services. The terms of tenancy varied according to agreement, as for one year only up to thirty years, or a lifetime, and nineteen years was not an unusual term. Agreements were verbal or written, and the written leases often contained strict clauses for securing against deterioration. Estates were of all sizes, from a single acre, up to many thousand acres. They were acquired by grant, in reward for public services, or by inheritance, bequest, purchase, or otherwise. Pliny the younger said the price of land in his time was about twenty-five years' purchase of its free rental value, the purchaser expecting to realise about four per cent.; and bonds over property in land were usual, the rate of interest being about six per cent. Landlords of the smaller estates commonly resided on them, and many engaged personally in the management, conducting, or performing of the farm labour. Owners of large estates had bailiffs *(villici)* for their home farms. Difficulties in the management of estates often occurred from the tenants being without sufficient capital, in consequence of which arrangements were made that the landlord was to supply the stock and seeds, machinery, and implements, and draw from the tenant interest on the value thereof, in addition to rent for the use of the land. Landlords held by common law the same sort of lien over stock and crop, for security of their rents, as is still held. Farm buildings were generally good, commodious, and properly adapted to wants and circumstances,—some extravagantly large and fine, and some the reverse. Palladius recommended that landlords should not expend more in the cost of the homestead than about two years' rent of the land. Fences of almost every conceivable kind were constructed or grown for enclosing parks, fields, orchards, and gardens, and for protecting corn lands along road-sides. Roads for public use and for farm occupation abounded in the populous districts, and were often well constructed and carefully maintained. Embankments of lakes and rivers and streams were common for preserving good land from injury by floods, and for converting marshes into useful meadows or corn fields. Irrigation, or artificial watering of land, in warm and dry climates, was practised very extensively, and often on a prodigious scale. Drainage of wet lands in rainy climates was

likewise well understood and widely practised. Regarding the tenants and their assistant-labourers, the designations mark the relative social positions:—*Coloni*, free farmers, who paid rent for their lands, as is done now-a-days; *partuarii*, or *politores*, who hired the landlord's cattle and other stocking as well as land; *liberi*, free labourers; and *servi*, slaves. Cato's dietary allowances were—100 lbs. of wheat flour for each of the winter months, and 113 lbs. each summer month to his bailiff; 75 lbs. per month to his shepherd; 4 lbs. bread daily during slack times, and 5 lbs. at busy times to each of his slaves, besides fruit and various vegetables, fish, vinegar, and oil, also 1½ pint wine in ordinary, and *ad libitum* during hard work. He gave each slave a new jacket and greatcoat yearly, new shoes and other things as needed. He denounced very high farming, because he had found it would not pay. His maxims were to do things well and cheap, and when the land has been ploughed and is to be laid down to pasture, have it thoroughly cleaned and well manured. Cicero and other writers urged attention to all means practicable for the procuring of good manures, and the liberal application of them. He approved of what we now call the Fife mode of farming on certain soils, namely, the folding of sheep on land for manuring it; also, of preparing composts and top dressing, and the mixing of soils. Lime was applied largely in some localities, and particularly in the eastern parts of Gaul. Marl was also in request. Summer fallows on clay soils were usual, four or five ploughings being given them. Green cropping was practised successfully; there were no potatoes, but abundance of turnips of various kinds, and many other sorts of root crops. Wheat in great variety was sown, also barley, rye, oats, Indian corn, millet, peas and beans, clover, tares, lucern, flax, hemp, and other grasses and useful plants, some of them not usual in this country. Rotation of cropping was held to be very beneficial. Fruit of many kinds was abundantly grown and sold cheap. The domestic animals and fowls reared were just those we now rear, and various others were kept and fed for use as food. Varro said fattened thrushes and blackbirds brought a profitable price in the market, and sometimes 5,000 were sold from one farm in a year. Bees and fishes were carefully tended and fed for the market. Beasts of labour were employed the same as now, the ox more than the horse. The ass and mule were more common than with us, and the dog and cat as plentiful. Field labour was similar, the plough and the harrow, the spade and shovel, the pick and hoe, the grubber and roller, being

all used. Many kinds of the plough are described. Hay was cut by the scythe, grain by hook or by scythe. Both Pliny and Palladius describe reaping machines driven by oxen, as used in large farms in Gaul, and say some farmers cut their whole harvest without employing any reapers. In reading their descriptions of these machines, one cannot help wondering why they had got out of fashion, and were so long in being re-discovered. Thrashing was by flail, or by treading out the grains, or by machinery having teethed wheels and rollers, which the writers say had been copied from Carthage. Grain was cleaned by winnowing or tossing with shovels or sieves against the wind, or by machines as fanners. Straw was used for food of cattle and other animals, or fodder and litter. Hay from grasses was prepared also, and stored for food. Corn, straw, hay, and turnips were cut and crushed by hand labour and by machinery. When we have satisfied ourselves by poring over the old Roman authors, that all these things were so in their days, and before them, we may begin to wonder if we are to understand literally Solomon's assertion, that there is *nothing* new under the sun; and if Solomon, or any of the Asiatics, Africans, Greeks, or Romans, used machinery driven by *steam*. Possibly they may not have done subsoil drainage by tile pipes, and surely they did not send messages by telegraph.

The Romans carried their arts into every country they conquered. Their common soldiers had generally seen and practised farming, and they looked forward to retiring about the age of forty-five, to settle in farming villages, where they had a right to form military colonies, and to receive, as their own property, some four acres of land. Every man had been trained while in the army, not only to soldiering, but also to steady habits of labour, adapted to supply the wants of himself or others. As the Roman armies spread out, therefore, agricultural improvement attended or followed them. If we reckon correctly that on an average 30,000 of their soldiers were always in Britain, during the 350 years from A.D. 80 to 430, we may conclude that at least 1200 fell to retire each year. If a third part of that number chose to remain in Britain, and take to agriculture, there would have been added to its farming population within the first 25 years some thousands of retired soldiers. If we assume that the same rate of accession continued during all the three and a-half centuries, and that population doubled itself each fifty years, we shall estimate at the end of the period the number of the thus imported foreigners and their descendants at several millions.

When the Romans invaded a country they never failed to avail themselves of the voluntary or compulsory labour of such of the natives as they could command, or had occasion for. These natives were at once put to the construction of roads, bridges, and earth-works, and to the raising of provisions for supply of the army and its followers. They had to work under skilled Roman overseers, and according to Roman methods. It was important that grain should be always produced near to the army encampments and stations and principal roads. We may conclude that much land must have come into cultivation for the supply of the army, and that the wide-spread examples of successful cultivation must have stimulated the natives of the country to imitate them. Moreover, it was a rule of the Roman Government in its colonies to impose a tax or tribute, to be rendered in corn from every community or village, and this compelled the inhabitants to grow it. It is not impossible that the Britons in the fertile plains and valleys were in the habit of growing grain thousands of years before the Romans came, for Cæsar tells us that parts of the country were densely peopled, and there was great abundance of cattle when he entered it. History does not tell of a closely peopled country where grain was not cultivated. At all events, it is clear that during the second and third centuries of Roman occupation of Britain, the soil was made to grow vastly more grain than its people and the troops could consume, and immense quantities were exported to the continent. It came to be relied on for the supply of manufacturing places and large towns there, as we now rely upon imports for our extraneous wants. It is recorded that the Emperor Julian, who reigned from 361 to 363, sent no fewer than 800 ships (as ships then were) to Britain, all at one time, for corn.

Let us now look at the manner of the Roman occupation of Clydesdale, in so far as we can trace it through their encampments and roads.

If we consider what sort of works in military engineering would be the best fitted for enabling the Romans to hold off the northern Caledonians and their allies, we come to see that the clever old *Grims*, as our people called the Italians, had conceived and executed just such works. Between the years 83 and 85 A.D., when the battle of the Grampians was fought, Agricola had constructed, along the valleys of the Carron and the Kelvin, a number of camps and forts. Westward by Paisley, and along to the Solway, he had

placed a few more; and during the 32 years which followed before the death of the Emperor Trajan, the Romans had full military occupation of the whole island south of the Forth and Clyde, and of districts near some advanced camps northward. At that time the whole armies of the empire numbered about 450,000 men, and of these 37,500 were in Britain. The burden of maintaining so many troops was felt to be heavy, and the senate resolved at the accession of Hadrian in 117 to abandon the previous aggressive policy, withdraw from the least important recent conquests, and, as they said, consolidate the empire. In 120 Hadrian made a personal inspection of our island, and of the positions of his army in it. He instructed his generals to abandon the poorer portion north of the Tyne valley, and establish the well-fortified boundary line across the country which we know as Hadrian's Wall.

The Caledonians naturally regarded the retreat of the Romans from their country as an indication of weakness, and probably they conceived hopes of driving the invaders out of the island. Calling in their continental friends for assistance, and obtaining additional aid from Ireland, they made from time to time vigorous attacks, some of which failed, but others were so far successful as to create alarm at the Imperial headquarters. The Emperor Antoninus Pius thereupon appointed Lollius Urbicus general in chief of the army in Britain, and directed him to take effectual measures for securing the frontier against northern incursions. Urbicus judged, as any good engineer would, that in order to have a really effective barrier, the proper means was to resume and strengthen Agricola's line of fortifications along the Kelvin valley, and to construct and maintain a series of camps and roads between the two great fortified lines. We are tolerably familiar with the sites of the walls. Let us advert to a few of the roads and camps.

An intrenched line, such as the Grims' Dyke, would manifestly be utterly useless without accompanying camps, outposts, and roads. Against the approach of even a small invading force, it would be necessary to be warned by videttes or scouts posted in advance. There must be the means of rapidly corresponding by signals, or trumpet, or otherwise, to the troops at their encampments, and of their speedily assembling at the threatened point of attack, and transporting provisions and baggage. Accordingly we see at this day remains of numerous fortified outposts along the base of the Campsie fells and elsewhere, commonly about two miles apart, and two

or three miles in advance of the wall, suitably arranged for communication with one another and with the castella and watch-towers upon it. We have only to assume, that when apprehension of the approach of an army prevailed, videttes from the outposts were stationed along the tops of the neighbouring hills, who signalled to their companions and to the troops below.

Against invasion upon a large scale all this would be still ineffectual, and the two long coast lines between the walls had to be guarded. If the troops at the north wall were overmatched, they could fall back to the Tinto and Cheviot hill ranges, where they might maintain positions until reinforcements arrived from the south wall. If the attack came from the sea shores between the walls, there must be a point midway that armies from both walls could turn from to face the enemy on either side.

The Roman generals, therefore, adopted or constructed and fortified the line of road which passes from south to north along the centre of the country by Carlisle, the east end of the Solway firth (Ituna Æstuarium), Lockerbie, Moffat, Tinto, and Lanark to the central point of the north wall at Castlecary. From this road, which we believe to be a continuation of the route from the south called Watlin Street, roads were led in the valleys, right and left, to the coasts, and along each coast there was a military road, protected by occasional small camps or forts, and posts of observation.

Coming northward upon Watlin Street from Moffat, or rather, opposite Moffat, for the course of the ancient road lies half way between the town and the Caledonian Railway, we find, four miles onward, upon reaching the summit level of the country, the remains of a camp at Errickston, and of some eight forts all near it. From this point a main road went off almost straight to the head of the Tweed, which is only two miles distant, and along the west side of that river to the east coast. From opposite Errickston Camp, Watlin Street goes westward 5½ miles to the head of the Clyde, at a place called Little Clyde, which the chief authorities have agreed upon as the site of the town called, in the 9th Iter, *Gadanica*, and, in Ptolemy, *Colonia*, a town of the Damnii. Here are still distinctly to be seen the vestiges of a regularly entrenched camp in the Roman military form, about 500 yards by 300 yards, or 40 acres in area. Two miles onward, a fortified post of observation crowned a height near the road commanding a view of the valley in which the Elvan Water comes down from the west at right angles to the Clyde.

Four miles farther, we come to the old village of Crawford, where two streams, one of them called Camps Water, and the other Midlock Water, come from the east and join the Clyde. Two miles further down, the Glengonnar Water comes in from the west, and an old line of road passed up that valley by Leadhills, Wanlockhead, and Sanquhar to the town of Ayr, where it met the west coast road. The Clyde bends westward from Camps Water mouth to Glengonnar Water mouth in a semicircular manner. Within the semicircle is a large piece of comparatively flat and dry ground, and this would seem to have been selected by the Romans for their pivot of military operations. They sent one branch of their road across and along the outer side of the river at this bend, and another by a corresponding eastward circuit, so as to enclose a nearly circular area of two miles in diameter. Within this area are the remains of three or four entrenchments, marked on the ordnance plans and called camps, and near its north side, on the top of Arbory Hill, is another, which evidently was a post of observation commanding the Glengonnar valley. The road on the western semicircle rejoined the other by crossing the Clyde at Abington. Onward three-fourths of a mile, and very near the road on its east side, is seen another post called a camp, and further on three-quarters of a mile is again another near to the road, also on its east side. It is probable there had been one at Little Mill and another at Wandell Mill, these being corresponding distances, for the next one appears opposite and half a mile east of the village of Roberton. A house half-way between Little Mill and Wandell Mill bears the appropriate name of *Causeway* House, for it stands close by the Roman road.

At Roberton three roads diverged. One went down the Clyde valley on its south side by Lamington, Culter, and Biggar, to join the Tweed road; another by the village of Wiston round the eastern base of the Tinto hills to Thankerton Bridge, Covington, and Pettinain, crossed the Clyde opposite Carstairs House, and bent westward to Cleghorn Mill Bridge over the Mooss, and was rejoined by the third branch from Roberton, which pursued a more direct route, keeping to the west side of Tinto hill. It struck a hollow, or pass, called Howgate, nearly five miles from Roberton, and, for the easier transport of waggons and troops through that pass, the Romans made a deep cut or excavation across the narrow ridge. From Howgate the road proceeded straight to Carmichael Manse two

miles, and thence, for shortness, along the slope of a height, two miles farther to Howford, where it crossed the Clyde. From that point there are indications of a branch road to the town of Lanark. At two miles from the Howford, the Howgate road came up to the branch road which has been described as crossing the river at Carstairs. The point of junction is 1¼ mile eastward from Cleghorn Mill, on the river Mooss, and about the same distance west from Carstairs House, or a quarter of a mile from Corbiehall farm steading, near to which was a camp.

General Roy assumes that the town called in the 9th Iter *Corium*, 24 miles from Gadanica or Colonia, in Crawford parish (Little Clyde) must have been at Carstairs. Roy, like others, was liable to be carried away by fancied analogy in place names, and he thought that because the place had long been called *Carstairs*, therefore *Corium* was probably its former name. May it not be at least equally probable, judging from the convergence of the old roads and from the other numerous works in this locality, reasonably ascribable to the Romans, that the good old town of *Lanark* was the veritable *Corium?*

From Cleghorn bridge a very old and now abandoned road is seen to proceed westward by Jerviswood-mains to Lanark. From the Howford, where Watlin Street crosses the Clyde, another very old road, mostly also now abandoned, came westward to Lanark. The space enclosed by these roads, looking at the points Cleghorn bridge, Corbiehall, Howford, and Lanark, is seen to form a nearly square area, each side of which is from 1½ to 2 miles in length, and the ground, locally well known as Lanark moor, is admirably adapted for the encampment and accommodation of a large body of troops. Roy describes a great Roman camp as not far from Cleghorn House, being 600 yards long and 420 yards broad (52 acres), having at its south-west angle a small post or redoubt, and says there is another upon Lanark Moor. He had perhaps mistaken his notes here, for the ordnance survey indicates the larger camp as on Lanark Moor, and the smaller as opposite Stobilee Steading, half a mile eastward from Cleghorn House.

No position in the country could have been selected nearly so suitable as Lanark and its moor for a great military station in connection with Antonine's and Hadrian's fortified lines across the island. Supposing an invasion from the north, it would be met

by the 5000 or 6000 men stationed along the boundary line, and these could be reinforced from Lanark, where probably 10,000 would be on permanent encampment. If defeated, the troops would fall back to Lanark, and, if unable to maintain their position there, they would fall further back to the Crawford great encampment. From both these positions there were cross roads to the east coast and to the west coast. Biggar was connected with Watlin Street and Lanark by a direct and easy cross road of four miles passing westward to Thankerton. From Lanark two roads proceeded to the west coast. One of them crossed the Mooss at the west end of the Cartland Craigs by a bridge still remaining an entire arch, and the Clyde by a ford or bridge near Sunnyside, and proceeded by the high grounds of Stonebyres to the Avon at Sandford, 1¼ mile south of Strathavon, thence by Darvel, Newmills, Galston, and Kilmarnock to Irvine, which was then and long afterwards a chief seaport. The other westward road diverged from the Watlin Street at Belston, went straight to and through the present village of Wishaw, thence to Motherwell, crossed the river Calder at Bothwellhaugh, where an arch, exactly like the Cartland one, still remains, and passed forward by Bothwell, crossing the Clyde at Bothwell Castle, and proceeding by Drumsargard Castle, Cambuslang, Rutherglen, Langside, and Three-mile House, to the great camp at Paisley, opposite the west end of Antonine's Wall, whence there would be roads to Renfrew and Dumbarton ferries on the west coast road, and another inland line for more direct communication with Irvine.

The Paisley encampment must have been of about equal importance with those at Lanark and Crawford. It occupied the high ground called Oakshawhead, and seems to have included 40 acres of land within its entrenchments. It had outposts on various neighbouring heights near the road from the east, and probably on many heights along the coast road all the way to the Solway. Without these, the military works would manifestly have been insufficient. The west coast was very assailable from the sea, but with all the arrangements we have now detailed, an invading army would be met advantageously. Troops with heavy baggage from Paisley, from the north wall line, and from Lanark, could be joined by troops from the east coast and from the south wall at Carlisle, all converging on Crawford, and be directed thence speedily to any point threatened. If they failed in the first attack, they could fall

back upon Crawford and be secure in that difficult district, abundant in pasturage, until reinforcements reached them from the most distant part of England.*

The state of the population in Clydesdale during the last century of the Roman occupation cannot be estimated satisfactorily. The existence of towns at Crawford, Lanark, Paisley, Castlecary, and Camelon, leads to a reasonable guess that the district was populous. We may suppose, moreover, that the permanent stations of so many troops would at the same time attract numbers and create continuous increase. Native cultivators would settle near the army for the sake of a market, and because their female relatives had married soldiers; retired soldiers would prefer land near to their comrades and relatives. The greater skill and cultivation of the foreigners would be fully imparted to the natives at large. Britons have been rarely awanting in aptitude or energy. The best arable lands of the district, we may venture to assume, must have gradually come into full requisition, and the inhabitants, industriously occupied with their crops and flocks, have attained prosperity and comfort.

The effect of the withdrawal of the Roman army of occupation from Clydesdale in the fifth century must have been seriously damaging to the interest of the farmers, by depriving them of a steady market for their produce. True, the flames of war were raging broadly over the continent, and people there, not having leisure to attend to the farms, would require supplies from Britain. But Clydesdale would compete at disadvantage with fertile coast districts from which land and sea carriage was shorter. Ere long the wars ceased. The Roman Empire fell; and Germany, after long and mighty exertions, took its place, but sunk exhausted.

* If it be true that there was a town at Crawford called *Colonia*, we must suppose that it had sprung up in consequence of the extensive Roman encampment having continued there a long time. If Lanark was *Corium*, then the Saxons may have called Crawford *Cor-fuhrt*, meaning a station on the journey to or from Corium. May we not imagine Cartland craigs to have been *Cor-et-land* craigs, and *Cora linn* to have been the falls of Clyde at Lanark? The change of name from Corium to Lanark may have been made by the Northmen who succeeded to possession. Their seat of government could be nowhere better or more naturally selected than where the Romans had it, namely, at Corium, for a province extending between the two seas from Hadrian's Wall to Perthshire, or, at all events, from the Tweed mouth and the Solway to Stirling. The western half came to be broadly called Strathclyde, denoting the Clyde valley, or the country in which the roads in connection with the Clyde lay; and the other, the Low Duns (Lothians), or country in which the lower hills lay, the more accessible district along the east coast. The Clyde roads from Crawford to Paisley, with their protecting forts, would fall to be in charge of government, and the district along them would be distinguished as *Landrik*, or government land, royal lands, and thus Corium would become Land-rik-town.

Its resources were overstrained, its capital wasted, its commercial credit gone, and Europe had, as it were, to begin the world of new, and on a much less grand scale. Concentration of power being no longer possible, the great confederacies fell into pieces.

The countries north-westward from Gaul had been the least engaged in the great conflict. They had been for a long time industrious export traders, and sea-carriers for other nations. They were also by far the greatest fishermen of the time, supplying the rest of Europe and the populous Mediterranean districts of Asia. They had been accustomed to fish the coasts of the British Islands, and to trade with the inhabitants of them long before the Roman invasion. During the Roman occupation of Britain, they had very often joined with the Caledonians and the Irish in attacks upon the swarthy Italians. Their opportunity being now come, they rushed in to seize the abandoned sovereignty, and were only prevented from acquiring the whole island by multitudes of Saxons, who probably had returned from the Roman wars, and with whom the southern natives fraternised. The Saxons owned no allegiance to any continental power; the Northmen, who took in charge the half of the island north of the Humber and the Mersey, adopted the previous practice of conquering nations, and imposed a tribute. The natives had to yield up a portion of the land, and were left free to enjoy the rest on condition of the tribute. The system of government was altered into that of the German and Scandinavian peoples; free provinces called kingdoms, each with its chief or king elected by the freemen, and all having, in return for the tribute, right to claim the protection of the superior power against the encroachment of Saxons or other invaders.

Under this new form of government Clydesdale remained during nearly six centuries, and was itself one of the petty kingdoms, with the name of Land-rik, Clödisdal, or Strathclyde. The written records of the period are so scanty, and such of them as originated in the island itself are so fragmentary and stuffed with the romantic and superstitious fancies of the time, that a distinct, continuous, or reliable history cannot be framed from them. Those that profess to come from the contemporaneous saints of Ireland are so inconsistent with themselves, with the known facts, and with the then habits of European society, that they cannot reasonably be regarded as safe in what they say of things out of their own island. The popular history of the Strathclyde kingdom, still partially believed in, is not

more credible than Fordoun's story of the origin of Scotland, namely, that Scotia was the daughter of the Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea, and the Scots were descended from her; or than Hollingshed's description of the ancient Picts (derived from Herodian's ludicrous account of some Caledonian peasantry at a period 700 years earlier), namely, "they do wrap their heads and wombs in hoops of iron, paint their bodies with all kinds of beasts, wear no apparel, but live naked, feeding on roots and barks of trees, and they have a kind of meat among them whereof if they take but so much as a bean, they neither hunger nor thirst in a long time after."

Altogether, the stories put forward, first and last, about the early Scottish kings, are such that one needs to pause and question whether they are not a little in advance of the sublime, and whether it is not to be regretted that the school children of the present day should be made to imbibe them. That there were early Scottish kings need not be doubted, and a few of their names may be correctly given; but that there was any settled government of the whole country from the Solway and the Tweed northward, under one resident king, until the reign of Malcolm III. in the middle of the eleventh century, there has not been as yet produced sufficient warrant for belief. In the eleventh century, concentration and amalgamation of petty states, for greater power and better means of defence, became fashionable in Europe. Scotland did not lead that fashion; she wisely followed the example of England and other countries, foreseeing danger in disunion, and finding that she could not safely rely on protection from without.

Reverting for a moment to the *dark* period, we may notice that our Clydesdale kings had residences at Dumbarton Castle (or Alt Clyde, as Bede calls it), Rutherglen, Cadzow, and Lanark, and that they and their nobility were, according to the universal habit of the time, much addicted to the pleasures of the chase; the freemen only were admitted to assist in what were deemed the nobler sorts of amusement, and in military exercises; farm labour was conducted chiefly by the slaves, and partly by the women. For economy and convenience, families lived in hamlets, having a common barn and barnyard, kiln, and brewhouse, with infields and outfields, the latter, together with restricted hill grazing rights, being common to the little colony. The same condition of rural society prevailed then and long afterwards in most countries of Europe, and it is to be seen still in many places. It indicates comparative poverty when

viewed together with the broader system of the Romans in previous centuries.

About the beginning of the seventh century, when Christianity had struck deep root in Eastern Europe, a strong missionary zeal sprang up, and many good men devoted themselves to the arduous duty of labouring to convert heathens in the far west. Several of them came to the British Islands, and a few left written records of their observations and doings. Generally these accounts are somewhat like those we have ourselves been used to receive from our missionaries in countries where the manners, habits, and language of the natives differ from their own, and where they are little welcomed. If they cannot earn from their labour among the heathen the means of living, they must solicit it from their friends at home, and they are tempted to present in their reports such a picture as may excite charity rather than inform correctly. The Augustan missionary settlement at Canterbury was among the first and most famous. From it came to labour in Clydesdale the celebrated St. Mungo, encouraged and protected, it is said, by our King Reuther, and the people of Reutherick-land erected, for their and the saint's accommodation, a place of worship at the site where they had been used to assemble for religious homage to unknown gods. A century later, the famous Benedictine Monk of Jarrow, in Northumberland, Bede, recorded of Clydesdale that its inhabitants were powerful and prosperous, and had generally embraced Christianity. Charlemagne's Ordinance, made 812, quoted in Professor Innes's "Middle Ages," shows a style of farming to be then prevalent which we may almost envy in the present day. Subsequent records tell us that in the tenth century all England, as well as Scotland and Ireland, was tributary to the Northmen, and lead us to suppose that in the ninth and tenth centuries the teaching of St. Mungo and St. Ninian had been forgotten by our forefathers of these times, but that in other respects society did not materially differ. But ere long a mighty revival of religious zeal sprang up throughout all Europe. Christianity triumphed, and the people became better, freer, happier, and more industrious.

The number of great churches and monasteries erected during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is enough to prove a condition of prosperity if no other evidence were present. The charters for endowment of churches and organisation of a system of regular ecclesiastical establishments throughout Scotland, granted by King

David in the first half of the twelfth century, attest unmistakably a previously wide-spread cultivation. The monasteries were charged with the otherwise unprovided for poor, and the monks employed available labour in improving as well as cultivating the lands assigned to or acquired by them. They turned much woodland, and some swampy and moorish land, into fertile corn fields. Tytler has exaggerated wildly in his estimate that at this time "the face of the country was covered by immense forests," and "huge woods," "vast and impenetrable woods and marshes." When he attempts to enumerate them and state their locality, their magnitude sinks into insignificance in comparison with the whole surface of the country. The forest of Glasgow included in his list does not appear from the chartulary to have been at all extensive. The Kelso chartulary refers to large moors in its Lesmahagow estate; the records of Newbattle are scanty, but they do not indicate forest or moor in their very extensive Monklands near Glasgow, while they mention their Abbot's mansion with its grange and mills at Carmyle, and their numerous farm tenants. The Abbot Ælred, in writing a biography of his patron, King David, said he had found the country uncultivated and barren, and left it productive and fertile; found it needing to import farm produce for its people's wants, and left it exporting abundantly to other countries. In reading the writings of the old monks however, we need to make allowance for their habits of over-colouring. In 1174 William the Lion held a court in his palace at the town of Lanark, when an arrangement was made and a declaration was issued as to Cän due to the king. At that time the Abbot of Kelso received yearly at Christmas from each house on his Lesmahagow lands one good fat hen, for which he paid a bawbee to the carrier. His tenants brought home their peats with cars, slipes, or sledges, their coals and lime in two-wheeled carts, their hay and corn in four-wheeled waggons, and sent their wool to the distant monastery or shipping port in lighter carriages constructed for the purpose.

At this time Baldwin de Bigar was Sheriff of Lanarkshire, and William, son of Thorold, resident in Kirkintilloch Castle, was Sheriff of Stirlingshire.

The Act of Alexander II., dated at Scone 1212, ordains "that the labouraris of the grund to landwart sall till and manure the yeird in the samyn places and townis in the quhilk they wer the yeir bygane, and sall on na wayis pretermit or neglect to do the

samin; *item*, that feild men quha has mair nor 4 ky, sall, for their awin sustentation, tak landis fra their maisteris and till and saw the samin, and all field men that has less nor 4 ky, they sall with handis and feit delve and saw the yeird als mekil as they may; and gif ony person dwelland under ane Erle dois not as said is, the Erle their maister sall pay to the king ane amendis or unlaw of 8 ky; and gif ony of the king's tennentis neglectis to do the samin, he sall give to the king 8 ky: And gif he be ane kerl or slave, the Lord sall tak of him ane kow and ane scheip as ane unlaw, and sall compel him to do that againis his will quhilk he would not willinglie."

In 1220 Paisley Church was made an Abbacy, and endowed with various lands of considerable extent, some of them being declared in the grants as lands formerly possessed by the monks. Its chartulary tells of its mills, fishings, saltworks, farms, and pertinents. Wheat, barley, oats, pease, and beans were grown, malt was made into ale, butter and cheese were not scarce. The fields were stocked with cattle, sheep, and swine. The proprietors at this time appear to have vied with each other in rearing large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. The wardrobe accounts of Edward I. shew that his garrisons in Scotland in 1299 could be supplied from the country with wheat for his men as well as beans for his horses, the latter costing from 2s. 9d. to 4s. 6d. per quarter, and that he exported from Scotland large quantities of wheat to Cumberland. The compotum constabularii de Cardross mentions all sorts of farm produce in Robert Bruce's time as common, and states the prices paid during that king's reign. The same accounts are continued down to 1435.

The struggles of the nation against the encroachments of Edward I. interfered materially with its agricultural prosperity at the time, but the period was short, only ten years, and nearly thirty years of quiet followed. Edward III. was a fearful scourge. The effect of his invasions in 1333, 1334, 1335, and 1336 were long severely felt. Fordoun and Winton have stated that a grievous famine, in the last of these years, in consequence of the continued ravages of war and the cessation of agricultural labour, desolated the country, and continued for several years, so that many families in distress emigrated to Flanders, and the poorer sort had to seek subsistence and shelter in the woods, there being no houses left for man or cattle. A few years later, the fearful pestilence of the nature of cholera which afflicted other countries at the same time, nearly completed

the ruin of the country. Once more, viz., in 1355-6, Edward came down upon poor Scotland with an army of more than 30,000 men, and "every town, village, or hamlet within the reach of his soldiers, was given to the flames." He had to retreat speedily, lest they should perish of famine. Still more calamities followed, namely, a great flood in 1359, and a return of the pestilence in 1360. Disorder, confusion, disregard of law, and general demoralisation, were the not unnatural results. The principal landlords and their families were fain to seek refuge in England, France, and elsewhere. Even the King had to retire repeatedly, almost as a pauper, to England, because his people could not bear the taxation necessary for the support of his establishment. Highlanders from the isles and west coast flocked down into Clydesdale and other parts of the lowlands, and, in desperation for food, seized upon whatever they could find. Lowlanders, in turn, implored leave to beg in England, which Edward, in commiseration, allowed for a time. By and by the crisis passed; the Highlanders were sent home and punished; and people gradually resumed their usual labours in the farming districts. Before the close of the century agriculture had made its way of new into a moderately respectable condition. Increasing trade with Holland, and political relations with France, gradually introduced a little capital, and raised the value of land. But the English government was jealous of French influence in the island, and began a pernicious system of debauching the Scottish gentry by presents and pensions, employment and promises. In our district the Douglas family were pampered in this way so much as to regard themselves superior to the rest of the nobility, and sometimes to disregard the authority of King and Parliament. They meanly assisted James I. to destroy some of his unoffending relatives in order to seize and appropriate their estates. They suffered in turn from the meaner violence of James II., but they were again borne up by England. The extraordinary number of mounted yeomen which the Douglas Earls paraded in their state journeys, leave little room to doubt that their vassals and free tenants were then prosperous agriculturists.

Once more, however, pestilence and famine stalked over the land, and decimated the population. The dreadful season of 1439, the irruption of starving Highlanders, the cholera, and the famine prices, arrested for a time the labours of the husbandman. The price of oatmeal had risen in 1439-1440 from 2s. to 30s. per boll, wheat

from 3s. to 40s. In 1424, oats, being an abundant crop, brought only 6d. per boll and wheat 2s. In 1478 and 1482 oats sold at 2s. 6d. and 2s.; wheat had risen greatly in proportion. These prices are in Scotch money, which was to English money in 1450 as 1 to 2½, in 1455 as 1 to 3, and in 1500 as 1 to 4. The depressing effects of the calamities in 1439, passed sooner off than those of 1336 and 1360. At the end of the century some proofs of plenty appear in the current prices, for in 1500 oats sold for 1s. per boll, and wheat for 2s. 10d. per boll Scotch money. A sheep brought about 4s., a cow about 20s., and a horse about 60s.

The rivalry of England and France for influence in Scotland tended to demoralise and unsettle the minds of the larger landowners. Their resources from their estates at home were too scanty for enabling them to compete with their equals in rank in other countries. Poverty and strict honesty are ungenial companions. Instead of patiently seeking to increase their rentals by improved cultivation of their own lands, they began to covet the better managed possessions of the church. Under the pretext of removing from the clergy the odium of collecting the teinds, they got themselves appointed lay titulars, and did not always deal fairly by the priests. The advancing tide of reformation in religious doctrine on the continent and in England showed them how they might acquire church lands as well as teinds. Conscientious scruples soon yielded to covetousness, and such of the great landlords as saw a prospect of ultimate success became early and zealous, though, for a time, generally secret reformers. Without the aid of a majority of the tenantry and the servile classes, success in such a struggle was of course impossible. A Baron might hang a dependant for refusing to be a reformer, but if he ventured to do much in that line he must expect assassination; he therefore preferred to convince, and to enforce conviction by promising a share in the plunder. Fully half a century passed before a majority of the peasantry could be persuaded to resolve on a revolution in order to expel the catholic clergy and let the Barons peaceably seize the church lands.

Very important social changes, as well as ecclesiastical, religious, and civil ones, resulted from this reformation. The struggle was long and bitter, and the worst passions of human nature were evolved in the process. Before it commenced, feudal rights were in full vigour; the property and person of a farmer were at the mercy of the landlord; the farm servant could have no property, he was but

a slave who might be sold and bought, or, at all events, he could not leave the farm he had been reared upon. At its close, the meanest farm servant was a free labourer, and many of the class had acquired some capital and begun to cultivate on their own account. The rental value and the selling value of land had fallen very low in the interval. Heavy public expenses had been incurred, and government being without credit, the smaller landowners, sometimes unable to raise money to pay the necessary taxation, had to abandon their property or sell it at a very low figure. A multitude of still smaller owners took their places. English and foreign writers, and a few native ones also, have described in a startling manner the miserable condition of farming in the Scottish Lowlands during the 17th century. The farm houses small, poor, and dirty; the cot houses of only one apartment without a chimney, and having a little hole for a window, unglazed; the farm people living on porridge or brose and kail, with bread and cheese both of bad quality; the men lazy, conceited, ignorant, and unwilling to learn; the possessions small and ill-cultivated; yet the land in the valleys and plains yielding good crops of oats and barley. That this is a true picture, in a general view, there is no reason to doubt. Extreme poverty and high farming cannot co-exist. The people's minds and energies had been directed for a long time to matters which they thought more important than farming, and they were content to live on the brink of starvation.

Still, there are not awanting in charters, leases, and remaining buildings, some evidence of large corn farms with respectable steadings and good farming, here and there, even in the 17th century. The upper classes had taken to reading and study in a moderate way, and many good books on agriculture had by this time been printed in Holland, France, and England, which were accessible to such as had learning enough and money enough. A few of the gentry, and even of the clergy, had been occasionally out of Scotland and seen better farming than at home. In 1685 the law of entail was passed, which had beneficial effects. The act of 1695 allowing owners to get their interrupted or runrig lands separated, and their commonties divided, was also of advantage.

In the first half of the 18th century, the Clydesdale farmers were still poor, and the rents of land had declined. When Lord Belhaven wrote his book called "The Countryman's Rudiments," 1723, rents were paid in corn, not its converted value. He recommended that leases of more than only a few years be entered into, that farms be

no larger than would employ two ploughs, and that the tenants sow turnips and potatoes in their gardens. In 1724 a society for the improvement of agriculture in Scotland was instituted, and enterprising farmers began to cultivate turnips in their fields. The thrashing machine was soon afterwards introduced. About 1750 people strove to have better roads, and obtained from Parliament acts for power to make and maintain them by levying toll. By this time manufactures and trade were advancing rapidly. Banks were lending to respectable landowners and tenants, and the spirit of industry and improvement was springing up. In 1784 the Highland Society started on its useful career, and in 1793 the Board of Agriculture brought into full public view what had been done, and what might be done for the good of the agricultural community, and, through it, of the country at large.

The present century tells its own story. We have only to open our eyes, and compare what we see with what we know has been.

In so far as we can trace the history of the past, the fair inference from it seems to be that the arable lands of Clydesdale were cultivated during the Roman period, and have been continuously cultivated down to the present day; that during what is called the dark period, after the Romans withdrew, these lands were not occupied by wild Irish or weak-handed Welsh, but by the descendants of the previous occupiers, together with such continental northmen as followed the Romans and mixed with the natives; that the farmers had here, as everywhere, alternating periods of prosperity and depression; that intestine quarrels and civil wars have invariably been followed by many years of disorder and wretchedness; and that our present high farming is a natural consequence of increasing population and manufacturing and commercial industry.

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Mr. Crawford, in his interesting sketch of the Trades' House, states, "That the condition of trade and the knowledge of the principles of commerce in Glasgow, in 1651 and 1663 [should be 1662], are with some certainty ascertained. The population was then 14,678, and its commerce and commercial knowledge were evidently very limited." In support of this statement he quotes a complaint by certain merchants against Dutchmen who had sailed into and broken bulk in the Clyde, and also the following report by Mr. Tucker:—"There were traders to Ireland, in 1651, with small smiddy coals, in open boats from four to ten tons, from whence they brought hoops, rungs, barrel staves, meal, oats, and butter: some to France with plaidings, coals, and herrings; from which the return is salt, pepper, raisins, and prunes: some to Norway for timber." That certainly shows a limited commerce; but Mr. Tucker does not say that that was all the commerce of Glasgow in 1651; or if he would have us think so, then it is clear that during the previous thirty years the trade of Glasgow had greatly declined, for it was lately shown in the *Glasgow Herald* that there was one merchant alone who, in two voyages made between Glasgow and Flanders in 1621 and 1622, imported goods on his own account, the prime cost of which considerably exceeded three thousand pounds Scots, not to speak of the large sums of money, of sterling and other denominations, which he invested and paid on behalf of others. Indeed, when it is considered that, besides others, such merchants as Sir Patrick Bell, Colin Campbell of Blythswood, William Anderson of Dovehill, and James Bell, had realised large fortunes before 1640, it becomes a matter beyond dispute that Mr. Tucker's report did not embrace the whole commerce of this city in 1651. A list of the goods which James Bell imported would include valuable dye-stuffs, silk, satin, and velvet in large quantities; ironmongery, hops, powder, tobacco, hemp, &c. How different such a catalogue from Mr.

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[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Gla*

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NO. XXIX.

SKETCHES OF A GLASGOW INCORPORATION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY:

BY

ROBERT MITCHELL, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 9th January*, 1865.]

It is well known that, on 6th February 1605, the Letter of Guildry determined and fixed the privileges and prerogatives of the Merchant and Craft ranks, the latter being then comprehended under fourteen denominations. There existed another incorporation in Glasgow before then, and the fact that no mention is made of it in the Letter of Guildry raises a strong presumption that it had declined some time previous to the date of that important document. M'Ure, referring to this body, says, "There was an Incorporation of Fishers *above* an hundred years ago." His "History" was published for the first time in 1736, and the preparation of it took many years; so that, coupling these considerations, it is pretty evident that before the beginning of the seventeenth century this fifteenth incorporation "was quite away," in name at least; but was it so in reality? Did it not finally resolve into the Merchant rank? There are many circumstances which concur in pointing to such a conclusion. On all hands it is admitted that the river Clyde, its firth and larger tributaries, were famed for the abundance of salmon and herrings which they yielded. These two commodities, even from such a distant time as the reign of James I., formed chief articles of export, not only from Glasgow, but from all parts of Scotland which had access by water, or a short land route to the seaboard. In the first parliament of that monarch, 1424, it is enacted that "salmond should not be slain in forbidden time, under the pain of fourty shillings; and for the third time the slayer to tine his life, or then buy it." Other Acts relating to the customs on salmon and whitefish caught in the Western firths and isles might also be quoted, particu-

larly one in James IV.'s reign, which says, "that ships and bushes, with all their pertinents for fishing, be made in each burgh, in number according to the substance of the burgh, and the least of them to be of twenty tunn, and that all idle men be compelled by the Sheriffs of the counties, and by Bailies in burgh, to pass therein for their wages." It is very unlikely that Glasgow escaped the operation of this Act. All these Acts warrant the deductions that there was a Merchant rank in Glasgow before 1546, and that the origin of that rank is to be looked for in the ancient Incorporation of Fishers.

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Tucker's. The Letter of Guildry itself declares that it is not agreeable to the honour of the calling of Guild Brother to tapp tar, herring, onions, kail, and such like small things.

To advert to the incorporation which it is the principal aim of this paper to treat of—that is the Maltmen and Mealmen—it is said that their charter and records prior to 1605 were lost, and probably that is the case. Mr. Crawford states that this incorporation *arose* out of the Letter of Guildry in that year. Instead of using the term *arose*, it would have been more correct to say that this incorporation was brought into union with the other crafts by the Letter. It had previously held aloof from them, and not taken part in their schemes of benevolence, as a clause towards the end of the Letter proves. James Fisher, maltman, is a subscriber of the Deed of Submission, dated 1604, which led to the Letter of Guildry. He was clerk of the incorporation in 1615, and it is probable was chosen to represent and sign for it simply on account of his being able to write. To evade entering on the question of the precise date when the Maltmen and Mealmen were primarily erected as an associated craft, it will be sufficient to say that it was before 1556. Queen Mary levied a tax on the burghs in that year, and the Town Council of Glasgow named three persons as stenters for the *Incorporation of Maltmen*. From an interesting appendix to the Roll of Members of the Maltmen Incorporation, drawn up last year by Mr. Robert Douie, their clerk, the following note, which occurs in the Burgh Records, under date 5th October, 1574, is extracted. It appears also as a quotation, showing the bounds of the old town, in a graphic and instructive volume edited last year by a gentleman ("Senex") the very first in point of information connected with the city in times bypast, and is curious not merely as evidence that there were freemen of the incorporation at the time, but also as giving the names of all the chief thoroughfares then in Glasgow:—

"It is statut and ordanit yat yir persones underwrytten every ane wt in ye gayts quhair yai duell pass ouklie throt ye samyn, and taist ye ail browin wt in ye boundis limatit to yaim to se gif ye samyn be sufficient according to ye price taxt yairupon, *and quha brewis yat are unfre*, and to report ye samyn ouklie to ye Baillies,

"For ye Rattonraw and Drygate:

"Johne Dalrumpill—John Spreull.

"Frae ye Wyndheid to ye Blackfrers:

"Cuthbert Herbertson—Williame Rowat.

"Frae ye Blackfrers to ye Croce:
"Archibald Mure—Johne Taylor.
"Frae ye Gallogate and Troyngate:
"Johne Woddrop—Johne Bell.
"Frae ye Croce to ye Nether Barrasyett:
"Matthew Wilsoun—James Craig.
"Frae ye Barrasyett to ye Brig and Stockwell:
"Johne Arbuckle—Johne Gilmor."

Nothing could give a better idea of the giant strides which the city has since made. The Nether Barrasyett was the south port at the foot of Saltmarket. Barrasyett seems a corruption of the words "Burgh's gate." It is worthy of remark that the tasters are divided into six pairs, as if, by such an arrangement, the Magistrates had left it to the tasters' own good sense so to adjust their visits to the brewers that there should not be more than two of them going about the town tasting on the same week-day.

An Act which came into operation in 1503 is the earliest known law relating to the craft, but it does not describe the trade as an incorporation. By that Act maltmen are enjoined to "present their malt to the mercat, and sell none till nine hours, under the pain of escheat of the malt, and that they take no more than ane boll of the bear for making the chalder of malt, under the pain of oppression." The penalties inflicted for oppression were very severe. Like the miller and his knaves, or workmen, who received definite portions of the meal, called multures, and knaveship, for grinding the corn, the maltster in James IV.'s reign was paid for his work by a part of the bere given to him to be malted. There was not much circulating coin in the country, and payments were consequently made in kind. About 1567, the trade in some way got into disfavour with the governing powers, for in that year a law was made "that maltmen should have no deacons nor ever be reputed a craft," "and gif ony writing, gift, or priviledge be given ony time befoir, Our Soveraine Lorde, with advice of his Regent, and the three Estaites, decernis the same to be null," &c. The Sovereign Lord, with whom the Regent Murray and the collective wisdom of the land advised, was a puling baby of weak constitution, scarcely twelvemonths born. The maltmen were well aware, therefore, from whom this fulmination against their privileges and rights emanated. One thing this deprivation did, and that was to prove to future generations that they had had deacons before 1567, and an incorporated status to be deprived of.

The Act fell into desuetude, probably with the death of the Regent himself, and although an attempt was made to resuscitate it in 1612, it proved ineffectual. Another more successful effort to blot out the maltmen from the list of the crafts was made by Charles II., in December, 1669; but by the unwearied diligence of the members of this and other crafts, a ratification of the Letter of Guildry was, in little more than two years thereafter, obtained from Parliament, and the maltmen were in that way restored to their ancient privileges, which they retained down till 1846, when exclusive rights of trading in burghs in Scotland were abolished. For thirty years, however, before that occurrence the functions of the visitor with regard to the inspection of the grain, malt, and meal offered for sale, or manufactured within burgh, had not been exercised. People had begun to see that the monopolies of crafts were the reverse of beneficial, and thus the path was opened for useful legislation on the subject.

Amongst many others, the visitor's chief duty was the weekly inspection of the public "mercat." The earliest notice with reference to this portion of his official services to the craft is dated December 11, 1622:—

"The quhilk day the visitor and quarter-masters, with consent of the rest of the vocatioune that were present, statute and ordanit in all tyme cuming that quhasoever of the said vocatioune, whether meilmen or maltmen, being lawfully warnit to accompany the visitor to the bere mercat and meil mercat for visiting of the samyne, and swa that guid ordor may be had and kepit in the saidis mercats for the commonne weal of this burgh, the person disobeyand to pay twentie shillings toties quoties, being lawfully warnit as said is."

This meeting took place in the Alms House; and from at least as early as the date of the Letter of Guildry down through the long vista of 210 years, this extraordinary function was exercised by the visitor and his assistants. On the last occasion of his official round a report of the tour was duly minuted, and the words of the minute convey the impression that the visitor's periodical raid had dwindled into a formal and lifeless ceremony, as distasteful to himself as to those whom, by virtue of his office, he had been obliged to intrude upon.

The first minute which the oldest of the craft's books contains is the following:—

"30th Nov., 1615.

"The qlk day Waltir Douglas, visitour, and his assistaris, being

convenit in the Colledge Kirk—Johne Stewart, Johne Scheirrer, James Hall, William Laing (and ten others all named), or ilk ane of thame decerint in ane unlaw (fine) of threttein schillingis four pennies money, for not compeiring at Halowmes last to pay yr (their) quarteris coumpts (accounts), being lawlie warrint be the officer to that effect, quha gaif his aith thairupon. Requested yrfor (therefore), the Provost and Bailzies of Glasgow to propone thair aur-tie (authority) thairto."

So soon as the fourteen brethren had been dealt with for non-attendance and non-payment of the quarterly sums, the meeting turned its attention to other financial matters, and

"The said day the said Waltir maid compt of Hallowmes quarteris compts, qlk (which) collectioun extendis to xvj lib xiiij sh (£16 14s. 0d.), qlk wes disponit as followes, viz.:—

"To the Craftis Hospital, vij lib x sh (£7 10s. 0d.).

"To James Fischer, clark, xl sh (40s.).

"To Patrik Urie, for support, xl sh (40s.).

"For ane new buik, xl viij sh (48s.).

"To Johne Scheirer, lvi sh (56s.).

"There is na frie money of this quarteris collectioun."

After payment of the five claims the quarter's income of £14 16s. Scots was exhausted. A fac-simile of this short account is shown to the meeting. The Saxon form of penmanship is used in both letters and figures; but, following the Roman method, the letters of the alphabet are employed to denote the various sums. It is not till 1652 that our present Arabic symbols for number appear in the accounts. One of the most interesting features observable in the series of books belonging to the incorporation is the gradual change which has taken place in Scotland during a period of two hundred years in the formation of letters, the orthography, and the modes of expressing thought.

"Ye said day (30th November, 1615) ordanis James gib, Wm. gib, and Wm. Wricht to be wairint to Tysday next, to hear yame decerint in ane new upset for unsufficient malt malting."

According to the Letter of Guildry insufficient malting was the employment in that process of "hot, rotten, or frosting stuff, either mixt among good stuff or be the alone, or good stuff spilt in the making, and beir flourished with good above and the rest worse." Bere would be flourished with the intention of giving it a blooming

appearance. "When the bloom is on the bere," would make a companion song to another one very well known.

"Ye said day ressaivit be the visitour, fra Thomas wynning, of mortclaith, silver xij sh" (12 shillings).

This first minute sets forth nearly the whole sources whence the revenue of the incorporation was derived. It appears to have been necessary to apply to the Provost and Bailies for a warrant against such members as had not been punctual in settling their quarterly payments. No petition or other form of complaint seems to have been presented to the Magistrates, and no sort of intimation given to the defaulters that an authority for the recovery of arrears and fines was to be put in force against them. The whole affair is a curious exemplification of the powers wielded by both visitor and Magistrates in those good old times.

On the Tuesday mentioned in the quotation, and which was the 15th of December, 1615, the case of the unlucky Gibbs was heard. "The qlk day, the visitor and his assistaris being conveint, they decerint James Gib, and Wm. Gibb, his car (cautioner), in ane new upset of twentie merks, for making of unsufficient malt, and ye said James come in ye visitor's will thairfor;" that is threw himself on the visitor's tender mercies, to be allowed a little time to liquidate the fine. Making of inferior malt being a matter of a purely business character, no representation required to be made in this instance to the Magistrates for a warrant to recover the penalty, and the visitor's power of preventing James Gibb pursuing his calling until the mulct was paid was an amply sufficient means to enforce compliance with his orders.

"The qlk day decernis Richart Donaldsoun in ane new upset for resetting and halding with him in partnerie of Malcolme bankier, and suffering the said Malcolme to mak malt in his kill, being ane unfreeman with the tred."

The powers which the council of the craft actually wielded are vividly illustrated by what follows:—

"The qlk day (15th December, 1615), compeirit the said Malcolme Bankeir, and Richart Donaldson caution (became caution) that he sould enter frie with the tred upon the 19 day of Decr. instant, under the paine of twentie pundis, and Malcolme obleist him (self) to relief his car" (cautioner). A fortnight's grace was all the time permitted them to scrape together the cash requisite to make Malcolm a freeman. They managed their point happily, and on

29th Dec., 1615, "compeirit Malcolme Bankeir, burgess of Glasgow, and desyrit to be frie with the tred of maltmen and meillmen, qlk desyr Walter Douglas and his ass-s (assistants) thoght reasonabill, and admittis him freeman with the said tred. Sua gaif (so gave) his aith of fidelitie for obedience to the pnt (present) visitor and his successors in office, and to mak malt weill and skilfullie, under the pane of twentie merks; and for performance of the premiss James lichtbodie is becum cautioun to that effect, and to pay at Whitsunday nex to cum the soume of twentie merkes of entres silver."

"Octavo Octobris, 1616.

"The qlk day Walter Douglas, visitor of Maltmen and his assistaris, being convenit in the Blackfriers Kirk for electing and chusing of foir personnes of thair tred to be ane lyt (leet), with the auld visitour, yr a (therefore all) haif electit and choisin James Lichtbodie, John Crawford, Rot. Douglas, and Rot. Maxwell, and ordanit them to be presentit agt the tyme be William Neilson younger, and James moodie, to the effect the provest, pailzies, and counsell may mak choise of ane of the five to be visitour for ane yeir nex to cum."

None of the other thirteen crafts presented leets to the Magistracy and Council to choose their Deacons from, and this peculiarity is explained thus: The Letter of Guildry consists of three grand divisions, having each their subdivisions. The first treats of the Dean of Guild and the merchant rank, the second of the Deacon-Convener and the crafts, and the third of the visitor of Maltmen and those of his craft. These three generals of division were appointed to their separate commands, so to speak, in this way:—The Dean bearing office, and twenty-four other merchants selected by him, nominated two of their own rank and himself to be a leet. The Deacon-Convener was elected in this form:—All the deacons of the crafts and their assistants chose two craftsmen and the Deacon-Convener. In the case of these two officials the leets were submitted to the Provost, Bailies, Council, and Deacons, who fixed upon one person in each leet for the respective offices. The election of the visitor was accomplished by the whole maltmen and mealmen giving in the names of four men belonging to the rank and the old visitor. So made up, the leet was presented to the Provost, Bailies, and Council only—not to the deacons of the other crafts, who had no voice in the choosing of a visitor. In short, the jurisdiction of the visitor in matters connected with his own craft was co-extensive with the Deacon-Convener's in things which concerned the other thirteen

incorporations. He took higher ground than a deacon simply. It is scarcely necessary to say that by the Letter the Dean of Guild is invested with authority much more ample than is bestowed on either Deacon-Convener or visitor. In many other burghs of Scotland, the Deans of Guild and Guild Brethren, not having wealth and power over valuable heritage, are not so much thought of as they are in Glasgow. As an illustration of this, an anecdote, current years ago in an ancient Royal Burgh, is worth telling:—Tam Weir was a publican there, and he stood all the day long at his open door, when not at his meals or engaged with his customers. When a Guild Court was held he noticed the Clerk, and generally several members, going past. He well knew that they invariably adjourned after the meeting to another house in his own line for a gill or two, and small beer. Tam was a little cynical, perhaps at their overlooking the merits of his stock, and, withal, had a vein of humour. On their repassing his shop, he would exclaim in his broad accent, loud enough to be heard across the narrow street, "Ou aye, ou aye, they gaed up *gulled* breethrin, and noo they're comin' doon *gilled* breethrin!" Notwithstanding Tam's sneer he became a brother at the near hand through marriage, and his family reaped the full benefit of the institution after their father's death.

Previous to 1605 the Maltmen and Mealmen had not associated themselves with the other crafts, as contributors to their Hospital and decayed brethren. The Letter of Guildry declared, however, that if they thought proper they might become assistants in the benevolent designs of the other trades, and they accordingly did.

19th October, 1616.

"The qlk day, the visitour and hail remanent psons (persons) of that tred being conveint for electing of his assistaris, the visitor electit and choisit" nine craftsmen who are named, "and thir personnes following were electit be pluraltie of votes." The names of ten persons are then given. Such was the routine in the appointment of the assistants, or as they are in other places called, quarter-masters or concurrers.

The Crafts' Hospital or Almshouse was situated at the back of Saint Nicholas' Hospital, which fronted Kirk Street. It had been the parsonage house of the rector of Morebattle, and may have formed part of the lands and clerical livings which Queen Mary granted to the town. At all events, "the *annuals* of the back almshouse pertaining to the town, behind the Bishop's Hospital," were equally

divided betwixt the Merchants' and Crafts' Hospital (Letter of Guildry). The Gaswork now occupies the sites of the Crafts' and St. Nicholas' Hospitals, and of the old College also.

Surplus money belonging to the Maltmen Craft was generally invested in bonds, which, when executed, were not immediately recorded, as is now-a-days done, but were put past in the box until paid, or called up on account of the interest or annual rent being in arrear. When a new visitor had been fairly installed in office, the box was taken to his house, and an inventory made of any article of value which it contained. "October, 1618.—Wm. Neilson, ye Visitor, hes ressaivit in the box ane band, maid be Walter Douglas to the tred, of ij c/ merkes" (200). "Johne Crawfurd and James fischer, ilk ane of thaime, hes ressavit ane key of the box." Every annual election two members were entrusted each with a key of the chest containing the muniments, and these parties were called box-masters or key-keepers. The office was an onerous one, for as money could not be deposited in bank, for the simple reason that there were no banks in the country, it had to be stored till an opportunity occurred of investing it at interest. "On 18th November 1618 yr is put in the box ane hundredth merks qlk is reassavit frae David Gray." Of the same date the Visitor was ordained "to pay to James Leishman for lowsing of his belleis ten merks." James could not have pledged them—no pawnbroking business had been started in Scotland. It is very likely that his gear had been poinded, and that it was absolutely necessary for his subsistence that his bellows should no longer cease to blow.

When Andrew Thomson was entered a freeman of the craft, on 7th March, 1619, the following conditions were added to his obligation of obedience:—"That he should pay qrterlie to the Visitor and his successoiaris to the behuif of the puir, 8 pennies for everie making of malt he sall mak, everie qrtr ane farthing of making of malt, that he sall pay quarterlie two schillingis, and gif he cummis not to the quartie compts he sal pay ane unlaw of 13sh. 8d. . . . . and the saidis personis hes gevin command to me James fischer, notr. (notary), yr Clerk, to subscrive the said act because they cannot write." The usual notarial Latin docquet is affixed, and the minute is signed by the notary, twisting the letters of his name into a splendid flourish, nearly illegible, as testimony of his dexterity in handling the quill. None of the previous acts or minutes are signed.

"12th May, 1619.

"It was in the 'Almous-hous' that this Meeting took place, when the Visitor and the others 'having considered the state of the mortclaith and binding of the same, They, in ane voice, discharge the said Johne Drew to lend the said mortclaith out of the said box except he hes sufficient caution for redeliverie within 24 horis eftir ye ressait, and payment of 13s. 4d. befoir ye resaitt; said 13s. 4d. to be payit be the reasavor within the box, and placed against John Drew, Officer, and uthers qtsumever his successors as officers.'"

The indignation of the meeting at the treatment which the mortcloth had sustained at the hands of some persons who had had a loan of it, although not connected with the trade, thus occasioned a sum being fixed for its temporary use in future, and gave rise to a very considerable source of income. At first the mortcloth had been got for the obsequies of members and their families only, and the money paid by entrants towards it was solely to keep it in repair, and provide funds for a new one, when that became requisite. In course of time the craft came to be possessed of a dozen mortcloths.

There was then, and, though to less extent, there still is an anxious desire manifested by the people in the Lowlands of Scotland to obtain decent burial. With the female sex, especially in rural districts, this was the case, so much so that it was no uncommon incident to find some elderly person who had laid carefully past fine linen spun by herself, for the express purpose of forming her own cerements. To have a rich mortcloth was also considered decorous. However, so expensive an article could only be got in loan or for hire, and to meet this want, incorporations and other associated individuals kept mortcloths. Several societies still have them. Besides a costly pall, other outward signs of respect for the deceased were eagerly sought, a large attendance at the funeral being the most coveted.

"1619, August 17.—The quhilk day, William Neilsonne, younger, Visitour of Maltmen and Meilmen in Glasgow, his assistaris and haill brethrein of the tred of Maltmen and Meilmen being conveint in the Crafts' Hospitall, and having considerationne of ane Act maid be tyme theire before in the month of August, 1605, anent their being at burialls of their Brethrein, their wyves, and bairnis, being wairent be the officer to that effect—and the unlaw made against absents therfra: The said Visitour and assystaris and hail persones, Maltmen and Meilmen, statutis, decernis, and ordanis that everie

persone of ther tred that cumis not to the buriall of ane of the brethrein, his wyfe, or bairn, being lawfullie wairnet be the officer to that effect, not having ane lawfull excuse, sall pay to the Visitour, to the weill of the tred, four shillings money, toties quoties."

"Octavo, Januarii, 1623.—Item: It is ordanit that the mortclaithes sall be lent at na tyme heirefter, but for bursing of the deid within the body of the vocatioune, viz., the guidman of the famelie, his wyffe, or childrene."

As has been mentioned, this rule was not long in operation. In the years 1674 to 1676 inclusive, the large sums of £158, 5s. 8d., £218 16s., and £195 15s. (Scots) respectively, were drawn for the hire of the mortcloths. The mortality in Glasgow in these years must have been above the average. Only £82 was received in 1665, and £26 9s. in 1652. Frequently other requisites for interment, besides the mortcloths, were furnished by the craft to necessitous families; and on 6th November, 1662, the collector or compter takes credit for £1 16s. "for ye use of umqle Wm. Gibs wyfe," and £4 5s. 4d. "for a kest and winning sheit to her." Two entries to the same effect, and relating to James Gibb, occur in an account dated 13th October, 1674:—

"7 November, 1654.

"Item: Debursit to Fraiderik hamiltoune to bring hame, out of Hollune, als meikle velvous as to be ane mortclaithe, 0036 16 0"

That was a considerable sum for velvet only, and when the following notes are taken into consideration, it will be seen what costly funeral trappings were purchased by the Maltmen:—

9th November, 1666.

"Item: Debursit for two pund and nyne unce of silk to mak the fraingzie (fringes) for ye best mortclaithe, . . 0046 04 0

"To Margrat Graye, for working the fraingzie, 0010 01 0

"To Ard. Miller, for shewing (sewing) on the fraingzie, &c., ... 01 13 04"

A mortcloth of a good sort thus cost within a little of £100 (Scots, of course). Under the date 2nd October, 1651, and other dates, sums are charged for "wallets" or bags, in which the mortcloths were conveyed to and from funerals.

Either with a view of having their palls brought into demand, or to show the respect in which the deceased had been held by the community generally, a deputation was almost invariably sent to represent the Incorporation at the funeral of persons of note or influ-

ence, belonging to the city and surrounding counties, and there are many items in the accounts referring to these attendances. A very few extracts must suffice for this head, however:—

"9th November, 1665.

"Item: Debursit at Blackhall's buriall for horss hyre and for ane man to keep them, ... 9 0 0"

The like terms are employed with reference to Barrochan's, in the same year, and Lord Loudon's in 1664.

"Item: Debursit for twa hors hyres to Walkinshaw his ladie's buriall, ... 001 16 0

In 1675, Garscadden also was carried to his last resting-place, when the hire of five horses, and "mending of the mortclaith, that was wronged at the same tyme," cost £5 3s.; and in 1692 a deputation of two horsemen was at "the Laird of fullar's" burial; of one at tha of John Boyd, perhaps a relation of "the old Earle of Kilmarnock's;" of two at "the young Earle's;" and of five "at the Ladie Pollock's." The Steuarts of Blackhall, the Loudon, and Boyd families, occupy conspicuous niches in their country's annals, and the rest mentioned were members of the rank which includes many of Scotland's oldest and most prosperous houses. The end of the mortcloth business was the sale of the mortcloth to the Tailors, Weavers, and Wrights, in 1782, for £84.

In the account containing the item as to Blackhall's funeral, and immediately after it, there is the following curious note:—

"Item: Debursit for ye saiddell yt (that) the calling proclaimed to be rune for mair nor was gotten by collectioune, . 5 15 0"

On reading that quotation the questions at once presented themselves, had the calling announced by the bellman, that on the return of the mourners from Blackhall's interment the horsemen attending it would engage in a broose (or race), the prize to be a saddle, and that the difference between what was subscribed by the competitors and the cost of the saddle would be made up by the Incorporation? Though now-a-days such strange conduct as advertising, and thereafter joining in a ludicrous helter skelter race immediately after so solemn an act as consigning the remains of a fellow-creature to the tomb would be looked upon as a most untimely levity, yet about the middle of the seventeenth century such things occurred at burials as well as weddings, and our wonder lessens when it is remembered that at the funeral of a person of Blackhall's wealth very large quantities of intoxicating liquors were freely distributed and consumed. Horse

racing on a few occasions had been a pastime of the King and Court in the reigns of the later Jameses, but had not become a public institution until long after 1665.

Conviviality was a distinguishing feature of the Maltmen and Mealmen in their corporate capacity, which only manifested itself, however—and to their honour be it told—subsequent to the middle of the seventeenth century, when their funds were sufficiently increased to afford a refreshment to those transacting business for the good of the craft. An account charge and discharge, exhibiting the full particulars of Collector John Findlay's intromissions "with ye calling's guids since ye tyme of his admissioune" till 23rd October, 1652, has no item for any expense of an unnecessary character, and the earliest met with bears date "Quarto Novembris, 1661," and seems to have been caused by a sort of reunion betwixt the heads of the various incorporations:—

"Item: Spent with *the* Deacon and the rest of the deacones, ... 7 8 0"

"To the Wricht's man, for drink, ... 0 6 0"

is another entry in the same account.

Eventually every one of the collectors' statements contains one or more items of expenditure in change-houses. The collection of the annual rents, the yearly inspection of the mortcloths, meetings of different kinds, and with various sorts of persons—all these, and even the uplifting of a widow's house rent, trifling in amount, afforded opportunity for spending something on liquor.

"Item: Spent in Walter Wilsoune's with Wm. Braidie, Advocat, ... 1 10 0

"Item: Debursit at the meeting wt. the dean of gild for rectifeing of the mylne measoures (mill measures), 5 17 4

"Item: Mair spent in umquill Walter Neilsone's hous, 2 12 0

"Item: To Johne Park, for drink money at Balgray, 0 6 0"

These repeated dram drinkings on all occasions of business was a habit of the age, pervading all classes. Social, and to some extent moral, debasement were not, therefore, its concomitants, as would now be the case with the individual addicted to such courses. Where all, or nearly all were alike, no one in particular could be censured.

"1691. May 15.—The same day it was ordained and appointed that the act anent the Maltmen's servants drinking, washing of heads, and committing other debosheries, of the date the fourth of

february, 1673, be furthwith, and in all tyme heirefter, observed, and put to condign execution; and of new, heirefter discharges all prentises and servants frae that evill custome of washing of heads in all tyme comming."

Apprentices and servants had their seasons of carousal as well as masters, but seem to have exceeded the bounds of propriety. The debauchery at head washings was the result of ceremonies which had once had a serious significance, having lost their original meaning, and become mixed with the general habits of the time. At the manumission of a serf or bondsman, certain acts were solemnly performed before witnesses, indicative of the freedom conferred, and also calculated to impress themselves on the minds of those present. Acts of this sort were necessary in times and places when the drawing up of a writing recording the fact was a matter of impossibility. In fine, they were symbolical of the completion of some grant, privilege, or bargain. Almost every trade had some ceremony connected with the termination of an indenture, up till within a very recent period. Of whatever rough or harmless capers they consisted, all were the degenerate offspring of very ancient rites.

It became a custom about 1652, when any one was made a freeman of the Incorporation, to exact, besides his entry-money, several shillings for a dinner. This practice gave rise to many incongruous things being conjoined in one item of an account. "Receavit fra Johne Smith for his entrie and mortclaith;" "fra Johne Baxter for his entrie dinner and mortclaithe." Seasons of rejoicing and sorrow are thus strangely brought into juxtaposition and contrast.

Besides the considerable sums, as compared with income, bestowed on the Crafts' Hospital, many other charitable donations were given by the Incorporation of Maltmen.

"Item: To Patrik Bryce, partlie to buy ane hors to James Buie, and partlie for expenses anent pek and boll, . . 042 09 00"

"Item: To Patrik Bryce, for his charges and hors hyre to Edr and hamiltoune, and the obtaining ane advocatioune anent pek to the boll, ... 54 4 8"

In May, 1675, the Visitor, with Ard Gray and Peter Corbet, were ordained to make address to the Town Council of Glasgow anent the ladles, or market dues.

A few more items of a miscellaneous kind, such as are plentifully scattered through the book, may be worthy of passing note:—"Item: To James Gray, in Irland, burges of Glasgow." "To Johne Risk's

wyfe, to helpe her to Irland to her husband." "Item: Debursit for the calling's pairt of ye scoole maisteris dews the haill four compts (or quarters), £11 2s. 8d." "To umqle Wm. Patersounes bairnes, to hold ym to ye scoole, £1 4s."

The craft paid to the Deacon's collector annually a sum towards the schoolmaster's salary, and also assisted in meeting the expenses of educating many poor children, the sons of craftsmen. No instance of a sum having been paid for the schooling of a girl was observed, although that was carefully sought for.

"7 May, 1655. The samen day ordanis the Collector to pay to Wm. Patersone for his supplie, to help to buy ane pair of cart wheills. . . . . To umqle Wm. Wallaces youngest sone, to help to buy clothis—four pundis, to bestowed at the sight of Thomas Campbell."

"Vigesimo decembris, 1666.

"The said day Rot. Jarvae, sone lawll. to Johne Jarvae, in scheilles, within the parochine of Larbert, is Booked prenteis to Charles Vaughe, for ye space of five yeires, and twa yeires for meit, and fiet fra martimes last, conforme to indentour, datit the 12th of October last, who hes payit the Collector ten pundis." Such were the terms on which apprentices became bound with a master maltman. Sometimes the indentures were for seven years' service. The two first years the boy got only his food as wages.

Often the funds of the Corporation were laid under contribution, for the purpose of clothing not only the officer with his annual suit, but poor persons who stood in need of apparel.

"Item: Debursit for cloath to be ane stand of cloathes to Thomas Miller, viz., ane clock, stand of cloathes, sark, Wyllie coat, and ane paire of shooes, ... 20 4 4"

Thomas got a good covering against the wintry winds of November, 1666.

"Mair to ane puir man, ... 0 12 0"

In 1652 entries occur in the book relative to that portion of the lands of Gorbals which two years before had been divided between twelve of the incorporated trades, including the Maltmen and Mealmen, for the use of the Hospital, as stated in Mr. Crawford's history.

"Item: Debursit to the deckine conveiners colector for a rent (annual rent); ye soume is awin for ye pairt of ye lands of Gorballs be ane compt, ... 40 0 0"

The lands of Gorbals have, through the increasing value of build-

ing ground in Glasgow, turned out a splendid investment—an heritage necessitous thousands have drawn relief from, and out of which thousands yet unborn will derive support.

Negotiations for the purchase of the lands of Balgray had been going on for some time previous to November, 1674, betwixt the Incorporation of Maltmen and the proprietor of that estate. On the 26th of that month the Visitor and other seven members "went to the grounds of said lands, and about the same, and visited, and sighted the houss, and biggings yron, the infield and outfield lands, moss, and other pertinents yrof; who reported they thought fitt and convenient the same shd be bought for the use of the calling and poor yrof;" and on 10th December following that property was purchased for 9800 merks. In May of 1675 the Visitor, besides his multifarious duties connected with the trade, had another of an agricultural nature cast on his shoulders, as he, with the assistance of four craftsmen was "ordained to sight and value the fuilzie (manure) belonging to James Steill upon the lands of Balgray, and to oversie the macking of the bearland yrof." Surely *after the 6th of May* was a late time to see to the preparation of the fields on which bere was to be sown.

Considerable sums of money were spent on the repairs of outhouses, and putting a lime quarry, which appears to have been wrought on Balgray estate, in a safe condition.

"Item: To Wm. Sommervell, for serking the Lyme Craig,	3	0	0
"To Thomas Barr, for boarding for the Lyme craig,	5	0	0
"To John Miller, for nynetein tries at Broomielaw,	78	6	0"
"Item: To John Walker, for six dozen of kaibers,	14	8	0"
"Item: For carieing the kaibers to Balgray, . .	2	11	0"

Of course it is well known that cabirs were long undressed poles, used to support thatch. The word is so nearly obsolete that it is seldom heard unless in the expression "tossing the cabir." Burns employs it in his wonderful "Beggars Opera" very graphically:—

> "He ended, and the kaibers shook
> Aboon the chorus roar,
> While frichtit rattens backwards look,
> And seek the benmost bore."

There are several more charges in the same account for wattels, for strae, and theiking; for the wages of thatchers and the men serving them; and "for leid to batt in the barne door cruiks," or hooks on which the hinges were hung. After being in their posses-

sion for more than fifty years, the lands of Balgray were sold by the Maltmen, for 18,600 merks, to John Orr of Barrowfield.

These notes were culled from a portion only of the earliest manuscript volume belonging to the Maltmen Incorporation. They have five or six large minute books containing their transactions in regular rotation down to the present date. An idea may be formed from that statement of the great quantity of material which might be extracted from the books, and turned to account in a series of papers. Moreover most of the other incorporations—the Merchants' House, the Trades' House, and Hutchesons' Hospital—possess valuable records, and if extracts judiciously selected from them were published, they would shed much light on the doings of the citizens in long bygone years. Many a quaint custom would emerge, or receive a new illustration; many useful facts be learned, and the story of many a good deed be told for our edification and delight.

NO. XXX.

EARLY SCOTTISH BALLADS:

BY

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[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 8th January*, 1866.]

An inquiry into the early ballad literature of our country cannot fail to carry along with it a certain amount of interest to all. To the poet it is a laying bare the first efforts and productions of his favourite art; to the archæologist and to the historian it affords an insight into early manners and customs, illustrating facts otherwise obscure in the roll of bygone ages, and to the general student it affords a view of the theory and structure of language, and provides means for illustrating and comparing the various epochs in a state, showing its gradual advances towards civilization.

In the earliest ages of a nation's history we find poetry occupying a prominent position; its laws and its religion are enunciated, and what history it has is frequently set forth in the form of verse; in the want of the pen and the press, legal dicta and the doctrines of religion (however brief and curt these may be) when assuming this shape, are more readily marked in the minds and preserved in the memories of men; and a nation's history, the records of its wars, its victories and its defeats, its legends, embodying its tales of superstition or love, can alone be handed down, in the absence of written annals, through the assistance of numbers and cadence. As the tide of civilization advances, incidents occur which are deemed worthy of record, and a desire is expressed to hand down the tale from one generation to another; a metrical composition is found best suited for the mnemonic effort, hence arises ballad poetry. In every country where any degree of civilization has taken place we find this to be the case, and through the ingenuity and labours of those interested in the work, we have now collections of the ballad literature of almost every European nation. Of our own ballad literature, valuable col-

lections have been made through the exertions of Ramsay, Percy, Evans, Herd, Pinkerton, Ritson, Laing, Scott, Jamieson, Hogg, Sharp, Maidment, Buchan, Kinloch, Motherwell, Cunningham, Child, Aytoun, and others. It is in regard to a very small portion of the labours of these English and Scotch collectors that I draw your attention this evening, and as the subject is exceedingly comprehensive, and the time allowed me very brief, I trust you will excuse me, if, after I have concluded my remarks, you shall rise with a feeling of dissatisfaction, under the impression that my labours seem to partake too much of a *sketchy* attribute.

Keeping in mind, then, the chief object of ballad literature, viz.: the handing down of story from one generation to another through oral tradition, in ages and circumstances when the press or pen is not available for such purposes, it will readily be perceived that it must possess some striking characteristics distinguishing it from other classes of composition. The main object is to assist oral tradition: this is attained greatly by the aid of versification and the flow of numbers. All must have experienced the truth of this, and know that it is much easier to retain in the mind a metrical than a prosaic composition. After reading Mr. Campbell of Islay's "Tales of the West Highlands," which are traditional, and some of which are very ancient, I thought it a peculiar feature in such tales to be handed down orally without the assistance of verse, —they are presented in a prosaic form. I drew his attention to this, and stated my doubts of their antiquity, as they could not long be handed down without cadence of some kind, when he informed me that "numerous passages occur, which," to use his own expression, "are a kind of bewitched prose." He further informed me that he has no MSS., and that they are all handed down orally. As a farther assistance to the reciter, the repetition of the same words or terms is of frequent occurrence. Homer, who has been called the "Father of Ballad Poetry," affords innumerable instances;—Atrides is "the king of men," or the "far ruler;" Achilles, "the divine," or "swift footed;" Apollo, "the far shooter," or "bearer of the silver bow;" the Greeks, "the well-greaved," so the "horse-taming Trojans," &c.; and as instances of wider expression when "men" are spoken of, they are generally termed "mortal men;" ships are called "hollow ships," "black ships," or "swift ships." The use of these terms assists the memory; and on the same principle we find that on delivering a message the same words are used by the messenger as

those given to him. I take Homer again, his poem or collection affording good examples of the characteristics of ballad poetry. In the beginning of the Second Book of the Iliad we find an instance of a messenger using the same words to the person to whom he was sent as those given to him. Jove, the only one of the gods awake after a banquet, reflecting how he can assist Achilles, thinks he can do so by causing Agamemnon to dream that he would take "the wide-pathed city of Troy from the long-haired Greeks, the gods assisting him." Jupiter calls the god of sleep or dreams to fulfil his wish, and this messenger repeats to Agamemnon, in a dream, the exact words used by the king of the gods. Agamemnon in turn relates to his council the event, repeating the very words of the divine messenger. Juno, in the same book, sends Minerva as a messenger to Ulysses, who uses the same words in delivering the message as those given to her. So in Scotch ballad poetry do we find a repetition of particular epithets to certain objects; "blood-red wine;" "the white monie;" "the gude red gowd." When a horse is referred to it is "a milk-white steed" in one set of ballads, or "the black," or "the grey," in another. A page is "a bonnie boy." Letters are generally "braid." A girl's hair is almost always "yellow hair," her cheek "a cherry cheek," and so on. The repetition of numbers is peculiarly noticeable in our ballads. So distances, "a mile, a mile," or "a league, a league;" but "barely three," is of constant occurrence. In "Tamlane," a maiden—

> "Had na pu'd a red, red rose,
> A rose but barely three."

If one laughs, he gives "loud laughters three." In the "Mother's Malison," the number of chambers in a house are described as—

> "Nae ane, but barely three."

Fair Janet "dances through the dance but thrice." Dick o' the Cow hamstrings a certain number of horses, "but barely three." In listening to a preacher he marks "ne'er a word but three." This number three, is a peculiarly favourite one in our ballads, to such an extent that it sometimes appears a little absurd; a mother, or a frail damsel, has occasionally the liberal allowance of "babies three," and, as an expression of intense misery, a hero or heroine, instead of using the expression we daily hear, "my heart will break in two," says it will break "in three," as in "Hynde Etin," or that the same tripartite division will happen to the back of the unfortunate individual, as in "Fair Janet." But again, in the same ballad, a re-

petition of the same number is of constant occurrence. In "Johnie Armstrong," a ballad affording instances of repetition of verse after verse, the hero offers as a ransom first, "twenty-four milk-white steeds," then "twenty-four mills," then "twenty-four sisters' sons," to fight for the king. This is also a favourite number to denote a gathering of knights or fair ladies. In the beautiful ballad of "Kinmont Willie," we have a good example of the repetition of the same number in the two verses describing the disposition of the men who went to relieve "Kinmont Willie," viz.:—

> "There were five and five before them a',
> Wi' hunting horn's and bugles bright,
> And five and five, cam' wi' Buccleugh,
> Like wardensmen arranged for fight."

> "And five and five, like a mason's gang,
> That carried the ladders lang and hie;
> And five and five like broken men,
> And so they reached the Woodhouselee."

This repetition goes far to assist the reciter in retaining a collection of compositions in his memory, and in course of time we find it gradually extending; certain expressions became common property, and in particular circumstances are always used. I believe that one of the main objects of the composer of early ballad poetry is to narrate events in such words that they will be readily handed down to posterity, and I consider that the reiteration well effects his purpose. Sir Walter Scott appears to me not to have seen the object of the "maker" in this repetition, when he tells us that it arises from the *indolence* of ballad-mongers, who avail themselves of every opportunity "of prolonging their pieces, ... without the labour of actual composition," and I do not entirely agree with him in the theory which he holds in another part of his well-known essay upon "Popular Poetry," viz., that this reiteration was for the benefit of the audience, "to enable their comprehension to keep up with the voice of the singer or reciter, and supply the gaps which in general must have taken place, either through a failure in attention in the hearers, or of voice and distinct enunciation on the part of the minstrel." The "repetition" I hold was mainly to assist the memory of the reciter. But let me give some more instances of expressions and of phraseology common to numerous ballads. If one is greatly grieved, "the tear," sometimes "the saut tear blinds his e'e." One is accused of prevaricating thus plainly:—

> "Ye lie, ye lie, ye liar loud,
> Fu' loud (or sae loud) I hear ye lie."

If one is about to address another, the words are prefaced by "up and spak." Wishing the death of any one is expressed by—

"An ill death mote ye die."

A lover coming to the door of his mistress "tirls at the pin," &c. By and by whole verses containing almost the same, and in some cases the very same words, are frequently brought to our notice. A certain class of tragic ballads invariably end with the lover and his mistress being buried together, thus—

"Lord William was buried in St. Marie's Kirk,
Lady Margaret in Marie's quire;
And out o' the lady's grave grew a bonnie red rose,
And out o' the knight's a brier.

And they twa met, and they twa plat,
And fain they wad be near;
And a' the world might ken right weel
They were twa lovers dear."

These verses exist with little or no variation in very many of the ballads, and must be familiar to you all, as occurring in the somewhat hackneyed ballad of "Lord Lovel." Sir Walter Scott traces the origin of them to an old metrical romance. All this tends to an apparent looseness of composition, which is apt to create in the mind of the reader of ballad poetry a feeling of baldness or poverty of expression, and it gives rise to an appearance of sameness throughout many of them, which may lead one, without due reflection, to suppose that they are the production of one mind.

As another peculiarity of ballad poetry, I may name an apparent incongruity in the language used. In ballad poetry (I speak of old ballads), you will frequently observe interpolations in the shape, mayhap, of expressions used, or only epithets, or words, which bear no relation whatsoever to the era of the story—there is, in fact, a *pot pourri* of epithets and language. You will frequently meet with words and terms which are obsolete, and the meaning of which it is difficult, even for those who have studied the subject, to understand. This is accounted for by the change in the language; reciter after reciter adds new words and new epithets to keep pace with the time, and the more accurate he wishes to be, the more desirous will he be, to adopt the language of the day in which, and of the people amongst whom, he lives. Sometimes they go further than this; they alter the story to suit the prejudices of their hearers, and this change will be the greater, the greater the difference of ideas and feelings existing

amongst the audience. In different copies of the same ballad we find the scene, and the names of the heroes or heroines, completely changed. Jamieson gives us a beautiful version of "Sweet Willie and Fair Annie," which he procured from the recitation of Mrs. Arrot of Aberbrothic, and the "Sweet Willie" given is no less a personage than some old Earl of Kinnoul.

"The heir o' Duplin toun,"

and in the Scotch version, of "The Jew's Daughter," as given by Percy, "Merry Lincolne" is changed into "Mirry-land toune." In some of our old Ballads we find grave historical or genealogical errors. "In Auld Maitland," a very fine old Border Ballad, we have reference made to an Earl of Hamilton at a period of history anterior to the creation of the title, and this is not the only error of the kind in that ballad. As a glaring instance of a historical ballad being changed to suit the audience, look at "Chevy Chase" and "The Battle of Otterburne," they represent seemingly the same occurrence, but they cannot be both historically correct. These ballads respectively narrate the English and the Scotch versions of a raid by James Earl of Douglas in 1388, into England, when he fought in personal combat with Lord Percy (Hotspur). The Scots claim a great victory, the English slur it over, and in their ballad state that Sir Hugh Montgomery was taken prisoner; the Scotch version, on the other hand, relates that Sir Hugh made Hotspur his prisoner. In referring to this *interpolation* in ballad poetry, which must have been noticed by every reader of this species of literature, for there are few, if any, collections extant without this apparent incongruity of language, Bishop Percy, who has done so much for ancient ballad poetry in the publication of his "Reliques," has been most severely, and I think to a great extent, unjustly dealt with by Ritson—Percy himself acknowledges that he, or others made, what they considered to be *emendations* on some of the old ballads, and that whole verses have been interpolated where he found blanks. Ritson himself, in his turn, is blamed by Sir Walter Scott, who holds that his extreme fidelity, when he takes his ballads from oral tradition, "seems driven to excess when we find him pertinaciously retaining all the numerous and gross errors which repeated recitations have introduced into the tale, and regarded it as a sacred duty to prefer the worst to the better readings, as if this inferiority was a security for their being genuine."

With these brief introductory remarks let me direct your attention to Mr. Chambers's Essay, on "The Romantic Scottish Ballads—their epoch and authorship," and here let me say that Mr. Chambers's opinion upon the subject of ballad poetry is worthy of consideration; and we must also give him credit as being one of the promoters of that cheap literature which has been of such benefit, especially to the working classes, but I cannot subscribe to assertions made by him, however boldly these may be advanced, unless they are borne out by a direct reference to facts. His paper has been ably met by the reply, published shortly after its appearance, by Mr. Clyne, of Aberdeen, to whom I am indebted for information upon this interesting subject, and here I also think it right to state that I lie under great advantages to friends for the use accorded me of rare publications and valuable MSS. I do not claim the merit of laying much, if anything, that is original before you, I only assume the position of a collector or compiler from the works of others. But let me return to Chambers's pamphlet—he commences his paper by stating his doubts of the antiquity of the Romantic Scottish Ballads, and gives some extracts from "Hardyknute," by most admittted to be a modern production, and then refers to "Sir Patrick Spence." It will be necessary that I here give the last-named ballad; it is the version given by Chambers, which is a collation of Percy's and Sir Walter Scott's:—

"The King sits in Dunfermline town,
Drinking the blude-red wine,
'O whar will I get a gude sailòr,
To sail this ship of mine?'

Up and spak an eldern knight,
Sat at the King's right knee,
'Sir Patrick Spence is the best sailòr,
That sails upon the sea.'

The King has written a braid letter,
And signed it with his hand,
And sent it to Sir Patrick Spence,
Was walking on the sand.

('To Noroway, to Noroway,
To Noroway o'er the faem;
The King's daughter of Noroway,
'Tis thou maun bring her hame.')

The first line that Sir Patrick read,
A loud lauch lauched he;
The next line that Sir Patrick read,
The tear blinded his e'e.

'O, wha is this has done this deed,
This ill deed done to me;
To send me out this time o' the year
To sail upon the sea?

('Be it wind, be it weet, be it hail, be it sleet,
Our ship must sail the faem;
The king's daughter of Noroway—
'Tis we must fetch her hame.'

They hoysed their sails on Monenday morn,
Wi' a' the speed they may;
They hae landed in Noroway,
Upon a Wodensday.

They had na been a week, a week,
In Noroway, but twae,
When that the lords of Noroway
Began aloud to say:—

'Ye Scottish men spend a' our king's gowd,
An' a' our queene's fee'--
'Ye lie, ye lie, ye liars loud,
Fu' loud I hear ye lie!

'For I hae broucht as much white monie
As gane my men and me;
And I broucht a half fou o' gude red gowd,
Out ower the sea wi' me.')

'Mak' haste, mak' haste, my merry men a',
Our gude ship sails the morn;'
'O say na sae, my master dear,
For I fear a deadly storm.'

'Late, late yestreen I saw the new moon,
Wi' the auld moon in her arm,
And I fear, I fear, my master dear,
That we will come to harm.'

(They had na sailed a league, a league,
A league but barely three,
When the lift grew dark, and the wind blew loud,
And gurly grew the sea.

The anker's brak, and the topmasts lap,
It was sic a deadly storm;
And the waves cam' o'er the broken ship,
Till a' her sides were torn.)

O, our Scots nobles were richt laith
To weet their cork-heeled shoon;
But lang ere a' the play was played
Their hats they swam aboon.

(And mony was the feather bed
That flattered on the faem,

And mony was the gude lord's son
  That never mair cam' hame.

The ladies wrang their fingers white,
  The maidens tore their hair,
A' for the sake o' their true loves,
  For them they'll see nae mair.)

O, lang, lang may the ladies sit
  Wi' their fans into their hand,
Or ere they see Sir Patrick Spence
  Come sailing to the land.

O, lang, lang may the ladies stand,
  Wi' their gold kames in their hair,
Waiting for their ain dear lords,
  For they'll see them nae mair.

Half ower, half ower to Aberdour,
  It's fifty fathom deep;
And there lies gude Sir Patrick Spence,
  Wi' the Scots lords at his feet."

I do not think that the foregoing is a good version of the ballad, and I only give it as that of Mr. Chambers's. He assigns several reasons for doubting its antiquity; and, though these are confusedly heaped together, I shall try to classify them—taking them up *seriatim*.

He doubts its historical correctness. The majority of collectors assume that it relates to an embassy sent from Scotland, to bring home Margaret, "the Maid of Norway," daughter of King Eric, and grand-daughter of Alexander III., on the occasion of the succession to the Scottish Crown opening to her by her grand-father's death, in 1285. Mr. Chambers holds that there is an insuperable objection to this theory, because the ballad represents the desire to bring home the maiden as being expressed by the king himself, and that it was not at all likely that he should express such a wish. But I confess that to me there is nothing inconceivable in the idea of Alexander wishing to see his grand-daughter. His three children had died. The death of his son, Alexander, the Prince of Scotland, on 28th January 1283, rendered him childless. A Parliament was held at Scone immediately thereafter, when the succession to the crown was settled on the Maid of Norway, failing other children of Alexander, who was then a widower. A desire on the part of a grandfather to see a grandchild, who was called by the nation to succeed him, does not seem to me inconceivable. Chambers says that the succession opened to Margaret by her grand-father's death in 1286 (he died, I think, in

1285), but the succession may, with more propriety, be said to have opened to her by the resolution of the Parliament of Scone, in 1283, for Alexander was then a childless widower, though he married shortly before his death. We however know from historical records, that ambassadors were sent to bring the maiden home in 1290. Chambers says that these ambassadors brought her home, but in a dying state. The general, I may say universal, opinion is that she landed at the Orkneys, where she died. These islands then belonged to the Crown of Denmark, till they were given as tocher by Christian of Denmark to his daughter Margaret, who married James III. of Scotland in 1467. The chronicles of various writers state that a deputation was sent from Scotland to bring home the maiden. They are all agreed on the circumstance that she did not arrive at home, but sickened on the passage, some say, and had to land at the Orkneys, where she died. Now, I think it not at all unlikely that there may have been a shipwreck by which many lives were lost. The alleged death of the Princess rather supports this notion, and I find it very strongly strengthened by an English chronicle. I refer to the "Scala Chronica." There has been some dispute as to the authorship of this valuable MS., but there appears to be good grounds for supposing that it was written by a Sir Thomas Gray of Hetton, a Northumbrian knight, who, in Edward III.'s time, was taken prisoner and conveyed to Edinburgh, where he commenced to write a history, extending from creation to his own times. The "Maitland Club" has printed that portion of the MS. commencing with the Norman Conquest to the end. Treating of Edward I. of England the chronicle says (1289), On Alexander, the Scotch King, breaking his neck by a fall from his horse, and the succession opening to his grand-daughter in Norway, a deputation of Scotch nobles waited on Edward to propose a union betwixt his son and the maiden, and he accordingly sent to the Pope for a dispensation (as the two were cousins), and messengers to Norway; "*Qi messager fust vn clerk Descosce Meistre Weiland, qi perys, on la dit, pucel en reuenaint deuers Escosce sure les costres de Boghane,*" "which messenger was a Scotch clerk, Master Weiland, who perished, as they say, along with the maiden in returning to Scotland, on the coasts of Boghan." In "*Slezer's Theatrum Scotiæ*" (1693), I find that the ancient name of Gordon Castle, near Fochabers, in Banffshire, was *Bogengight*, and I was at first inclined to suppose that the coasts referred to were off Banffshire; but the distance betwixt these and Aberdour (referred to

in the ballad), and the proximity of the latter to the coasts of Buchan in Aberdeenshire lead me to believe that these coasts *de Boghane* are just the coasts of Buchan. Chambers assumes that the Aberdour referred to is that of the Firth of Forth, but we have no reason to believe that its more remote and more northern namesake was not in the mind of "the maker" when he wrote the ballad—indeed, it is more natural to suppose that Aberdour in Aberdeenshire is referred to. But be this the place or not indicated, we have here a passage written upwards of 500 years ago, and just about one generation after the occurrence of the event narrated, which proves that there was at all events a belief then existing that a shipwreck, such as that recorded in the ballad, had actually taken place. This corroboration of the truth of the main facts of an old ballad forcibly reminds me of an affirmation of Sir Walter Scott, in his able paper upon "Popular Poetry." In his introduction to the minstrelsy he says, "Although the poets were a fabling race from the very beginning of time and so much addicted to exaggeration that their accounts are seldom to be relied on without corroborative evidence, yet instances frequently occur where the statements of poetical tradition are unexpectedly confirmed." It has been objected to by some that the name Spence is modern. This is altogether a mistake, and Professor Aytoun mentions a Malisius de Spens in Robert III's time, and a William de Spens as being at the siege of the Castle of Dunbar in 1336; and we know that the famous Earl of Angus—"Bell-the-Cat"—was obliged to take refuge in his castle of Liddesdale, formidable baron as he was, for slaying a Spens of Kilspendie in what appears, according to Godscroft, to have been a fair enough duel. But still it is not absolutely necessary for the establishment of the antiquity of the ballad to prove that the "gude sailòr" was a Sir Patrick Spens; indeed some versions of the ballad give another name (Wood) as that of the sailor. According to this solution of the difficulty, there is still the inconsistency of the dead king asking for the maiden; but, though he is represented as sitting in "Dunfermline toun," may the English king not be denoted? the two countries being then on friendly terms, or may the epithet not apply to the Scottish Regency? We daily see instances of much greater flights of poetical imagination. I see then nothing improbable, but the very reverse, in referring the history of the ballad to an embassy to bring home the maiden. The ambassadors may or may not have gone during Alexander's lifetime. In giving my opinion I think it right to lay before you another solution of the difficulty, advanced by Aytoun and

several high authorities; they get over it by a very simple expedient; they alter a verse of the ballad as follows—

> "To Noroway, to Noroway,
> To Noroway o'er the faem,
> The king's dochter *to* Noroway,
> It's thou maun tak' her hame"—

and they omit the verse in which Sir Patrick says—

> "The king's dochter *of* Noroway,
> 'Tis we must fetch her hame"—

thus referring the ballad* to the expedition in 1281 for taking out Alexander III.'s daughter (mother of the Maid of Norway) to be married to Eric. Aytoun further says that "Fordoun relates that the Abbot of Balmerino and many nobles were drowned on their return home." Chambers disposes of this theory in a very cavalier way. In alluding to the slight change made, he says, "I apprehend such liberties with an old ballad are wholly unwarrantable." Here, by the way, we have an admission that it is an "old ballad"—all that we are contending for; but I demur to the dictum, and I have already said that great interpolations and great changes occur through the course of time in handing down tales of tradition—much greater changes than that suggested by Aytoun. Further, in support of the Professor's theory, I may state that in the very oldest editions of the ballad these two verses are left out. I think they were first given by Scott. But there is still a third theory, viz., Mr. Finlay's, and seemingly approved of by one of the latest annotators, viz., Mr. Bell in his annotated edition of the English poets. Keeping the ballad as it is, they refer it to another event in history, though Mr. Chambers says, if it refer to a real occurrence other than that of the bringing home of the maiden of Norway, "it must have been to the bringing home of some Norwegian princess to be wedded to a king of Scotland," adding "that there is no such event in Scottish history." Mr. Bell and Mr. Finlay refer it to the marriage of James III. with a Norwegian princess. We are informed, through a MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, published by the Maitland Club, entitled "A Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, from Fergus I. to James VI., conjectured to have been written about the time of

* In the latest work upon the subject, "The English and Scottish Legendary Ballads by John S. Roberts," the editor is in error when he states that some consider the ballad to refer to the expedition sent in 1290 to bring home *the Maid of Norway* after the death of her *father*, Alexander III. As already stated, the Maid of Norway was Alexander's *granddaughter*.

the accession of James VI. to the Crown of England," "James the third, sone to the foirsaid James the secund, of the age of seivin zeirs, was crownit King of Scotis, and was the CIII. king. The zeir mccccclxvii., Cristierne, king of Denmark, in favour of his dochter, maireyit to the King of Scotland, quatt the possessioun that hes foirbearis had to the yellis of Orkney;" and Lindesay, of Pitscottie says, that James, "being of the age of twenty years, taketh to wife, Margaret, the king of Norroway's daughter (otherwise the king of Denmark) and got with her, in tocher good, the lands of Orkney and Shetland, with all right and title of right to them pertaining to the king of Norroway at that time." Finlay and his followers assume either that the daughter of a Danish king might be represented as living in Norway, or the verses may be considered as interpolations, either of which conjectures do not seem to me to be very wild; but after some search I do not find any warrant for holding that there was a shipwreck in connection with this marriage, and I therefore adhere to Sir Walter Scott's theory; though he states that the shipwreck is unrecorded in history, that want is, to a certain extent now supplied,—let me then dismiss Mr. Chambers's historical objections.

I proceed to his next argument, and quote his own words—"The want of any ancient MSS." I admit this, and reply that the mere fact of there existing no ancient MSS. upon a particular subject is no positive proof that that subject itself had not long previously existed,* and this must be so self-evident to all that I need not attempt further to disprove the force of this objection, except by reminding you that I have already stated that there are almost no ancient MSS. containing specimens of ballad poetry; the very object of the ballad was to avoid the necessity of writing. He goes on—"The absence of the least trace of an ancient style of composition—the palpable modernness of the diction, for example, 'our ship must sail the faem,' a glaring specimen of the poetical language of the reign of Queen Anne, and still more palpably of several of the things alluded to, as cork-heeled shoon, hats, fans, and feather beds." To this I reply that, while Mr. Chambers cannot see an ancient style of composition, be it ancient or be it modern, it has always been accepted as ancient by the most competent judges; and where seeming discrepancies occur to mar this idea of antiquity, it has not been at all

* This is well shown by a writer upon "Celtic MSS. and their Contents" in the *Dublin University Magazine* (October, 1867).

events from the style of the composition; if it is an imitation, certainly it is a successful one in composition, style, and spirit.

"The palpable modernness of the diction;" it is in accordance with the spirit of all traditional lore to tone itself to the time, and is no proof whatever of its modernness; but I cannot coincide with Mr. Chambers when he cites as an example of this modernness the expression "Our ship must sail the faem." There are other Scotch ballads where faem is used for sea.—In "Sweet Willie"—"Sweet Willie's ta'en him o'er the faem," and it is far older than our Scotch ballads. It is a highly classical expression. In Book I. of the Iliad of Homer, line 312, we are told of men sailing over "moist paths;" line 484, the ship "scudded through the wave;" 481, "the sable flood sounded much about the keel." All these are very similar ideas. In Gawin Douglas's prologues to his translation of Virgil, 1512 or 1513, nearly 200 years before Queen Anne, four old Scottish songs are adverted to, the title of one of them being "The schip salis ower the saut fame,"—the following being two of the lines of the song:—

> "The schip salis ower the saut fame,
> Will bring thir merchandis and my leman hame."

In a note upon the Ballad of Sir Patrick Spens, appended to a valuable collection of "Ballads from Scottish History,"* written by Mr. Clyne, before referred to, and also from correspondence with him upon the subject, I learn that Chambers's principal objection to the expression "sail the faem" is its elliptical form, for sail *over* the faem. One would understand from the pamphlet published by him that the objection was more to the use of the word "faem" itself—that objection I have sufficiently answered, and I take up this new one. The ellipsis or omission of a word to complete a sentence adds impressiveness to the expression, it is admirably suited to poetical compositions, and ellipses are common to many languages; they are not confined to the era of Pope, and they certainly have not come into existence since his day. I could cite many instances, but satisfy myself by referring you to an example given by Mr. Clyne in his work before referred to, viz., in one of the "Tales of the Three Priests of Peblis," assigned to the early part of the sixteenth century, a description is given of the career of a thrifty burgess, and it contains these lines (Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, 1802):—

* Ballads from Scottish History, by Norval Clyne. Edinburgh: Edmonstone & Douglas. 1863.

"Then bocht he wool, and wyselle couth it wey;
And after that sone saylit he the sey."

"Saylit he the sey," for "saylit he *over* the sea," a very similar elliptical expression, to "sail the faem" for "sail *over* the faem."

As for the objections to "cork-heeled shoon, hats, fans, and feather beds," as being too modern, I don't know when these were first introduced, but I apprehend that they all were used at a very early stage in our history. "Hats"—I am reminded that these are mentioned in the "Alliterative Romance," the antiquity of which is not doubted—it tells us that Sir Cradocke, when coming as a fugitive to report to the king the capture of Carlyon by the wicked Modred, was clad

"In a rownde cloke,
With righte rowmme clothes;
With *hatte* and with heyghe schone;
Homely and rownde."

"Cork-heeled shoon." Jamieson simply styles them "leather" shoon; and I will, in another place, have occasion to give you a new reading in which the shoon are not "cork-heeled;" but in "Burd Ellen," a very popular ballad, and of which there are several different versions, some of them showing that the story of the ballad was current in our own neighbourhood, the hero had

"Putten on his cork-heeled shoon."

"Fans"—In an apparently old ballad given by Jamieson from two fragments which had been transmitted to him, one from Edinburgh and one from Arbroath, the ladies of King Henry's court are represented as mourning for the loss of Prince Edward and having black fans:—

"And black were the ladies, and black were their fans,
And black were the gloves that they wore on their hands,
And black were the ribbands they wore on their heads,
And black were the pages, and black were the maids."

"Feather beds" may or may not have been early in use, they are at all events mentioned in an apparently old ballad not enumerated in the list to which Mr. Chambers has taken objection, I refer to "Auld Maitland;" but I do not think that they can form a part of the personal inventory of the ballad; true, they are mentioned by Buchan, but the verse in which he does so is such a manifest interpolation, and Buchan's ballads are known to contain so many, that one cannot but be astonished at Mr. Chambers stating such an objection.

Chambers proceeds to compare "Sir Patrick Spens" minutely with "Hardyknute;" he gives the following verses:—

"The king of Norse, in summer pride,
Puffed up with power and micht,
Landed in fair Scotland, the isle,
With many a hardy knicht.

The tidings to our gude Scots king
Cam' as he sat at dine,
With noble chiefs in brave array,
Drinking the blude-red wine."

"Each ballad," he says, "begins absolutely with the same set of particulars—a Scottish king sitting and drinking 'the blood-red wine,' and sending off a message to a subject on business of importance. Norway is brought into connection with Scotland in both cases. Sir Patrick's exclamation, 'To Noroway, to Noroway,' meets with an exact counterpart in the 'To horse, to horse,' in the courtier of Hardyknute. The words of the ill-boding sailor in Sir Patrick, 'Late, late yestreen, I saw the new moon'—a very peculiar expression, be it remarked, are repeated in Hardyknute—

'Late, late yestreen, I weened in peace
To end my lengthened life.'

The grief of these ladies in the catastrophe, in Sir Patrick Spens, is equally the counterpart of that of the typical Norse lady with regard to the fate of her male friend at Largs."

The above then are the chief points of resemblance between the two ballads; and assuming in the meantime that "Hardyknute" is quite a modern ballad, and that there are such marked points of resemblance between the two, Mr. Chambers must first prove that the author of "Hardyknute" has not taken these from "Sir Patrick Spens," as has been supposed by many—he does not attempt to do so. But are there after all such marked points of similarity? Each begins with a king drinking "blood-red wine." Many of the Scotch ballads commence by representing parties being engaged in the same pleasant occupation. "The dowie dens o' Yarrow" commences—

"Late at e'en drinking the wine."

In the "Twa Clerks o' Owsenford," the haughty mayor of Paris, is represented as "sitting at the wine:" "Brown Robin"—

"The King but and his nobles a'
Sat birling at the wine."

"Glenkindie"—

> "And the King but and his nobles a'
> Sat birling at the wine."

Indeed the whole stanza in these two ballads is the same, the two latter lines in each being—

> "And he would hae but his ae dochter
> To wait on them at dine."

And innumerable references to "blood-red wine" are made in the course of ballads, *e.g.*, "Johnie of Bradislee," "Katherine Janfarie" or "Johnstone," "Lord Buchan," &c. We have many, very many ballads commencing with the sending off a message, and there is no more stock expression than a person going off with "a braid letter." I see nothing in the fact that Norway is brought into connection with Scotland in the two cases, and I frankly admit that I am too obtuse to see the slightest resemblance betwixt the expressions "To Noroway, to Noroway," and "to horse, to horse," though Mr. Chambers says these "are exact counterparts." I do not consider "Late, late yestreen" to be a very peculiar expression. "Yestreen" is a common enough Scotch word, and occurs frequently in our ballads.

> "Late, late yestreen, I saw the new moon
> Wi' the auld moon in her arm,"

does not appear to me at least very like

> "Late, late yestreen, I weened in peace
> To end my lengthened life."

Chambers goes on to say—"The grief of the Scotch ladies is expressed in very similar language to that of the Norse lady in "Hardyknute"—

> "The ladies wrang their fingers white,
> The maidens tore their hair;
> A' for the sake of their true loves,
> For them they'll see nae mair.
>
> O lang, lang may the ladies sit
> Wi' their fans into their hand,
> Or ere they see Sir Patrick Spence
> Come sailing to the strand.
>
> O, lang, lang may the ladies stand,
> Wi' the gowd kaims in their hair,
> Waiting for their ain dear lords,
> For them they'll see nae mair."

The above are the verses in "Sir Patrick Spence."

"O'er Norway's coast the widowed dame
May wash the rock with tears;
May lang look ower the shipless seas
Before her mate appears."

The latter is the stanza in "Hardyknute." The ladies watch by the sea-side the return of their lords in each case; but here does the agreement end. The idea is highly poetical, but at the same time, simple and natural, and such as would readily suggest itself to any poetical or imaginative mind. Finally, Mr. Chambers concludes that both ballads are by the same author—for, assuming that it is clearly proved that the authoress of "Hardyknute" is Lady Wardlaw of Pitreavie, this lady spent her maiden and matron days in the neighbourhood of Dunfermline and Aberdour, both places being mentioned in Sir Patrick Spence, *ergo*, she is the authoress of that ballad, I do not see the *sequitur*.

Assuming that Lady Wardlaw wrote "Hardyknute," and also, from its similitude to that ballad, that she wrote "Sir Patrick Spens," Chambers goes on to "Gil Morrice," and picks out all the pieces in it bearing the most remote resemblance to either of these ballads. He gives the opening of the ballad, and comments on it thus:—

"Gil Morris was an earl's son,
His name it waxed wide;
It wasna' for his great riches,
Nor yet his miekle pride;
But it was for a lady gay
That lived on Carron side.

Where sall I get a bonny boy,
That will win hose and shoon,
That will gae to Lord Barnard's ha',
And bid his lady come?

And ye maun rin my errand, Willie,
And ye maun rin wi' pride;
When other boys gae on their foot
On horseback ye sall ride.

'O no, O no, my master dear,
I dare nae for my life;
I'll no gae to the bauld Baron's
For to tryst forth his wife.'"

"Here (Chambers says) it will be seen we have an opening like those of 'Hardyknute' and 'Sir Patrick Spens,' a message on important business being proposed in all the three instances. 'Where shall I get a gude sailor?' cries the king at Dunfermline town. 'Where shall I get a bonny boy?' exclaims Gil Morrice in the greenwood.

The reader will also observe how like the last verse is to one in Sir Patrick Spens—

'O, say na sae, my master dear,
For I fear a deadly storm.'

"What next follows is like Hardyknute—

'But O, my master dear, he cried,
In greenwood ye're your lane;
Gie ower sic thoughts, I wad ye reid,
For fear ye should be taen.

Haste! haste! I say, gae to the ha',
Bid her come here wi' speed;
If ye refuse my heigh command
I'll gar your body bleed.'

"When the boy goes in and pronounces the fatal message before Lord Barnard—

'Then up and spak the wily nurse,
The bairn upon her knee,
If it be come from Gil Morrice,
Its dear welcome to me.'

"Compare this with the second verse in Sir Patrick Spens—

'O, up and spak an eldern knight,
Sat at the king's right knee.'

"The messenger replies to the nurse—

'Ye lied, ye lied, ye filthy nurse,
Sae loud I hear ye lie.'

"Identical with Sir Patrick's answer to the taunt of the Norwegian lords—

'Ye lie, ye lie, ye liars loud,
Fu loud I hear ye lie.'

"When the youth has been slain by Lord Barnard, the nurse explains that he was her son, and exclaims—

'To me nae after days nor nichts
Will ere be saft or kind;
I'll fill the air wi' heavy sighs,
And greet till I am blind.'

"How nearly is this the same with the doleful complaint of the wounded knight in Hardyknute—

'To me nae after day nor nicht
Can ere be sweet or fair.'

"Lord Barnard pours out his contrition to his wife—

'With waefu' wae I hear your plaint,
Sair, sair I rue the deed,
That ere this cursed hand of mine
Had garred his body bleed.'

"'Garred his body bleed' is a quaint and singular expression; it occurs in 'Hardyknute,' and no where else—

> 'To lay thee low as horse's hoof
> My word I mean to keep—
> Syne with the first stroke ere he strake
> He garred his body bleed.' "

Any one who is in the slightest degree conversant with Scotch ballad poetry will see that Mr. Chambers displays in this rapid comparison, not only bad logic, but what is even less excusable in an editor of Scotch ballads, considerable ignorance of the subject on which he treats. "Where shall I get a gude sailor?" in "Sir Patrick Spens," is such a similar expression to "Where shall I get a bonny boy?" in "Gil Morrice," that the same person must have composed both. By a parity of reasoning, Lady Wardlaw must have written many ballads which we know however are not her composition. The "bonnie boy" is a very familiar attendant in Scotch ballads. We have him in "The Battle of Otterburne." Lady Maisry, in "Child Vyet," asks the question, "Where shall I get a bonnie boy?" Jamieson, in "Lord Wa' Yates and Auld Ingram," has the same question, "Where shall I get a bonny boy?" It is simply absurd to draw a resemblance betwixt the lines in "Sir Patrick Spens"—

> "O, say na sae, my master dear,
> For I fear a deadly storm,"

and the

> "O no, O no, my maister dear,
> I dare na for my life,"

in "Gil Morrice." He notices the lines in "Gil Morris,"

> "Then up and spak the wily nurse,
> The bairn upon her knee;"

comparing them to

> "Up and spak an eldern knight,
> Sat at the king's richt knee."

Take up any edition of the Scotch ballads and you cannot find a more common expression than "sitting at the knee;" and I could name many ballads wherein the expression used in "Gil Morrice" and "Sir Patrick Spens" occurs—

> "Ye lied, ye lied, ye liars loud,
> Fu' loud I hear ye lie."

The statement that the phrase, "garred his body bleed" is peculiar to "Gil Morrice" and "Hardyknute," and "occurs nowhere else,"

is at variance with facts, for in "The bent sae brown" the threat is used, "Ise gar your body bleed." Nor is that the only ballad where "body bleed" occurs. Of this ballad of "Gil Morris" or "Childe Maurice," there are many very different versions. The old version of Jamieson is so unlike the "Gil Morrice" of Chambers, and is altogether so dissimilar to either "Sir Patrick Spens" or "Hardyknute," that one is at a loss to see how he ventures a comparison betwixt it and the two ballads named. I have however met Mr. Chambers upon his own ground, and assumed his "Gil Morrice" as the version to be dissected.

I have hastily noticed Mr. Chambers's reasons for supposing that Lady Wardlaw was the composer of this ballad, and that she communicated it to the printers. These reasons rest solely on supposed similarities, which are common to many ballads. But let us look to the history of the ballad. It refers to a remote period in Scottish history, and the characters and places are traditionally preserved. In "Percy's Reliques" it is stated that it had reached its second edition at Glasgow in 1785, and that "to the preface was prefixed the request that any reader who could render it more correct or complete, would oblige the public with such improvements." Many different versions soon made their appearance, some of them evidently interpolations, others apparently authentic. Percy selected what he thought the best; but that Lady Wardlaw had nothing to do with his revisal, and that she could not have communicated it to the printers, seems evident from the circumstance that she died many years previously.

The next ballad which Chambers gives in detail is "Young Waters," which is also ascribed by him to Lady Wardlaw, for the same reason, viz., a supposed similitude betwixt it and the preceding ballads. I give Chambers's version of the ballad:—

"About Yule, when the wind blew cool,
And the round tables began,
Ah! there is come to our king's court
Mony a well favoured man.

The queen looked ower the castle wa',
Beheld baith dale and down,
And then she saw Young Waters
Come riding to the town.

His footmen they did rin before,
His horsemen rade behind,
Ane mantle o' the burning gowd
Did keep him frae the wind.

Gowden graithed his horse before,
And siller shod behind;
The horse Young Waters rade upon
Was fleeter than the wind.

But then spak a wily lord,
Unto the queen said he;
'O tell me wha's the fairest face
Rides in the company?'

'I've seen lord, and I've seen laird,
And knights of high degree;
But a fairer face than Young Waters'
Mine e'en did never see.'

Out then spak the jealous king,
And an angry man was he:
'O if he had been twice as fair,
You might have excepted me.'

'You're neither lord, nor laird,' she says,
'But the king that wears the crown;
There's not a knight in fair Scotland
But to thee maun bow down.'

For a' that she could do or say,
Appeased he wadna be;
But for the words which she had said
Young Waters he maun dee.

They hae tane Young Waters, and
Put fetters to his feet;
They hae taen Young Waters, and
Thrown him in dungeon deep.

'Aft hae I ridden through Stirling town
In the wind both and the weet;
But I ne'er rade through Stirling town
Wi' fetters at my feet.

Aft hae I ridden through Stirling town
In the wind both and the rain;
But I ne'er rade through Stirling town
Ne'er to return again.'

They hae tane to the heading-hill
His young son in his cradle;
They hae tane to the heading-hill
His horse both and his saddle.

They hae tane to the heading-hill
His lady fair to see;
And for the words the queen had spoke
Young Waters he did dee."

Let me only point out what Chambers calls the "parallel passages." In "Gil Morrice" we have the verse—

"The lady sat on the castle wa',
Beheld baith dale and down,
And then she saw Gil Morris' head
Come trailing to the toun."

In "Young Waters"—

"The queen looked ower the castle wa',
Beheld baith dale and down,
And then she saw Young Waters
Come riding to the toun."

The expression, "beheld baith dale and down," is not very uncommon; in "Katherine Janfarie," a ballad commemorating a story common to Scotland and Scandinavia, we have the following verse:—

"The bride looked out at a high window,
Beheld baith dale and doun;"

and the same expression occurs in at least two other ballads. Chambers informs us that "dale and doun" are never used in Scotland—"they are exotic English terms." This is quite in keeping with Mr. Chambers's other assertions, and I need not waste your time by showing its fallacy. I satisfy myself by reminding you of the last syllable in many of the names of the Border districts, especially of Scotland, whence have we Teviotdale, Tweeddale, &c., &c.? To proceed with the comparison of the so called "parallel passages"—in "Young Waters"—

"But then spak a wily lord,
Unto the queen said he."

Chambers says, "What the wily lord does in verse fifth is the counterpart of the eldern knight in 'Sir Patrick Spens'—

'Up and spak an eldern knight;
Sat at the king's richt knee.'"

I have already shown how universal the expression "Up and spak," or "Out and spak" is, indeed I know of none more common, and it is also quite usual to combine it with a statement regarding the position of the speaker, as "Sat at the king's richt knee," so in "Hughie Græme—

"Then up bespak him gude Lord Hume,
As he sat by the judge's knee."

Chambers goes on to say, "Observe the description of the king's jealous rage in 'Young Waters,'—how perfectly the same is that of the baron, in 'Gil Morrice'—

'Then up and spak the bauld baron,
An angry man was he,
* * * * *

Nae wonder, nae wonder, Gil Morrice
My lady lo'es thee well,
The fairest part of my bodie
Is blacker than thy heel.'"

Now, all the similarity in the two ballads consists in the first two lines—

"Then up and spak the bauld baron,
An angry man was he.
* * * * *
Out then spak the jealous king,
And an angry man was he."

The expression, "An angry man was he," occurs three times in "Auld Maitland," and in "The Lass of Anglesey"—

"Up then rose the fifteenth lord,
I wat an angry man was he."

I defy Mr. Chambers to point out any other similarity in the ballads relating to the rage. Chambers notices the fact that, in "Sir Patrick Spens" and in "Young Waters" "feet" is made to rhyme to "deep;" and, to crown all, he says—"Finally, let us observe how like the tone as well as words are of the last lines of "Young Waters" to a certain verse of 'Hardyknute.'" Here are the couplets referred to—

"Hardyknute"—

"The fainting corps of warriors lay,
Ne'er to rise again."

"Young Waters"—

"But I ne'er rode through Stirling town
Ne'er to return again."

I can only say that I am utterly unable to find anything in these two passages to entitle Mr. Chambers to call them "parallel."

I have entered somewhat minutely into the ballads which Chambers particularly points out as possessing so many "parallel passages," that they must be ascribed to the pen of the authoress of "Hardyknute." Time forbids me to follow Mr. Chambers through other ballads which, though he finds in them fewer "parallel passages," he still traces to the same source. He concludes by saying, "The high-class romantic ballads of Scotland are not ancient compositions —are not older than the early part of the eighteenth century, and are mainly, if not wholly, the production of one mind, viz., Lady Wardlaw of Pitreavie." The ballads he ascribes directly to her are twenty-six, viz.—"Hardyknute;" "Sir Patrick Spens;" "Gil Morrice;" "Young Waters;" "Edom o' Gordon;" "The Jew's Daughter;" "Gilderoy;" "Edward Edward;" "Johnie o' Bradislee;" "Mary

Hamilton;" "The Gay Goshawk;" "Fause Foodridge;" "The Lass o' Lochryan;" "Clerk Saunders;" "The Douglas Tragedy;" "Young Huntin;" "William and May Margaret;" "Sweet William's Ghost;" "Tamlane;" "Sweet Willie and Fair Annie;" "Lady Maisry;" "The Clerk's Twa Sons o' Owsenford;" "Heir of Linne;" "The Bonnie Earl of Murray;" "Burd Helen," and "Fair Annie" or "Lady Jane"—a goodly progeny to ascribe to one individual. I cannot here enter into the old question as to the authorship of "Hardyknute." Let me briefly state that Sir John Bruce (vide "Pinkerton's Ancient Scottish Poems," London, 1786, volume i., page 128) in 1789, wrote to Lord Binning with the ballad, stating that he had found it "In a vault at Dunfermline, written on vellum, in a fair Gothic character, but so much defaced by time that the tenth part is not legible." It was printed in the same year by James Watson; its genuineness was very soon doubted, and Percy, in 1767, supposed that Lady Wardlaw, Sir John Bruce's sister, wrote it. In 1794, a great-grandson of Lady Wardlaw stated "that the late Mr. Hepburn, of Keith, often declared he was in the house with Lady Wardlaw when she wrote 'Hardyknute,'" and he also stated "that another lady wrote to a gentleman that her mother, who was a sister-in-law of Lady Wardlaw, told her that Lady Wardlaw was the authoress." On this testimony Chambers builds his theory, without entering more closely into it. I may state that I am inclined to support Lord Hailes, an able archæologist, who was of opinion that the ballad was ancient, but much enlarged and retouched by Lady Wardlaw; and, in support of this, he states that he was informed by Thomson, the author of "Orpheus Caledonius," 1733, that he had heard fragments of it repeated in his infancy before Lady Wardlaw's copy was heard of. Thomson was a man well acquainted with the subject—he devoted his time to Scottish song and ballad, and had no reason to fabricate a tale. I cannot believe that Sir David Dalrymple, the learned judge and elegant writer, would concoct this tale; nor is it at variance with all Chambers's information. It is perfectly consistent to hold that third parties may have supposed that Lady Wardlaw wrote "Hardyknute," when she only retouched it. Let us admit however, for the sake of argument, that she was the unaided authoress of "Hardyknute," still, it does not follow that she wrote the other twenty-five. If you admit the correctness of Mr. Chambers's reasoning, you may at once set down her ladyship as the authoress, not of these twenty-six alone, but of the greater bulk

of the ballad book both of Scotland and England. Chambers, indeed, after stating his opinion that she wrote the above twenty-six, adds that not only these, "but others which must rest unnamed, bear traces of the same authorship." Let us see his mode of reasoning. He first picks out certain expressions in "Hardyknute," and then takes a ballad having expressions of a similar kind, and assigns it to the same pen; he then takes up certain expressions in this new ballad, and picks out a third with similar expressions, and assigns it also to the same pen. He thus goes on from ballad to ballad, getting fresh "parallel passages," as he calls them, and he is soon able to ascribe ballads to the same pen as that of the authoress of "Hardyknute," which bear as much resemblance to it as "John Gilpin" does to Longfellow's "Evangeline." In this reasoning, absurd as it is, we do not in many cases find the premises correct—these "parallel passages" are frequently not "parallel" at all; but, assuming that they are, and granting also that Lady Wardlaw wrote "Hardyknute," is it not more natural to suppose that that very similitude only proves that she copied from them in writing "Hardyknute?" and do these parallel passages prove ought else than that the respective authors of all these ballads make use of certain expressions common to the nature of their productions?

We know, however, both from published and unpublished records, that many of these ballads are much more ancient than Lady Wardlaw's time. "The Young Tamlane," for instance, is mentioned in "The Complaynt of Scotland," 1548, one hundred and thirty years before Lady Wardlaw was born. Of these twenty-six ballads, the following were recovered by Sir Walter Scott and Jamieson, "The Jew's Daughter," "The Gay Goshawk," "Fause Foodridge," "Clerk Saunders," "Willie and May Margaret," "Sweet Willie and Fair Annie," "Burd Ellen," "Fair Annie of Lochryan." Sir Walter Scott obtained these chiefly from two MSS. books of Professor Gordon of Aberdeen, who got them from the recitations of Mrs. Brown of Falkland. Mr. Jamieson visited this lady unexpectedly in 1800, and wrote down from her repetition about a dozen different pieces. Both Scott and Jamieson considered them "as authentic as traditionary poetry can be expected to be;" and they record that the reason why her ballads were so perfect was, that "there are few persons of Mrs. Brown's abilities and education who repeat popular ballads from memory. She learned most of them before she was twelve years old from old women and maid servants." Chambers writes

rather slightingly of the source acknowledged by Jamieson and Scott from whence they procured some (Chambers says the great bulk) of their romantic ballads, viz., through Mrs. Brown and Professor Scott. One might suppose from his remarks, indeed, that this lady and the learned Professor were altogether myths. Fortunately, however, several of her letters, and also of the Professor's, are still in existence. I have had the privilege of perusing them, along with a considerable portion of Jamieson's MSS., and I can bear my testimony to the manifest belief in the antiquity of these poems on the part of all the parties, so far at least as one can judge from Mrs. Brown's letters to Mr. Jamieson, or from those of Professor Gordon and Professor Garrard, who also sent some of them. What object could the learned Professor of Greek, or his colleague in the Divinity chair, or the wife of the clergyman, have in deceiving Jamieson, who was on terms of friendship with them? Let me draw your attention to a somewhat important point in Chambers's pamphlet. He states that the great bulk of Scott and Jamieson's romantic ballads were procured through Mrs. Brown. This is not at all the case; neither Scott nor Jamieson were indebted solely to one individual for the *great bulk* of their ballads. Mrs. Arrot of Aberbrothic furnished many of the romantic ballads not sent by Mrs. Brown, and in some cases she furnished different copies from those given by that lady. I need only mention "Sweet Willie and Fair Annie," "The Twa Sisters," "The Twa Brithers," "Lady Maisry," "Clerk Saunders," "Burd Ellen," "Lady Jane" or "Lord Thomas and Fair Annie," and we have very many of them furnished through other persons. Mr. Chambers would further lead us to infer that Mrs. Brown received the most of her ballads from one person—an old aunt—a Mrs. Farquhar, but we have no reason to believe that they were entirely received through this old lady. Indeed, Jamieson tells us, as I have already stated, that Mrs. Brown "learned most of them before she was twelve years old from old women and maid servants." To show how ballad poetry is transmitted, let me quote Mr. Chambers's remark in his edition of Scotch Ballads, 1829, as to one of these very ballads now ascribed to Lady Wardlaw. In "The Clerk's Twa Sons o' Owsenford," he says, "This singularly wild and beautiful old ballad is chiefly taken from the recitation of the editor's grandmother, who learned it when a girl, nearly seventy years ago, from a Miss Mary Gray, resident at Reidpath Castle, Peebleshire." To support Chambers's theory, then, you see there must

have been a grand collusion betwixt Lady Wardlaw, Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Farquhar and Chambers's grandmother; while there is no evidence that these ladies were personally acquainted with each other. Further, how is it—granting the evidence of Lady Wardlaw's descendant to be as Chambers represents it—how is it that the same people don't speak as to her writing one or more of the twenty-six ballads, or indeed any other ballad at all? It is incredible that they should be in a position to speak so strongly of the one and not of others, if she wrote so many. Why are none of her MSS. extant? What time had she to write these? "Hardyknute" was printed in 1719, according to Chambers, soon after its composition. We know it was, at all events, shortly after its discovery. Chambers assumes it to be the first of the block. Lady Wardlaw died in 1727. She must then have written all these, "besides many others," in the short space of eight years—a very improbable idea. Look at the many different editions of these current in widely separated tracts. Percy, Buchan, Scott, and Jamieson give very different versions of "Sir Patrick Spens," many stanzas being found in one, wanting in others. I may here lay before you some additional stanzas and variations of this ballad (I believe unpublished), and for which I am indebted to Mr. Clyne, to whom I have already referred. They were sent to him by the late Professor Aytoun, on 12th December, 1859, and, on sending them, Mr. Aytoun wrote, "Since I issued the second edition of my Collection of Ballads, I have received from a lady residing at Newburgh a most interesting MS., being copies of ballads taken down by her from her mother's recitation, with a still older pedigree, amongst them is a version of 'Sir Patrick Spens,' which differs in some respects from any I have yet seen. The following are the most important variations:—

"He's gane up to the tap mast,
To the tap mast so hie;
He luikit around on ilka side,
But dry land he couldna see.

He luikit on his youngest son,
And the tear blinded his e'e;
'I wish you had been in your mother's bosom,
But there you'll never be.

Pray for yoursels my merry young men,
Pray for yoursels and me,
For the first land on that we will land
Will be the bottom o' the sea.'

Then up she rose, the mermaiden,
Wi' the kaim and glass in her hand,
'Here's a health to you my merry young men,
For you never will see dry land.'

O laith, laith were our gude Scots lords
To weet their *laigh-heeled* shoon ;
But lang, lang ere the play was play'd,
Their yellow locks soomed aboon.

It's och, och ower to Aberdour,
It's fifty fathoms deep,
And there lie a' our gude Scots lords,
Wi' Sir Patrick at their feet.

There was Saturday and Sabbath day,
And Mononday at morn,
That silken sheets and feather beds
Cam' floating to Kinghorn," &c.

Is not this very fine in its roughness?" &c.

You will recollect that one of Mr. Chambers's objections to the antiquity of "Sir Patrick Spens" was the mention of "cork-heeled shoon;" I think I have shown you that the objection is groundless; but it draws our attention more closely to this new reading, "*laigh-heeled* shoon." You have had a description by the ancient minstrel* of a knight disguised as a peasant, with *high* or thick shoon—here the Scots lords are described singularly correctly with "*laigh-heeled*" ones. Here then is another version of "Sir Patrick Spens" springing up now and being added to the already numerous list. If Lady Wardlaw wrote it one would have supposed that there would not have been so many different versions current so shortly after her death, and in her very lifetime.

Let me briefly draw your attention to a remark by Mr. Chambers in his pamphlet. He says that Robert Jamieson found in the "Kæmpe Viser," a Danish collection of ballads, published in 1695, one resembling his "Fair Annie;" "and on this ground he became convinced that many of our traditionary ballads were of prodigious antiquity, though they had been intermediately subjected to many alterations." Chambers continues:—"Mr. Jamieson's belief seems remarkably ill supported, and, as it has never obtained any adherents among Scottish ballad editors, I feel entitled to pass it over with but this slight notice." No one, I am satisfied, who has carefully read Jamieson's ballads and his notes, will do him the injustice of passing

* See page 452.

over at once his theory, without duly weighing the evidence which he adduces in support of it. With all deference to Mr. Chambers, I submit that the assumption of Jamieson, in his letter to his publisher, is strongly borne out by the evidence which he lays before the public in the ballad of "Skiœn Anna." "I am fully persuaded," he says, "that many of the traditionary ballads, still common in our country, have been *virum volitantes per ora* in the north of England and in the lowlands of Scotland." The ballad which particularly drew forth this remark was the above-named ballad of "Skiœn Anna—Fair Annie," the story of which is the same as that of the Scottish ballad of "Lady Jane," called by Sir Walter Scott "Lord Thomas and Fair Annie." I lay the two ballads before you—you can judge for yourselves whether or not there is such a resemblance betwixt the two as to authorise Jamieson in expressing a belief that they sprang from the same root:—

"LADY JANE."

[Jamieson informs us that a portion of this ballad appeared in Pinkerton's Collection; a more perfect copy afterwards appeared in the "Border Minstrelsy," under the title of "Lord Thomas and Fair Annie." The following copy was made up by incorporating two—one from Mrs. Brown and one from Mrs. Arrot.]

"There liv'd a lord on yon sea-side,
And he thought on a wile,
How he would go over the saut seas
A lady to beguile.

'Now learn to mak' your bed, lemman,
And learn to lye your lane;
For I'm gaun o'er the saut seas
A bright bride to bring hame.'

* * * * * * *

'O wha will bake my bridal bread,
And brew my bridal ale?
And wha will welcome my bright bride
That I bring o'er the dale?'

'It's I will bake your bridal bread,
And brew your bridal ale;
And I will welcome your bright bride
That ye bring o'er the dale.'

'O she that welcomes my bright bride
Maun gang like maiden fair;
She maun lace her in her green claithing,
And braid her yellow hair.' "

His former lover then draws a lively picture of the occupations of his seven sons, of whom she was the mother.

"The firsten o' your seven sons
He wears a warrior's weed;
The second o' your seven sons
He breasts a warrior's steed.

The thirden o' your seven sons
He draws baith ale and wine;
The fourthen o' your seven sons
He serves you when you dine.

The fifthen o' your seven sons
He can baith read and write;
And the sixthen o' your seven sons
Is a' your heart's delight.

The youngest o' your seven sons
He sleeps at my breast bane;
Fu' sweetly does he sleep and smile,
Nor heeds his mither's mane.*

Yet I will bake your bridal bread,
And brew your bridal ale;
And I will welcome your bright bride
That you bring o'er the dale.'

'Then sin ye've ta'en the turn in hand,
See that ye do it right,
And bower and ha' in a' the house,
That they be dearly dight.'

O a' the day she wush and wrang,
And a' the night she buik,
And a' tween hands gaed to her chamber
To her young son to look.

The lady, at her bower window,
Look'd o'er lea and land,
And there she saw her ain good lord
Leading his bride by the hand.

She's drest her sons i' the red scarlet,
Hersel i' the dainty green;
And though her cheek look'd pale and wan,
She well might hae been a queen.

'O, come ye here, my eldest son,
Look yonder, what ye see;
For yonder comes your father dear,
Your step-mother him wi'.'

She's ta'en a cake o' the best bread,
A bottle o' the best wine;

* Mark the gradations in the employments of the seven sons, quite in accordance "with the manners of the age of chivalry."

And a' the keys upon her arm,
And to the yates is gane.

'O you're welcome hame, my ain good lord,
To your ha's but and your bowers;
You're welcome hame, my ain good lord,
To your castles and your towers;
Sae is your bright bride you beside,
And a' for she is yours.

'O you're welcome hame, my lord,' she said,
'And aye you are welcome hame;
And sae are a' the gentlemen
That's wi' you ridden and gane.'

'Ye are welcome hame, gay lady,' she said,
'And aye ye are welcome hame;
And sae are a' the gentlewomen
That's wi' you ridden and gane.'

'O whatna lady's that, my lord,
That welcomes you and me?
Gin I be lang about this place,
Her friend I mean to be;
She is sae like my sister Jane,
Was stown i' the bower frae me.'

O she has served the lang tables
Wi' the white bread and the wine;
But aye she drank the wan water
To keep her colour fine.

And she gaed by the first table,
And smil'd upon them a';
But ere she reach'd the second table
She loot the tears down fa'.

She's ta'en a napkin lang and white,
And hung't upon a pin;
It was to dry her watery eyes
As she gaed out and in.

She served them up, she served them down,
She served them till and frae;
But whan she gaed behind their backs
The saut tears blind her e'e.

Whan bells were rung, and mass was sung,
And a' man boun' to bed;
The bride but and the bonny bridegroom
In ae chamber were laid.

She's ta'en her harp intill her hand
To harp this twa asleep;
And ay as she harped and she sang,
Fu' sairly did she weep.

[' O cheerie sings the ruddoch gay
  Amang the leaves sae green;
And blythest o' the blythe is heard
  His summer lilt, I ween.

But at my window, weary, weak,
  And wae, he tells his tale,
Whan cald and cutting winter's wind
  Strips forest, hill, and dale.

Gay spreads the gowan's bonny breast
  To the warm sun at noon;
But dowie—droopin' hings whan cald
  The dews o' night fa' down.

And wha had face sae sweet and fair,
  Or heart sae light as mine,
While favour on my budding rose
  O' youth did kindly shine?

But wither'd now is a' my bloom;
  And ever may I mane
The hour I saw this castle's lord,
  Or wi' his love was ta'en.

O, willawins! that graceless scorn
  Should love like mine repay,
And he wham I to a' preferr'd
  Be cause o' a' my wae.

I quat my fame and high degree,
  I left my kith and kin,
In hope his love for honest love,
  Though tocherless, to win.

And oh, how well I thought it a'
  Was waird, as well I might,
While wi' my bonny bairntime I
  Seemed a' his heart's delight.

Balow, my babie—dinna greet;
  O dinna greet sae sair;
My heart has grief enough o' will,
  Thy greetin' maks it mair.

Poor bairnie! now a father's smile
  Maun never foster thee;
And what can e'er gi'e solace till
  My bairnies or to me?

The sun that gilt my morn of life
  Has set for evermair;
But oh! to see their banished hopes
  Is what breeds a' my care.]

' The earl of Richmond was my father,
  And the lady was my mother;

And a' the bairnies beside mysel'
Was a sister and a brother.'

'Sing on, sing on, ye sad lady,
I wat ye hae sung in time;
Gin the earl of Richmond was your father,
I wat sae was he mine.'

'Rise up, rise up, my beirly bride.
I think my bed's but cald;
I wadna hear my lady lament,
For your tocher ten times tald.'

'O, seven ships conveyed me here,
And seven came o'er the main,
And four o' them sall stay wi' you,
And three convey me hame.

But whan I gae hame to my father's house
They will laugh me to scorn,
To come away a wedded wife,
Gae hame a maid the morn.'"

Compare this ballad with the following translation from the Danish, by Jamieson :—

SKIŒN ANNA—FAIR ANNIE.

"The reivers they wad a stealing gang,
To steal sae far frae hame;
And stow'n hae they the king's daughter,
Fair Annie hight by name.

They've carried her into fremmit lands
To a duke's son of high degree,
And he has gi'en for Fair Annie
Mickle goud and white money.

And eight lang years o' love sae leal
Had past atween them twae;
And now a bonny bairntime
O' seven fair sons had they.

That lord he was o' Meckelberg land,
Of princely blood and stemme;
And for his worth and curtesy
That lord a king became.

But little wist that noble king,
As little his barons bald,
That it was the King of England's daughter
Had sae to him been sald.

And eight lang years sae past and gane
Fair Annie now may rue;
For now she weets in fremmit lands
Anither bride he'll wooe.

Fair Annie's till his mither gane,
  Fell low down on her knee—
'A boon, a boon, now lady mither,
  Ye grant your oys and me.

If ever ye kist, if ever ye blest,
  And bade them thrive and thee,
O save them now frae scaith and scorn,
  O save your oys and me!

Their father's pride may yet relent,
  His mither's rede he'll hear;
Nor for anither break the heart
  That ance to him was dear.

He had my love and maiden pride,
  I had nae mair to gi'e;
He well may fa' a brighter bride,
  But nane that lo'es like me.

A brighter bride he ne'er can fa',
  A richer well he may;
But daughter dearer nor Fair Annie
  His mither ne'er can hae.'

That princess stood her son before—
  'My lord, the king,' said she,
'Fy on the lawless life ye lead,
  Dishonour'd as ye be!

Its Annie's gude, and Annie's fair,
  And dearly she lo'es thee;
And the brightest gems in a' your crown
  Your seven fair sons wad be.

Her love, her life, her maiden fame,
  Wi' you she shar'd them a';
Now share wi' her your bridal bed,
  Her due she well may fa'.'

'To my bridal bed, my mither dear,
  Fair Annie near can win;
I coft her out of fremmit lands,
  Nor ken her kith nor kin.'

And he's gard write a braid letter
  His wedding to ordein,
And to betrothe anither bride
  To be his noble queen.

Fair Annie, up at her bower window,
  Heard a' that knight did say:
'O God, my heavenly Father! gif
  My heart mat brast in twae.'

Fair Annie stood at her bower window,
  And herd that knight sae bald:

'O God, my heavenly Father! gif
I mat my dearest hald.'

That lord is to Fair Annie gane:
Says, 'Annie, thou winsome may,
O whatten a gude gift will ye gi'e
My bride on her bridal day?'

'I'll gi'e her a gift, and a very gude gift,
And a dear bought gift to me;
For I'll gi'e her my seven fair sons
Her pages for to be.'

'O that is a gift, but nae gude gift
Frae thee, Fair Annie, I ween;
And ye maun gi'e some richer gift
Befitting a noble queen.

'I'll gi'e her a gift, and a dear dear gift
And a gift I brook wi' care;
For I'll gi'e her my dearest life,
That I dow brook nae mair.'

'O that is a gift, but a dowie gift,
Now Annie, thou winsome may;
Ye maun gi'e her your best goud girdle,
Her gude will for to ha'e.'

'O na, that girdle she ne'er shall fa';
That I can never bear;
The luckless morn I gave you a',
Ye gae me that girdle to wear.'

That lord before his bride gan stand:
'My noble bride and queen,
O whatten a gift to my lemman Annie
Will now by you be gi'en?'

'I'll gi'e her a gift, and a very gude gift,
My lord the king,' said she;
'For I'll gi'e her my auld shoe to wear,
Best fitting her base degree.'

'O that is a gift, but nae gude gift,
My noble bride and queen;
And ye maun gi'e her anither gift,
If you'll my favour win.'

'Then I'll gi'e her a very gude gift,
My lord the king,' said she;
'I'll gi'e her my millers seven that lig
Sae far ayont the sea.

Well are they fed, well are they clad,
And live in heal and weal;
And well they ken to measure out
The wheat but and cancel.'

Fair Annie says, 'My noble lord,
This boon ye grant to me,
Let me gang up to the bridal bower
Your young bride for to see.'

'O gangna, Annie, gangna there,
Nor come that bower within;
Ye maunna come near that bridal bower
Wad ye my favour win.'

Fair Annie is till his mither gane:
'O lady mither,' said she,
'May I gang to the bridal bower,
My lord's new bride to see?'

'That well ye may,' his mither said;
'But see that ye're busket bra',
And clad ye in your best cleading,
Wi' your bower maidens a'.'

Fair Annie she's gaen to the bower,
Wi' heart fu' sair and sad,
Wi' a' her seven sons her before
In the red scarlet clad.

Fair Annie's ta'en a silver can
Afore the bride to skink;
And down her cheeks the tears ay ran,
Upon hersel' to think.

The bride gan stand her lord before:
'Now speak, and dinna spare,
Whare is this fair young lady frae?
Whareto greets she sae sair?'

'O hear ye now, dear lady mine,
The truth I tell to thee,
It is but a bonny niece of mine
That is come o'er the sea.'

'O wae is me, my lord,' she says,
'To hear you say sic wrang;
It can be nane but your auld lemman,
God rede whare she will gang.'

'Then, till her sorrow, and till her wae,
I'll tell the truth to thee;
For she was sald frae fremmit lands
For mickle goud to me.

Her bairntime a' stand her before,
Her seven young sons sae fair;
And they maun now your pages be,
That mak's her heart sae sair.'

'A little sister ance I had,
A sister that hight, Ann;

By reivers she was stown awa,
  And sald in fremmit land.

She was a bairn, when she was stown,
  Yet in her tender years;
And sair her parents mourn'd for her
  W' mony sighs and tears.

Art thou fair Annie, sister mine,
  Thou noble violet flower?
Her mither never smil'd again
  Frae Annie left her bower.

O, thou art she! a sister's heart
  Wants nane that tale to tell;
And there he is my ain true lord,
  God spare ye lang and well.'

And gladness through the palace spread,
  Wi' mickle game and glee;
And blythe were a' for Fair Annie,
  Her bridal day to see.

And now untill her father's land
  His young bride she is gane;
And her sister Annie's youngest son
  She hame wi' her has ta'en."

Besides this ballad of "Skiœn Anna," Jamieson in his work gives other translations from the Danish. I can only here refer you to them; but I will now lay before you another translation from the Danish, unpublished, I believe it is also by Jamieson, and it will show you at once how strongly he has established his theory. I give you the old Swedish ballad of "The Wondrous Harp;" I procured it from the first volume of the MSS. of Robert Pitcairn, the well-known editor of "Ancient Criminal Trials." I might, I dare say, have presented it to you in a more poetical form, but you will no doubt appreciate it all the more if I give it as I procured it. In order that you may institute a comparison betwixt it and a Scottish one I give you first the Scotch ballad. Sir Walter Scott publishes it under the name of "The Cruel Sister;" in various versions it is called "Binnorie," from its burden. I give Sir Walter Scott's, not that I consider it the best; indeed there are many interpolations in it:—

"THE CRUEL SISTER."

"There were two sisters sat in a bower:
  Binnorie! O Binnorie!
There came a knight to be their wooer
  By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

He courted the eldest wi' glove and ring,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
But he lo'ed the youngest abune a' thing,
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

* * * * * * *

The eldest she was vexed sair,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
And sare envied her sister fair,
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

The eldest said to the youngest ane,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
'Will ye go and see our father's ships come in?'
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

She's ta'en her by the lily hand,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
And led her down to the river strand,
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

The youngest stude upon a stane,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
The eldest came and pushed her in,
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

* * * * * * *

'O sister, sister, reach your hand,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
And ye shall be heir of half my land,'
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

'O sister, I'll not reach my hand,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
And I'll be heir of all your land,'
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

* * * * * * *

'O sister, reach me but your glove,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
And sweet William shall be your love,'
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

'Sink on, nor hope for hand nor glove;
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
And sweet William shall better be my love,'
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

* * * * * * *

Sometimes she sunk, and sometimes she swam,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
Until she came to the miller's dam,
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

'O father, father, draw your dam,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!

There is either a mermaid or a milk white swan,'
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

The miller hasted and drew his dam,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
And there he found a drown'd woman,
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

* * * * * * *

A famous harper passing by,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
The sweet pale face he chanced to spy,
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

And when he looked that lady on,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
He sighed, and made a heavy moan,
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

He made a harp of her breast bone,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
Whose sounds would melt a heart of stone,
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

The strings he framed of her yellow hair;
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
Whose notes made sad the listening ear,
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

He brought it to her father's hall,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
And there was the court assembled all,
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

He laid his harp upon a stone,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
And straight it began to play alone,
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

'O yonder sits my father, the king,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
And yonder sits my mother, the queen,
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

And yonder stands my brother Hugh,
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
And by him my William, sweet and true,'
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie.

But the last tune that the harp play'd then
Binnorie! O Binnorie!
Was 'Wae to my sister, false Helen,'
By the bonny mill dams o' Binnorie."

Compare this ballad with the

"THE WONDROUS HARP."

"There lived a husbandman near the sea strand,
Heavy's my life;
And two daughters had he:
Hold thee by the youngest.

The eldest was black as the black earth;
Heavy's my life;
The youngest was white as the clear sun:
Hold thee by the youngest.

The one sister said to the other so,
Heavy's my life;
'Come, shall we down to the sea strand go?
Hold thee by the youngest.

And wash there thyself both night and day,
Heavy's my life;
Thou'll never be so white as I:'
Hold thee by the youngest.

And as they stood now on the sea strand,
Heavy's my life;
The older pushed her sister off the sand:
Hold thee by the youngest.

'O, my sister, then help me to land,
Heavy's my life;
And I will give thee my red gold band:'
Hold thee by the youngest.

'Thy red gold band I well may get,
Heavy's my life;
But never shalt thou go on God's green earth:'
Hold thee by the youngest.

'O, my dear sister, help me to land,
Heavy's my life;
And I'll give thee my gold crown fine:'
Hold thee by the youngest.

'Thy red gold crown I well may get,
Heavy's my life;
But never shalt thou go on God's green earth:'
Hold thee by the youngest.

'O, my dear sister, help me to land,
Heavy's my life;
And I will give thee my young bridegroom:'
Hold thee by the youngest.

'Thy young bridegroom I well may get,
Heavy's my life;
But never shalt thou go on God's green earth:'
Hold thee by the youngest.

'Then greet thou well my father good,
Heavy's my life;
In drinking my bride ale in the clear flood:
Hold thee by the youngest.

And greet thou well, my mother at home;
Heavy's my life;
In drinking my bride ale in the flood:
Hold thee by the youngest.

And greet thou my bridegroom at home;
Heavy's my life;
On the white sand will my bride bed be:'
Hold thee by the youngest.

There liv'd a harper by the sea strand,
Heavy's my life;
He look'd out on the sea where the corpse it swam:
Hold thee by the youngest.

On the strand he took up the maiden so fair,
Heavy's my life;
And out of her made a harp so rare:
Hold thee by the youngest.

He took the maiden's snow-white heart;
Heavy's my life;
The harp it rung with so sweet a sound:
Hold thee by the youngest.

So took he the maiden's fingers small,
Heavy's my life;
And screws he made for his harp withal:
Hold thee by the youngest.

He took the maiden's gold yellow hair,
Heavy's my life;
And strings to his harp he made of it there:
Hold thee by the youngest.

With the harp to the bride-house then he hied,
Heavy's my life;
Where the bridal was kept with mirth and pride:
Hold thee by the youngest.

He touched the harp, and at the first stroke,
Heavy's my life;
The bride on the bride-stool sat and laughed:
Hold thee by the youngest.

The second stroke that o'er the harp ran,
Heavy's my life;
They did undress the bride so fine:
Hold thee by the youngest.

The third stroke on the harp he struck,
Heavy's my life;

The bride she lay on the bride-bed dead:
Hold thee by the youngest."

I have entered at some length into Mr. Chambers's arguments; I trust that I have shown you their fallacy. Let me briefly sum them up. He objects to the antiquity of "Sir Patricks Spens," in common with other ballads, upon the ground that there are no ancient MSS. I hold that this is no valid objection, because ballad poetry was not written, but sung or chanted; and further, the mere fact of no ancient MSS. existing upon a particular subject is no proof whatever that that subject itself had not long previously existed. He objects to the antiquity of "Sir Patrick Spens" because it relates to some historical event which never occurred. An event similar to that narrated in the ballad *did occur*, according to our ancient chronicles. He objects to the antiquity of the ballad on account of the modernness of the diction, and cites as the only instance of that modernness an expression which I have shown you is very old. He also grounds his objections to the antiquity of the ballad on account of several of the things alluded to. I have attempted, and I respectfully submit successfully, to show you that the very things named by Chambers are ancient; and, in addition to this, I have shown you that, even supposing that Chambers was correct in his statement about the modernness of the diction, or of the things alluded to, this is in reality no argument, for it is of the very nature of ballad poetry to tone itself to the language of the day in which it is recited; and, finally, he objects to the authenticity of many of the ballads, because he can pick out certain passages which he calls "parallel" in some of them. I reply, that in many cases the passages are not parallel at all, and that, even granting that they were, it only shows that this particular class of compositions has as one of its characteristics a stock of expressions common to many of its members. I reply to his theory that the authoress of "Hardyknute" wrote all the ballads, because in it you may trace some expressions common to others, that it is much more natural to suppose that if she did write "Hardyknute" she copied it from them; and in conclusion, I have shown you that some of the ballads which he ascribes to her are referred to in writings which existed long before her time. Chambers would ignore the very existence of old ballad poetry. I believe that, where a nation is not completely overwhelmed by tyranny, or steeped in slavery, there will the feelings of the people burst out into song; ay, even

slavery or tyranny themselves are not sufficient to extinguish song. England, we know, from its very earliest ages possessed its national song. Even when fettered with the bonds of the sternest slavery, we learn that the poor Saxon sung his patriotic ballad. It is true, that we have little if any remains of these; but though we have not, so far as I am aware, any manuscripts older than the fourteenth century, still I think this is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that they depended on individual memory for transmission, and were not composed in the learned tongues, Latin or French, which were usually written; and we do know that chroniclers frequently refer to these songs, and sometimes give a fragment of them. Turning to Scotland we have the undoubted authority of the old Scots Acts, many of which relate to minstrels and singers of ballads. By an Act of the Parliament of James III., 1471, minstrels are classed along with "knychtis and heraldis," and with such as could spend "a hundretht pounds wortht of landis rent," and accordingly exempted from the operations of that sumptuary Act; and in later times, when the profession was getting into disrepute, and enactments were being passed against "ydill beggaris, sornaris, bardis," there is an express provision in favour of "all minstralis, sangstaris, and taill tellaris, avowit in speciall service be sum of the lordis of parliament or grait barronis, or be the heid burrowis and citeis." Amongst the records of the Register House of Edinburgh are certain entries in the Lord High Treasurer's books having direct reference to the craft:—*e.g.* "1489—Item (on Corpus Christi day), To Cunnynghame the singar at the king's commande a demy xiiij s. Item (the first day of Julj), To Wilyeam Sangstar of Lythgow for a sange buke he brocht to the king be a precep x li. 1491 on Moninda the ij Januar, To Shir Thomas Galbreytht, Jok Goldsmytht, and Crafurd, for the singyn of a ballat to the king in the mornyng, iij vnicornis ij li xiiij s." There are many similar entries, all proving the existence of ballads and ballad poetry. I admit that few of these ballads or even verses of them exist in any written records, but we do sometimes find this. Barbour declares, in "The Bruce" (1375), that he need not give further particulars of a Scotch victory, because

> "Whasa likes, thai may her
> Young wemen, whan thai will play,
> Syng it amang thaim ilk day."

And in the "St. Alban's Chronicle" the author says, "after Edward

II. was discomfitted at Banocksborne, therefore the maydens made a song thereof in that countree on Kynge Edward, and in this manere they singe:—

> 'Maydens of Englonde, sore may ye morne,
> For ye have last your lemmans at Banocksborne,
> With havelogh.
> What wenyth the King of Englonde
> To have got Scotland?
> With rombelogh.'"

In the writings of Hume of Godscroft direct reference is made to old Scottish ballad poetry in the reference to the old ballad of the "Battle of Otterbourne." Chambers complains that throughout the ballads there is not a distinct enough reference to any particular age. He says, "The characters and incidents are alike relieved from all clear connection with any particular age." I do not exactly fathom this objection. If he means that they do not all relate to one particular age, they relate to more than one, and there is all the more reason for supposing that they had extended over a lengthened period of time. The incidents in many cases relate to ages long since gone by. We have the old traditions of Fairyland, and we have other classes of superstitions portrayed. We have many references to rites of the Roman Catholic Church, tending to show that the ballads were composed when these rites were performed—references to particular dresses and customs, all lead to the conviction that these ballads are ancient. Let it not be supposed (as Chambers would insinuate) that, because through many of them there flows a vein of romantic beauty, they cannot therefore be ancient. Scotland, despite the poverty of her soil, and her continual warfare, always shone pre-eminent in the world of poetry. There is a curious old poem (published in Watson's Collection of 1770), taken from George Ballantyne's MSS., compiled in 1568, entitled "Lament for the Death of the Makkaris." I may give an extract from it, as enumerating some of the early authors of the species of poetry under consideration, and we possess no writings whatever of many of them, although, from being thus mentioned, it is clear that they must have composed many ballads:—

"LAMENT FOR THE DEATH OF THE MAKKARIS."

> "I see the Makkers amangis the laif
> Playis neir thair padyanis, syne gois to graif,
> Sparit is nocht thair facultie;
> Timor mortis conturbat me.

He hes petouslie devoir
The noble Chawser of Makars flowir,
The monk of Percy, and Gowyr, all three;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

The gude Schir Hew of Eglintoun,
Etrik, Heriot, and Wintoun,
He hes tane out of the countrie;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

That scorpioun fell hes done infek
Maister Johne Clerk, and James Affleck
Frae ballat makking and tragedy;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

Holland and Barbour he has berevit;
Allace! that he nocht with us levit,
Sir Mungo Lockhart of the Lie;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

Clerk of Tranent lik he hes tane,
That made the aventors of Sir Gawane,
Sir Gilbert Gray endit hes he;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

He hes Blind Hary and Sandy Traill
Slane with his schot of Mortall Haill,
Quhilk Patrick Johnstoun mycht nocht fle;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

He has reft Mersar, his indite,
That did in luve so lyfly wryte,
So schort, so quick, of sentens hie;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

He hes tane Rowll of Abirdene,
And gentill Rowll of Corstorphyne;
Twa bettir fallows did no man sie;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

In Dumfermling he hes tane Broun,
With gude Mr. Robert Henrysoun,
Sir Johne the Ross imbraist hes he;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

And he hes tane last of aw
The gentill Stobo and Quintene Schaw,
Of quhome all wichtis hes pitie;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

And Mr. Walter Kennedy
In poyntt of deth lyis berely;
Grit rewth it wer that so suld be;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

Sen he hes all my brethren tane,
He will nocht let me leif alane,

On fors I mon his nixt pray be;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

Sen for the deth remeid is non,
Best is that we for deth dispone,
Aftir our death that leif may we;
Timor mortis conturbat me."

I give all praise and honour to England's old and mighty masters; but while they are studied and read by all, I regret that the Scottish *makers* are shelved and set aside. Sir Walter Scott says that "the first classical English romance was written in part of what is now called Scotland." He refers to the romance of "Sir Tristrem," by Thomas the Rhymer, or True Thomas, who wrote in the thirteenth century. The languages of the old poets of England and Scotland are wonderfully similar. About a hundred years after him we had Barbour, whose writings flow as smoothly as his successor in the south—Chaucer, who was the first great English poet. Of Barbour it has been said by Warton that "he adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical imagery." After Barbour, in Scotland, we find Winton, the Cannon of St. Andrew's, who displays poetical talent of no mean order in his chronicle. Then we have James I., the most illustrious of the house of Stewart, "who may be pronounced, in addition to his eminence in serious and imaginative poetry, as the first who, in his 'Peblis to the Play,' opened up that store of rich, humorous, and graphic description of common life, by which the Scottish muse has been ever since so prominently distinguished." He wrote in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The next century has been termed the Augustan age of Scottish poetry. Time forbids me from doing more than mentioning the names of Blind Harry, Robert Henrysone, William Dunbar, Gawin Douglas, who wrote the first English versification of Virgil, for, as he quaintly remarks, the romance "on the Siege of Troy," published by Caxton, "is no more like Virgil than the devil is like Saint Austin." Then Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and his royal master, James V. England, on the other hand, when she lost Chaucer and Lydgate, could point to no successor for 200 years. I do not hold that all the old Scotch poems are perfect poems. I do not say that a critic will not easily discover in many of them glaring faults—in many cases they are not the productions of skilled rhymers; but I maintain that many of the productions of these old Scotch poets display a purity of language, and a delicacy of expression, which

one is at a loss to conceive of as existing in such dark and rude ages; and if I am correct in holding that the main characteristic beauties of ballad poetry consist in simplicity and pathos, I maintain that Scotch ballad poetry occupies a high place in this department of literature. I still cherish a belief in the antiquity of the ballad literature of my country; and I am grateful to Percy and Scott, and Jamieson and Motherwell and Aytoun, and those men through whose indefatigable zeal and unwearied labours it has been preserved; and I believe, had the step not been taken by them so soon as it was, and a few years had elapsed, it would have been impossible to have done so. "Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis;" the pen and the printing press diffuse knowledge and amusement through another channel; old things were rapidly passing away; in the general vortex would have been buried our Scottish ballads. France and Spain, the German States, and Sweden and Norway, all would have had their ballad literature, and Scotland, with her proud associations, been without it. Thanks again, then, to the collectors, in however mutilated a form they may have presented us with this rich legacy, for we have in some cases the very words in which our forefathers sang the triumphant records of their victories, as in the high and lofty strains of the "Battle of Otterburne," and we see, too, how they beguiled the long winter night by some of their humorous songs and ballads, or stirred and roused the feelings by tales of love or superstition.

NO. XXXI.

ANCIENT CROMLECH AT ARDENADAM, NEAR DUNOON:

BY

A. D. ROBERTSON, Esq.

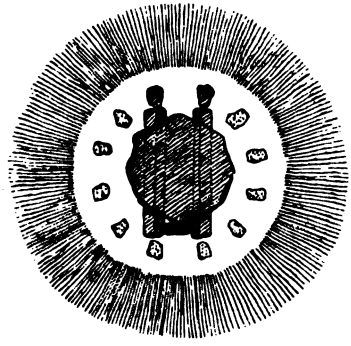
[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held at Glasgow on 25th March*, 1867.]

This ruinous structure of unhewn and unsculptured stones, which still remains to awaken ideas of an undefined period of time, and revive the shadowy existence of a people whose memories, habits of thought, and action, have long since been resolved into vague unsatisfactory legend, or become shrouded for ever in impervious oblivion, stands on a rising ground on the south side of the Holy Loch, on the opposite shore from the old tower of the ancient Collegiate Church of Kilmun.

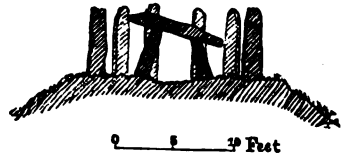
It occupies the centre and summit of a slightly elevated and dilapidated cairn or mound which measures at the base from twenty-five to thirty feet in diameter, and consists of four flagstones, forming a rude chamber about nine feet long by four to two feet wide,

and from four to five feet in height, internally. The sides converge upwards, and are each formed of a single stone, somewhat more than ten feet long, five feet broad, and from one foot to fifteen inches in thickness. The cover or tabular stone above is rudely circular in shape, measuring about eight feet across, and has a very decided declination to the east. The longitudinal axis of the cell is nearly north-east by compass. The south-west end of the chamber is closed by one of the four flagstones, and the opposite or north-east end, which is open, is flanked by two upright monoliths, from five to six feet high, two to three feet broad, and from one to two feet in thickness, which are all that now remain standing of twelve similar stones that once formed a complete circle or *cromlech*, crowning the tumulus and having the *kistvaen* in the centre.

To justify this idea of the original configuration of this monument, I may state that there were at one time prostrate on the cairn rough columns corresponding in every respect to the remaining uprights, and the measured distance from centre to centre of these two intact pillars gives in a circumference the positions for other analogous stones which would thus form a ring exactly as shown in the restored ground plan, and twelve is a common number in many of those ancient Druidical circles throughout Britain.



Restored Ground Plan.



Section of Restored Elevation.

When treating of such remains of remote antiquity the want of a settled nomenclature tends greatly to produce a very troublesome confusion of ideas. In this country, for example, we should have the tomb or cell portion of this structure described indifferently as a *cromlech* or *kistvaen*, &c., while those that follow the writers who have treated of the Celtic antiquities of Brittany would apply the word cromlech to the circle of stones only. *Crom*, in Gaelic, means

curved, sloping, &c. It means also a circle—(Ossian). *Leac* or *leachd*, a flag, a flat stone, &c. *Cromlech* then signifies literally a sloping flagstone; but this expression is descriptive of the top stone only of a kistvaen or altar; whereas *cromlech*, translated stone-circle, which is an equally legitimate rendering, becomes a perfectly intelligible and satisfactory term for a Druidical stone-circle.

The word cromlech is also, I think, misapplied to a species of monument which the writers referred to above are equally unhappy in denominating "*dolmen*, from *dol*, signifying a table, and *maen*, a stone; a stone table." "In the dolmen," they say, "the vertical supporters of the tabular stone are columnar, and the space beneath it is never entirely closed." Now this term, as understood by its definition, is perfectly descriptive of such erections as Arthur's Stone near Swansea, which has eight perpendicular supporters that terminate in small points, on which the whole weight rests; or the Coeton Arthur (Arthur's quoit) near Newport, Pembrokeshire, which consists of four upright irregular stones, each about seven feet high, upon three of which rests an immense stone, eighteen feet in length and nine across; but if we are to understand that the words Dolmen and Altar are synonymous, then it is inapplicable to "Altars of earth-fast stones" that have no artificial supports, and to those of a trilithic kind where the two supporting stones are laid horizontally, as in the "Three Auld Wives' Lift," in the parish of Baldernock, Stirlingshire, &c. Besides, the tops of cairns and mounds of earth seem to have been used occasionally for altars, and the summits of mountains have been consecrated as such, witness Gottfeld, in Arran,* Benledi, in Perthshire,† &c. It appears to me that the generic word Altar, with an appropriate qualifier, to answer its individual character, would serve a descriptive purpose much better than the word Dolmen.

"In the *kistvaen*," according to the same authority, "the vertical supports are slabs, as perfectly joined together as the rudeness of the material will permit, thus forming with the horizontal roofstone a stone chest, which is the signification of kistvaen in the Celtic languages."

Kistvaens are found of various dimensions and under different circumstances, either singly, or in groups covered by artificial tumuli, or buried beneath the natural surface of the ground. They are also sometimes found placed above the original surface of the soil in the

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* *Gottfeld* (Scandinavian) *i.e.*, God's Hill.

† *Benledi* (Gaelic) from *Beinn*, a mountain, and *Dia*, God, *i.e.*, the mountain of God.

neighbourhood of stone circles, and within their circumferences, on the tops of cairns, &c., as in the present instance, and there can be no doubt, have been employed as altars for similar reasons that the altar-tombs in churches were likewise used during the medieval period. Nothing could be better fitted for the purpose of an altar than the above-ground stone chest, and when found in this position the term altar-tomb would, in my opinion, be a far more appropriate name for it than kistvaen, which designation, as it neither suggests the idea of an altar nor its uses, might be retained for the underground stone chest.

Cromlechs or stone circles, called "*clachan*" * by the Highlanders, are believed to have been the ancient Druidical temples, in the immediate vicinity of which parish churches were frequently built after the establishment of Christianity. They vary in magnitude and in the number of stones that compose them. Those marked by a single ring of stones, or by two concentric rings, are of common occurrence, and altars, earth-fast or supported artificially, sometimes occupy the centre, or form part of their circumference.

Many are of opinion that cromlechs were originally merely intended as places of sepulture, and possibly this may have been the case with those of limited size, but the mind cannot easily entertain such an idea in connection with the magnificent structures of Abury or Stonehenge, &c. There can be little doubt that like our Gothic cathedral churches and chapels they might not only serve this purpose, but would thereby have their sanctity and solemnity as places of worship greatly enhanced.

It is generally admitted that sufficient evidence has been adduced to show that at one time our heathen ancestors, and probably all other ancient nations, in some form worshipped the sun or Baal, and that they paid divine honours to the moon, and the other planets as well.† In this view the circle has been supposed to emblemize the sun or the moon, as the case may be, and cromlechs of nineteen stones might refer to the lunar cycle of nineteen years, while those of thirty stones might have reference to the solar month of thirty days. Circles of twelve stones, it has been observed before, are very common in Scotland, and the same number of months is nearly the time in which the sun makes his annual circuit. Other numbers are found composing those circles, and may have been designed to indi-

* *Clachan* (Gaelic) *i.e.*, The Stones.

† In Ceylon, Bali means planetary worship. Bhála signifies light, and Baliya is the image of any particular planet to which sacrifice is offered. Forbes Leslie, vol. ii. The circle and crescent in this island symbolize the sun and moon.

cate circumstances connected with the ancient belief, but it would be fruitless to investigate the subject at this very remote period.

Almost all the varieties of structure known in this country by the general term of Druidical are still found, like the broken links of a chain, along the supposed migratory line of march of the Celtic race from India to the western limits of Europe, and fragments of religious ceremonial, faithfully cherished in the East, yet linger as vulgar superstitions among the people of Scotland, but whether the erection of these monuments is to be attributed to the Celts or a former unknown race remains an unsettled question.*

Ardenadam, the name of the locality of which this interesting relic is the centre, is a Gaelic word signifying "the height of the blessed person," a name that has always associated itself in my mind with the idea of some reverend priest or king of the prehistoric era, whose blessed memory a grateful people would not willingly let die. Hence it was perpetuated in this temple containing his sacred remains, which naturally enough might become a place of meeting and pilgrimage for certain ceremonies at stated periods, like the shrines of glorified individuals during the middle ages. The elevated character of this pious heathen would hallow the whole surrounding district. The land would be sanctified, and even the neighbouring arm of the sea, whose waters rippled on the consecrated shore, singing his requiem in the pilgrim's ear, would become holy, by which epithet it has been distinguished time out of mind. Its Gaelic name, *Loch Seunta*, signifies the Blessed or Holy Loch.

This memorial of devout antiquity seems to belong to that dim and distant period when the very earliest footprints of our remote ancestry appear. Its rude undressed stones exhibit no hieroglyphics or traces of engraving whatever, and there is absolutely nothing known in the locality concerning it. Not even a whisper is heard of the usual traditions that seldom fail to grow around those mysteri-

* Dr. Meyer thinks that the Celtic nations passed from Asia to Europe by two principal routes, and that the migration was resumed at different epochs, thus forming two great streams of migration, flowing as it were periodically. The one, proceeding in a westerly direction, passed through Syria and Egypt, and thence along the northern coast of Africa, reached Europe at the pillars of Hercules, and passing on through Spain to Gaul, then divided itself into three branches—the northern of which terminated in Great Britain and Ireland, the southern in Italy, and the eastern, running along the Alps and the Danube, terminated near the Black Sea. The other great stream of Celtic immigration, proceeding in a more direct line, reached Europe at its eastern limit, and passing through European Scythia, and thence partly through Scandinavia and partly along the Baltic, through Prussia and northern Germany, reached Britain across the German Ocean. Of these two streams of migration, the former, viz., by the north coast of Africa, although the less direct, seems to be the more ancient, and to have reached the north-west of Europe several centuries before the other.

ous monuments. All is silent save the low murmur of the restless sea, or the complaining spirit of the wind that moans from its hollow cave.

The old cairn is now shapeless, and ten of the twelve obelisks that once formed its circular crown have been overthrown, or what is worse, degraded to sustaining a rude gate leading into a turnip field. Such is now the humbled condition of these early emblematic fingers of the sun. The once venerated *Clach-Sleuchdadh*, the stones of prostration, have at last bowed their own heads before the irreverent descendants of their ancient worshippers. The sarcophagus is empty. It has been robbed of its consecrated urn, whose holy dust has been scattered in the wind, and with it that spirit which, throughout unnumbered ages, animated and guided the noblest feelings of the human heart is fled from its place for ever.

Since in the eyes of progressionists and improvers the stones of this circle could appear nothing better than ready-made gate posts, or door lintels for cowhouses, one cannot help surmising by what miracle these two remaining pillars escaped destruction—was the sacrilegious arm of the desecrator struck with paralysis? or was it stayed when, too late to save their congeners, the thoughtless barbarian was "humbly solicited" to spare them? It is not recorded, and therefore useless to enquire. Suffice it, there they are yet, doing sentinel's duty at the entrance to "Adam's Cove," as it is sometimes called. Long may they continue to do so, and "Blest be the man that spares these stones."

But the improver and the plough are not the only enemies that such time-honoured memorials have to dread. There are others for whom it is more difficult to find an excuse, that have violated them with impunity, and, strange to say, sometimes with approbation. The greedy belief so extensively entertained by the vulgar, that immense hordes of money are to be found beneath those stones, has in many instances proved the cause of their overthrow and destruction. A well-meaning, perhaps, but ill-directed enthusiasm, it is much to be regretted, has also provoked many that should have known better, to ransack those ancient dwellings of the dead when —if indeed altogether without the hope of treasure—it could only result in the temporary gratification of a silly reprehensible vanity. Cromlechs, cairns, &c., are dug into with remorseless energy, and their contents, which often consist of nothing more than a small piece of a decayed cranium, that crumbles into dust at the touch of the spoiler, a rude flint arrow-head, or a simple clay urn containing a few fragments of calcined bones, are carried off in triumph to be

paraded for a very brief period, then laid aside, and finally altogether lost. Those ancient *vestigia* should never be disturbed without the superintendence of most careful and competent persons, otherwise it is the duty of every one to discourage this practice; because robbing those ancient depositaries of their valueless but sacred remains not only injures the monuments themselves, but destroys the hallowed associations of the places to which they belonged, while not one case in a hundred can be cited as having added anything to the knowledge previously possessed.

Here are the desolated remains of a once magnificent cromlech, whose circular line of heaven-pointing obelisks symbolized that celestial crown deemed the just reward of a pious life, at one time or other, wantonly abused and left to fall into utter ruin. Why should it be so? A more significant monument to the abstract principle of virtue could not be reared, and if it has commemorated for thousands of years an example worthy of emulation, while the name of its locality has animated the minds of countless generations of the human race with the hope of an eternal recompense for the fulfilment of their duties, it might still continue to serve the same great and ennobling purpose, and should therefore incite its proprietor to improve its condition, and secure it against future desecration.

This relic stands in the middle of a ploughed field without the slightest fence to protect it, and from its ruinous and precarious condition it need not be surprising if in a few years it falls to pieces, and ultimately disappears, to the deep regret of all who take an interest in the material remains of the long-forgotten past. It still exists as an interesting link between the present time and the prehistoric era; but if much longer neglected its fate is certain, and once gone no power on earth can replace it. It will be lost for ever with all its associations, and I for one should be sorry to let it pass away if it were possible to preserve it. If properly cared for, and enclosed within a circular avenue of trees, it would form a most magnificent ornament to the locality, as well as an object of lasting antiquarian interest,—but to say the least, a very little might secure it from utter ruin, and it occurs to me that if the members of the Glasgow Archæological Society would interest themselves in its preservation by an appeal to its proprietor, or even get permission to restore it themselves, they would secure the grateful thanks of all lovers of antiquity, not only of the present day but of future generations, for having saved from annihilation one of the finest specimens of its kind in the whole of Scotland.

NO. XXXII.

NOTES AND CONJECTURES RELATIVE TO THE OLD ROMAN OCCUPATION AND FORTIFICATION OF THE CLYDE AND KELVIN VALLEYS:

BY

ALEXANDER GALLOWAY, Esq.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Glasgow Archæological Society held on 25th March*, 1867.]

The features of the country, including the heights, distances, and position of prominent objects, and the exact course of streams and roads, having now been accurately delineated on the Ordnance maps, we are enabled to apprehend their true relations better than we formerly could. The contour lines, or lines of equal height above sea level, are of much practical use, and students of our early local history will regard with satisfaction the new facilities for tracing the Roman walls, roads, camps, and forts, wherever vestiges of these remain. This evening I am permitted to occupy half an hour of your time in submitting remarks that have occurred to me upon careful consideration of some details in those maps, in connection with long personal knowledge of the district to which they refer.

In a paper containing remarks on the agricultural condition of Clydesdale during the Roman period, which I read at a meeting of this Society in December 1864, there was introduced a description of Roman military roads, including the main south and north one, from the east end of the Solway Firth, by Lockerbie, Moffat, Tinto, and Lanark, to Antoninus' Wall at Castlecary, and thence by Camelon, Larbert, Torwood, St. Ninian's, Stirling, Dunblane; also a westward branch road from Crawford up the Glengonar valley by Leadhills and Sanquhar to Ayr; another westward branch road from Lanark by Stonebyres, Strathaven, Newmilns, and Kilmarnock to Irvine; and a second westward branch road from Lanark by Wishaw, Bothwell, and Rutherglen, the camp at Paisley, and the Clyde ferries. There were also noticed eastward lines, as one from the head of the Tweed along its banks to Melrose, one from Roberton

down the south side of the Clyde and by Biggar to the Tweed road, and others. The principal camps connected by these roads were referred to, particularly Crawford, Lanark, and Paisley; likewise some of the minor camps, outposts, and observation forts.

I do not presume to suppose that the old Roman military system of fortifications, and their general arrangements for occupation of Scotland, are not well known by every member of this Society, and by every Scottish antiquarian. Ever since Timothy Pont's publications, 250 years ago, the subject has been a continual source of interest to each new generation of our countrymen. The writings of Camden and Dr. Irvine about 1686, Sir Robert Sibbald later, Gordon 1731, Horsely 1732, Roy 1785 to 1795, followed by a host of others, and more especially the *Caledonia Romana* of our townsman, Mr. Robert Stuart, published 1845 and 1852 (he died in 1848), have been studied by many thousands, and are still consulted by probably all who seek to make themselves informed about the early history of Scotland. But details will escape the memory sometimes when we have need of them for present purposes, and I may be pardoned if I enumerate a few leading ones of a general kind, as introductory to the special matter I wish to lay before you, and in order that we may turn with more advantage to the consideration of it.

Among the Roman writings commonly referred to, the principal are Tacitus's History of Agricola, Capitolinus's Life of Antoninus Pius, the works of Herodian, Dion Cassius, Pliny, and Ammianus Marcellinus. Various other writers of the time made occasional mention of Britain and its affairs. Before Agricola left the island, in the year 85 of our era, the number of Roman troops in it, under his command, was reported as 37,500. The historian states that in his fourth campaign (year 80) he constructed a great number of forts between the Clyde and the Forth, as a base of operations northward, which served also for defending the country southward. Three years afterwards he advanced into the country north of these, conquered up to the Tay, and completed various roads, camps, and forts. His successors seem to have had difficulty in maintaining steady possession so far, and the emperor Hadrian, in 120, resolved to abandon all that part of the island north of the Tyne. His successor, Antoninus Pius, ordered his general, Urbicus, to advance, in 140, and take measures for secure occupation. Urbicus accordingly took possession up to the Tay, and remaining twenty years in the

country, he employed many troops in the construction of fortifications. About 208 the emperor Severus conquered the country north of the Tay up to Burghead on the Moray Firth, and established camps and other military works, which seem to have been occupied, without much molestation, more than half-a-century. Afterwards, from time to time, the northern people and their allies became restless and made many incursions. About 425 the Roman troops were finally withdrawn to defend the capital and its nearer provinces from the Teutonic people, who were making alarming progress as conquerors.

In advancing northward to the Clyde and Kelvin valleys, Agricola and his engineers could not fail to observe the remarkable facilities here presented to them for drawing an effective military cordon across the island. Between the firths the distance was only some 30 miles; a broad hollow course, in almost a straight line, with streams and marshes, lay before them, as if nature had intended to mark a division of the country; behind, southward, a large area of comparatively level land, extending between the two seas, and back to the Cheviot and Tinto mountain ranges; in front, northward, the Ochils, the Campsie fells, and the Kilpatrick and Dumbarton mountains, looking like a monstrous natural line of wall about 1500 feet high. According to what they deemed the exigencies of the position, they would mark out sites for camps and outposts. The more important of these would have to be at the extremities, and opposite the mountain passes. Thus, for the west end, they would see it fit to secure the Leven Valley and the fords of the Clyde; at the east end they would have the advantage of very extensive marshes in the Kersie, Dunmore, Falkirk, and Stirling carse lands up to Camelon, where they would have to post considerable bodies of troops; in the centre, the Allander, Campsie, and Kilsyth passes were of comparatively easy defence. Against incursions by sea, they would have to provide coast roads and posts from the Clyde to the Solway, and from Camelon to Berwick or Newcastle. All this, we are told, was comprehended in their plan, and was carried into execution.

When, at a later period, the Romans proceeded to occupy the greater part of the island north of the Clyde and Forth, they established, as has been already observed, numerous camps, some of them of what were called a permanent, and others of a temporary character. Most of our popular writers have assumed that these stations did not infer more than conquest, and that very soon after conquer-

ing the rude natives the Romans retreated to within their fortifications in the south. This is plausible on the assumption that the inhabitants were sparsely scattered over the surface of the country, and were poor, rude, and barbarous. But, although Roman historians were pleased to describe them in such terms, it is by no means certain that the description was correct. These writers thought it proper uniformly to disparage all who seriously presumed to question Roman greatness and glory, or to threaten its power. Literary men living in Rome had imperfect and rather romantic notions concerning distant islanders and other remote peoples. They wrote under such false impressions as prevailed among their ill-informed neighbours, and, in order to please, they had to embellish and exaggerate. From the time of the old Romans downwards, historical writers of all countries have made themselves liable to similar reflections, and perhaps we may not unreasonably suppose that a popular desire for something new and wonderful will always find abundant gratification in the same line.

In thinking of the matter now, we have to ask ourselves, why, if the inhabitants of the northern end of the island were as they have been described, did their conquerors find it necessary to construct so many formidable military works in their country? The Norman Dykes entrenched camp on the north bank of the Dee, 8½ miles from Aberdeen, occupied no less than 108 acres. The Rae Dykes camp, near Auchterloss village, at the head of the Ythan, is described as still larger, viz., 120 acres, and another of the same name near Stonehaven, 95 acres. Each of these was calculated to contain from 25,000 to nearly 40,000 soldiers, with their provisions and whole appointments. In Perthshire and Forfarshire there were the Ardoch camps, 125 acres and 5 acres; Fortingall, 85 acres; Battledykes, 80 acres; Harefaulds, 54 acres; Inchtuthil, 53 acres; Grassywalls, 50 acres; Fendoch, 45 acres; Cupar Angus, 33 acres; Dalgenross, 26 acres; War Dykes, 25 acres; Strageith, 21 acres and 1 acre; Hatton, 20 acres; Bertha, 15 acres; Invergowrie, 8 acres. These were all strongly entrenched camps, the remains of which are still to be seen, notwithstanding the partial removal of materials and the disintegrating effects of our harsh climate in the long course of 1500 years. The traces of many minor encampments, fortified outposts and roads in that region, and in Fifeshire, as at Carnock, Dunfermline, and Burntisland, also remain. How then can we assume that its inhabitants were not numerous and formidable, rather

than sparse and contemptible? A country composed of barren mountains, densely wooded plains and heathy morasses, as old writers described Caledonia to be, could not support enough of mankind to require so many troops to conquer them, and so many great entrenched stations for maintaining order. The more feasible conjecture is, that beyond the Clyde and the Forth there were many cultivated fertile plains, many great tracts of rich pasturage, many fishing and trading villages and ports, a large, thriving, and respectable population who loved their country and were ready to fight for it against tremendous odds, especially when assisted by friends and allies beyond seas who were willing occasionally to lend aid against invading foreigners.

It was of course against the power of northern Caledonia and their allies that the Romans had to construct and maintain their line of defences between the Clyde and the Forth. This, we are told, and appearances justify the statement, consisted of a great ditch about 20 feet deep, with a rampart of earth and stone along its southern or inner side, about 15 feet high, having a level platform on its top 9 feet broad, protected by a parapet on its north crest. At suitable places about two miles apart, there were stone built fortresses, and between those small watching towers, or sentry boxes. All along within the rampart there was a military road, sometimes close up to it, and more frequently about fifty yards or more back from it. The west end of the rampart began at Old Kilpatrick, obviously because the Clyde below that point was not fordable, but the military road was extended to Dumbarton, where there was a camp, and the great pyramidal rock, the summit of which we may suppose to have been occupied by a stone fortress for observing the Leven valley. Eastward there appears to have been a camp and town at Castlecary and another town and camp at Camelon, to command the Stirling passes, the former answering as also an interior reserve post in the event of a surprise of the latter. Between Camelon and Kilpatrick there were various outpost forts two or three miles northward in advance of the rampart line. The remains of some of these are still prominent. We may suppose them to have had, as usual when invasions are apprehended, arrangements for the convenience of patrols and scouts occasionally in the plains and on the hill tops, and of a few soldiers stationed in positions for communication with the nearest fortresses on the wall by signals.

All this was not enough for the defence and occupation of the

interior country. Near the west end of the wall there was placed a great permanent camp of reserve at Paisley, the area of which was fully 40 acres, occasional camps at Irvine, Ayr, Kirkcudbright, Stranraer, Whithorn, and elsewhere along the coast, with connecting roads, protected by forts. Near the east end of the wall there was a reserve camp at Borrowstownness, from which roads with forts proceeded by Blackness, Abercorn, Queensferry, Cramond, and Edinburgh, to the great camp at Inveresk, and to the still greater one at the Eildon hills, which had an area exceeding 60 acres. In the centre of the country between the coast lines were the great camps already referred to, at Lanark, 52 acres; Crawford, 40 acres; Peebles or Lyne, 15½ acres; Lockerbie, 5½; Tatius Holm, 5 acres and 1 acre. Remains of fortified posts along the roads connecting these camps may be seen at Northwood and Camphill near Paisley, Dalziel, Cleghorn, Tintoside, Biggar, and more than a dozen others within as many miles of the Crawford camp.

Returning to the Kelvin valley, I wish to hazard a conjecture which, in so far as I know, has not been distinctly advanced by any of our writers. I am aware that Bede, alluding to the construction of the Roman Wall and other works here, said, "ubi aquarum munitio deerat, ibi præsidio valli fines suos ab hostium irruptione defenderent," and that a clever writer, early in the present century (the late Rev. Mr. M'Gregor Stirling) regarded these words as meaning that "the defence of water was wanting to the rampart." He criticised, as in his opinion, "more ingenious than solid," the conjectures of the ministers of Campsie and Kilsyth, who, in the statistical account, had represented that the whole valley of Kelvin must have been anciently an impassable morass, and that tradition said there had been "artificial mounds to complete the natural inundation, so as to render the wall of Antonine impregnable," and some places here having names with *Inch* prefixed, indicate their having been surrounded by water. Notwithstanding this, I am disposed, on the present occasion, to repeat these conjectures, and submit the grounds of my belief in them.

I refer here to a sketch of the district, and of the wall line, which I have prepared for illustration.

The little river Allander, flowing from the eastern slopes of the Kilpatrick Hills past the village of Milngavie (formerly called Barloch) and falling into the Kelvin half-a-mile above Balmulie, is seen in every flood to overflow its banks to a great width between

Kilmardinny and the confluence. In like manner, from Balmulie up the Kelvin, the broad haughs of Balmore opposite Cadder House are flooded to near Torrance, the breadth in high floods being a full half mile. Upwards, the Bogton, Carlston, and Hayston haughs are submerged, as are also the broader low grounds between Kirkintilloch and Birdston. Continuously, the Inchbelly flats and those of Inchtarf and Shirva, upwards till near Kilsyth, become one great sheet of water, with irregular outlines towards the north. The length of this line of natural flooding is fully twelve miles, and all of it lies close along the north side of the Roman Wall. It will be observed that the wall suddenly changes its course at Balmulie and crosses the Kelvin, where high grounds on either side approaching the river afford opportunity of carrying, at moderate expense in labour, an embankment to dam up the stream. Figures on the Ordnance map shew the level of the stream bed there to be 100 feet above the sea, opposite Cadder House 100 feet, and opposite Torrance village still 100 feet, the length of this dead level being in straight line 1¼ mile. Opposite Kirkintilloch, a point two miles farther up, the river bed is 10 feet higher. It follows that an embankment at Balmulie only 10 feet high will hold back the water all the way to Kirkintilloch. Were the embankment raised to 20 feet a great lake would be formed, submerging the village of Balmore and all the country near it to the same level. So far, then, if it was an object of importance to the Romans to strengthen their defences, we must assume that they did, as tradition alleges, cross at Balmulie not by a bridge, but by an embanked roadway which flooded the low grounds from Kilmardinny to Kirkintilloch.

If now we observe the features of the district at this higher point we find them favourable for another embankment extending from the Kirkintilloch fortress across the valley, which at that place again becomes narrow. Examining the levels we observe that an embankment only 10 feet high would dam back the Kelvin rather more than two miles upwards; if made 20 feet high, about another mile; and if 30 feet high, another mile or more. But the state of the ground surface in this locality gives very clear indication of the actual height at which the water had stood in ancient times. Along the north side of the valley opposite Kirkintilloch there is to be seen as regular a line of water, gravel, and sand as on any sea beach, these substances manifestly having been washed up upon the natural tilly clay soil of which the land beyond and below them is composed.

At Birdston village, which stands on this sand beach, an Ordnance bench mark gives the level 128·7 above the sea, and 110 feet deducted from this, shows that the Kirkintilloch embankment must have been about 19 feet high, above the present river bed. The effect of this 19 feet dam would be to produce exactly all the appearances which the ground surfaces present throughout many hundred acres here, and to form into islands the places which still bear in their names the prefix Inch, as Inchbreck, Inchbelly, Inchtarf, and Nether Inch. The term is familiar to everybody in the Latin *insula*, old German *insch*, and Gaelic *innis*. We may now remark that appearances do not indicate any natural obstruction of the river at or near Kirkintilloch to dam it up thus, and when we reflect that the Romans had a direct interest in forming the dam, and that their engineers were competent to execute much more difficult works, and had easy means of accomplishing this one, we may, I think, fairly conclude that they did not fail to take advantage of the natural conditions presented to them.

Eastward of Kilsyth the summit level of the valley comes in, and a long flat, known as the Dullatur Bog, extends to nearly opposite Castlecary. This bog was a broad dangerous marsh or morass until about the beginning of the present century. In 1644, at the Battle of Kilsyth, some of Argyle's troopers attempting to escape across it, sunk horse and man out of sight, to be disinterred when the Forth and Clyde Canal was excavated there. The little river Bonny rises in this swamp and flows eastward in the valley alongside the Roman rampart till near its junction with the Carron at Larbert. This stream, also, has a very low rate of fall, and may be easily dammed so as to produce a continuous lake between Castlecary and Larbert. From Larbert the Carron sweeps down the valley, which now spreads out into broad carse lands. So lately as the thirteenth century these were for the most part in the condition of swamps, and in all probability an inlet of the sea extended to near Camelon. Indications of sea beaches are so manifest as to be hardly mistakable. Fragments of boats and anchors have been discovered in the soil, also iron rings attached to the rocks for securing vessels.

In this age of ours, when we have seen so many thousands of miles of railway constructed, with all their cuttings, embankments, tunnels, and viaducts, we can hardly look with surprise, as our forefathers did, upon the great walls and ramparts with ditches and entrenchments of the Romans. Yet, for the times when they were

constructed, these, and the many fortified camps throughout Scotland, together with the connecting roads, are to be regarded as works of very wonderful magnitude, and arranged with consummate skill. The country for conquering and retaining which such efforts had been made must have been considered by them, truly, not a barren worthless waste, but a land well worth possessing; and its inhabitants, though at first perhaps somewhat barbarous, or less civilized and wealthy than their conquerors, must, during the Roman occupation, have acquired such a measure of acquaintance with and practice in the arts of industry, if not of literature also, as would raise them nearly to a physical and intellectual par with the great masters of the world.

Before quitting this subject, I wish farther to offer a short remark regarding one of the outpost forts north of the Kelvin Valley rampart, which has specially come under my observation. It is marked on the map before you as the Bencloich Hill fort, and its position is seen to be near the foot of the steep rocky southern slope of the Campsie fells opposite Kirkintilloch. Evidently, it had been selected as most suitable for observing the Glazart and Blane Valleys and the northward mountain pass of the Campsie Glen. I submit a sketch of it, enlarged from the Ordnance 25-inch scale map, which indicates its forms and those of its defensive outworks, consisting of various segmental ditches and banks. The flat surface of the mound as now seen is about 150 feet in diameter, and the slopes which are at the rate of about 1 to 1, have a vertical height above the general ground surface of more than 30 feet towards the west, but considerably less towards the east and north. Its approach had been from the east, and close by the gate entrance there seems to have been a large draw well. It does not appear that hitherto any attempts have been made to explore the interior of the mound by excavation. I imagine that it will be found when opened somewhat similar to the road side mountain fort in the Torwood near Larbert, which was cleared out two years ago; that is, having circular walls of stone to support a roof, with an opening for entrance and another for exit, a stone floor at the bottom, and marks of an upper floor of wood, the walls strengthened and defended outwardly either by embanking with earth and stones to near their top or by being sunk in the solid earth and rock, or partly both ways. This fort has long had for its popular name, "The Meikle Rieve." Near it there is a smaller fort of like form called "The Maidens' Castle," situated by the side

of a brook running there through a deep ravine. It also has several outward defence trenches. May we not be allowed to conjecture that this name represents, through tradition, or translation, the original one, and also the object of the structure? Supposing so, we can look back to the earliest known applications of the term "Maidens' Castle," and observe two meanings, one equivalent to inviolate fortress, and the other a stronghold for the protection of females. Accepting in this case the latter sense we are led to infer that the Roman soldiers, stationed at the Meikle Rieve outpost, were allowed to have their female connections, dependants, or followers, located near them in a building more or less fortified, and conveniently situated for purposes of domestic economy, personal seclusion, and escape from danger in the event of a hostile attack. Farther, we may suppose, from the other name, "Rieve," that after these two forts had served their original purposes, and the Roman soldiers had been withdrawn, the larger one had been at some time occupied by persons who plundered their neighbours and stored the spoil there. Words corresponding with this meaning are found in the Anglo-Saxon and all other languages of the Teutonic family, and likewise in those of the Persian, Roman, and Celtic kindreds.

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LIST OF DONATIONS TO THE GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY SINCE ITS FOUNDATION IN 1856.

1. Piece of Pinewood, found six feet below the surface of the ground in Candleriggs, Glasgow, presented, on November 2, 1857, by Gabriel Neil, Esq.

2. Impressions of a Roman signet, presented, on 1st March, 1858, by John Buchanan, Esq.

3. Plans of Willowbank (1801), presented, on 1st March, 1858, by Mrs. Alderson, Rothesay.

4. "Poetry and traditions of the Highland clans," presented, on 6th December, 1858, by the author, Donald Campbell, Esq., late Lieutenant, 57th regiment.

5. Indenture betwixt Robert Stewart and William Lang (1724), presented, on 6th December, 1858, by James Reid, Esq.

6. Two pairs of silver shoe buckles of the eighteenth century, presented, on 3rd January, 1859, by James Hutton Watkins, Esq.

7. Four copper Roman coins, presented, on 3rd January, 1859, by James Hutton Watkins, Esq.

8. A Chair of the sixteenth century, said to have belonged to George Buchanan, presented, on 3rd January, 1859, by Dr. Stewart, Kirkintilloch.

9. Bond (1686), and Letter to Deacon Tennent (1757), presented, March, 1859, by Hugh Tennent, Esq., of Wellpark.

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15. "Account of the remarkable monument in the shape of a cross, inscribed with Roman and Runic letters, preserved in the garden of Ruthwell manse, Dumfriesshire." By the Rev. Henry Duncan, D.D., minister of Ruthwell. Presented by William Fleming, Esq., Miller Street, on 3rd December, 1861.

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17. "The Norwegian Invasion of Scotland in 1263," presented by Hugh Tennent, Esq., of Wellpark.

18. "On the origin, coronation, and jurisdiction of the Lord Lyon, King of arms," presented by Sheriff Strathern.

19. Signatures of Volunteers (1803), presented by David Smith, Esq., J.P.

20. Coat of the Royal Glasgow Volunteers.

21. Archium Glasguense: Notes as to ancient documents, by Laurence Hill, LL.B. Presented by the author.

22. Genealogy of the Reid Family.

23. Bronze arrow-head with rivet, also fragments of bone, and of a clay urn, found 4th August, 1859, in a small tumulus in the lands of Blochairn, Baldernock parish, Stirlingshire, presented, on 5th December, 1864, by Alexander Galloway, Esq.

24. Several fragments of stone from the Standing-stones of Stennis, and from a tumulus in the vicinity, presented on 5th December, 1864, by Alexander Galloway, Esq.

25. Bronze vessel, found in Blairskaith, Baldernock, presented, on 5th December, 1864, by Alexander Galloway, Esq.

26. "Old Glasgow and its Environs." By Senex. Presented, on 14th November, 1864, by the author.

27. "The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire described and delineated." By George Vere Irving, F.S.A., Scotland, and Alexander Murray. Presented by Messrs. Thomas Murray and Son, on 5th February, 1866.

28. Roman coin of Antoninus Pius, presented, on 18th March, 1868, by D. Lamond Macnab, Esq.

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